

Roman Roads in Judaea II

The Jaffa-Jerusalem roads

Moshe Fischer
Benjamin Isaac
Israel Roll



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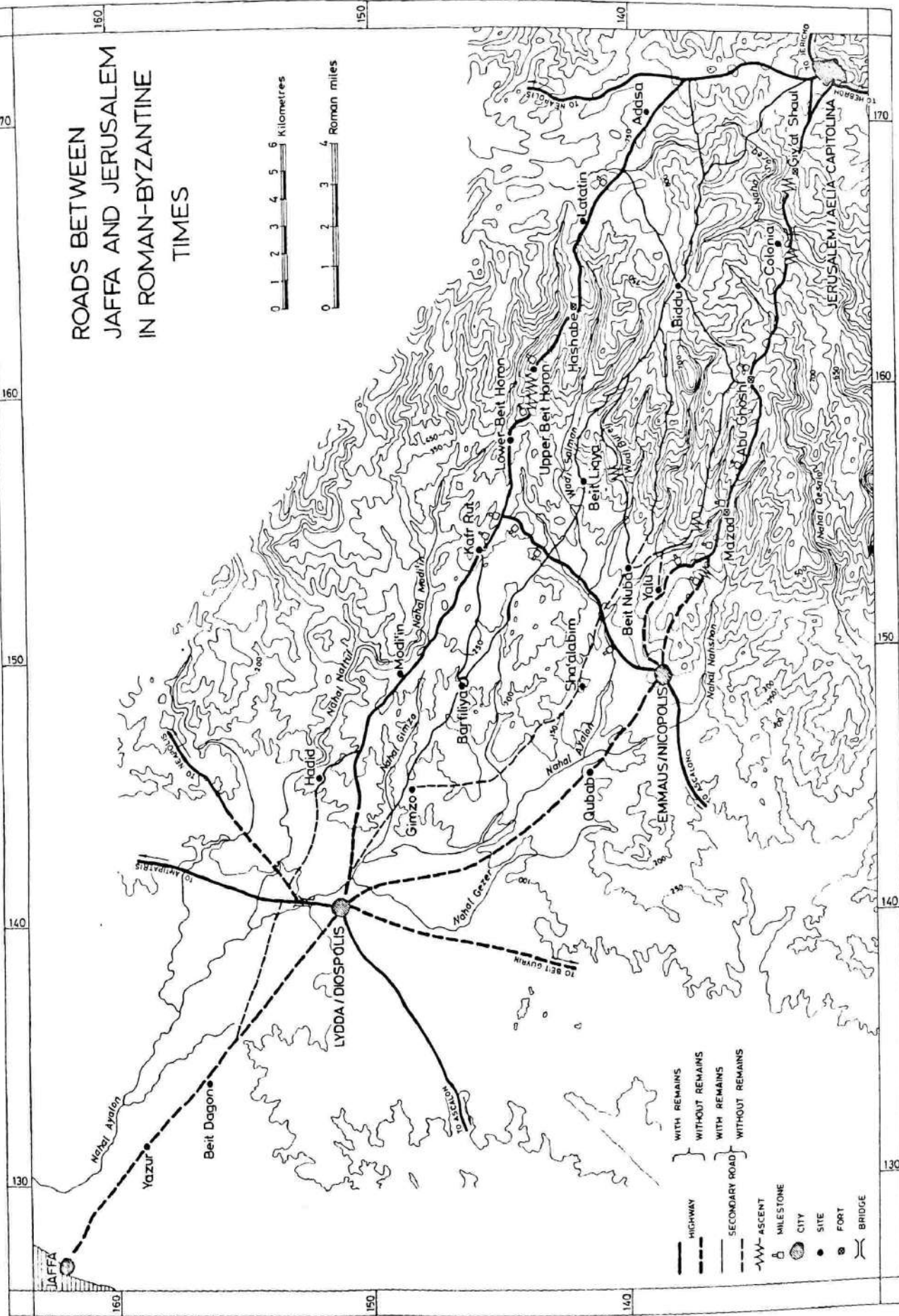
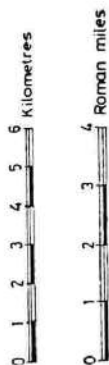
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ROADS BETWEEN JAFKA AND JERUSALEM IN ROMAN-BYZANTINE TIMES



The Roads from Jaffa to Jerusalem: General Map.

PREFACE

This volume has taken a long time to produce and is the result of collaboration and cooperation from many people and institutions. First, it should be noted that the field-work which it represents was mostly carried out between 1983 and 1989. Thereafter we occasionally visited some of the sites discussed, but our systematic survey was completed before 1990 and our observations do not include changes on the ground since then. However, we have tried to include bibliographical references published before the end of 1994.¹ The survey of roads and sites was carried out by the authors together, but the excavations of several sites, 'Aqed, Kafr Rut, and Horvat Mazad (Kh. el Qasr), were directed by Moshe Fischer as part of a larger project headed by Mordechai Gichon. The authors carry joint responsibility for the entire work, but the writing of it is the result of a division of labour which we should record:

Part I: Isaac; Part II: Roll; Part III: Fischer and Isaac; Part IV: Isaac and Roll; Part V: Fischer, Isaac and Roll. The whole book was edited by Isaac, ably assisted by Susan Weingarten. Susan Weingarten also compiled the general index. We are very grateful to several people who contributed chapters published under their own names, as indicated in the table of contents: Shulamit Sela, Yuval Shahar, Yigal Tepper and Jacob Jannai. We would like to thank them for their generous contributions and for their patience in awaiting the long-delayed publication of the book. Yuval Shahar and Yigal Tepper, moreover, joined us in many field-trips and gave us much valuable information.

Many others helped in the preparation of this book. Mordechai Gichon re-initiated the systematic study of Roman roads in this country, and directed the excavations in the region of Emmaus. As already mentioned, as part of this project Moshe Fischer excavated several sites described in Part III. Eli Shenhav participated in the early stages of our fieldwork. Aharon Oppenheimer gave references to Talmudic sources and elucidated textual problems and questions of interpretation. Alla Stein advised on numismatic and chronological problems, Morna Isaac on statistics. Between 1990 and 1992 the late Derrick Riley visited Israel three times. The aim of these visits was to see what systematic air photography could contribute to archaeological research in this region. Several flights took us over the area studied in this book. We are gratefully reproducing here some photographs which he took before his sudden death in 1993. It should be noted that the expenses of Derrick

Riley's visits to Israel and our joint work were covered by grants from the Stein-Arnold Fund of the British Academy, the Research Fund of the Society of Antiquaries, the Robert Kiln Trust, the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, Tel Aviv, and the Kleinstub Fund of the Department of Classics, Tel Aviv University. All the line drawings included in the book were prepared by Ora Paran of the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University. We are most grateful for the indispensable assistance given by the Institute. We also should like to express our gratitude to the many individuals who gave relevant items of information as acknowledged in the text and the footnotes. On a more sombre note, we should mention that a good deal of archaeological work has been carried out, sometimes decades ago, by people who neither published their discoveries nor made it available to us upon request.

We are pleased to mention several other institutions. From 1988 till 1994 our work was generously supported by grants from the Israel Science Foundation administered by The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities and in 1993-5 by the Luther I Replogle Foundation. As always, we have to thank the hard-working staffs of various libraries, first among them that of the University of Tel Aviv. However, Part I could not have been written in its present form without the resources of the British Museum, the Bodleian, and the Codrington Library of All Souls College, where Isaac spent 1985-6 as a Visiting Fellow. Fischer is grateful to the University of Konstanz, where he worked in 1985-6, supported by a grant from the Humboldt Foundation. The Codrington provided several prints reproduced below. The Kriegsarchiv of the Bavarian Hauptstaatsarchiv provided prints of air photographs made in 1917-1918 and generously permitted reproduction. We are also grateful to the Gertrude Bell Archive at the University of Newcastle on Tyne, the Palestine Exploration Fund for providing us with prints of photographs and permission to reproduce them. The Israel Antiquities Authority allowed us inspection of its archives.

Finally, this is the place to give the usual apology for inconsistency in the spellings of place-names. We try to use the current, relatively simple transliteration of Hebrew and Arabic characters. However, where there are traditional variant versions, familiar to most people, we often give those forms. When citing other modern authors we do not change their method of transliteration. Even so it is likely that there are still many indefensible inconsistencies. We can only hope that no one will be seriously misled and that few will be annoyed by our lack of system in this matter.

Tel Aviv
August 1995

M.F., B.I. and I.R.

¹ This means that we have taken account of *TIR, Iudaea-Palaestina*, but the work of reference by Götz Schmitt, *Siedlungen Palästinas in griechisch römischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1995) appeared too late to be used.

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The modern air photographs were all taken by Derrick Riley during joint flights in 1991 (see preface).

ABBREVIATIONS

- AAAS *Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes*
 AASOR *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
 AB *Analecta Bollandiana*
 ADAJ *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*
 AE *l'Année épigraphique*
 AJ *American Journal of Archaeology*
 AJAH *American Journal of Ancient History*
 ANET J.B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*
 ANRW H. Temporini (ed.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*
 AR Clermont-Ganneau, C., *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*
 AS Benjamin Finkelstein, I. & Magen, Y., *Archaeological Survey of the Hill Country of Benjamin* (Jerusalem 1993, Heb.)
 Avi-Yonah, MPP Avi-Yonah, M., 'Mosaic Pavements in Palestine', *QDAP* 2 (1932), 136-81; 3 (1933), 26-74; 4 (1935), 187-93.
 BAR *British Archaeological Reports*
 BASOR *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
 BCH *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique*
 BE J. et L. Robert, *Bulletin épigraphique*
 BIES *Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society*
 BJb *Bonner Jahrbücher*
 BJPS *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*
 BMC *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*
 BSOAS *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
 B.T. *Babylonian Talmud*
 CCSL *Corpus Christianorum Series Latinae*
 CHL M. Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land* (1970)
 CII J.B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum*, i-ii (1939, 1951)
 CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
 CRAI *Comptes-rendu de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*
 CSEL *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*
 D.A.M. Department of Antiquities of Palestine, Records Files
 DB *Dictionnaire de la Bible*
 DE E. de Ruggiero, *Dizionario Epigrafico di antichità romane*
 DOP *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
 EAEHL Avi-Yonah, M. & Stern, E. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1975-8)
 EB *Encyclopaedia Biblica: Entziklopediyah Mikra'it* (1964-)
 EI *Eretz Israel*
 Enc. Isl. *Encyclopedia of Islam*
 FGH F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*
 Gazetteer M. Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer of Roman Palestine* (1976)
 GCS *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*
 GP Abel, F.-M., *Géographie de la Palestine*
 HA *Hadashot Arkheologiyot - Archaeological Newsletter of the Department of Antiquities*
 HSCP *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
 IEJ *Israel Exploration Journal*
 IGLS L. Jalabert and R. Mouterde, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*
 IGR R. Cagnat et al., *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes*
 ILS H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*
 INJ *Israel Numismatic Journal*
 JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
 JJS *Journal of Jewish Studies*
 JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
 JPOS *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*
 JRS *Journal of Roman Studies*
 J.T. *Jerusalem Talmud*
 JTS *Journal of Theological Studies*

Abbreviations

- Kedar, AP B.Z. Kedar, *Looking Twice at the Land of Israel: Aerial Photographs of 1917-1918 and 1987-91* (1991, Heb.)
- LA *Liber Annuus*
- LB Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible* (revised ed. 1979)
- M *Mishnah*
- MUSJ *Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph*
- NEAEHL Stern, E. (ed.), *New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1994)
- Not. Dig. Or. *Notitia Dignitatum Orientis*
- OGIS W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*
- On. *Onomasticon*
- P. Cairo *Catalogue général des antiquités Égyptiennes du musée de Caire, Zenon Papyri*
- PEFQSt *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*
- PEQ *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
- PG J.-P. Migne, *Patrum Graecorum Cursus Completus: series Graeca*
- PJb *Palästina Jahrbuch*
- PL J.-P. Migne, *Patrum Latinorum Cursus Completus: series Latina*
- P.S.I. *Papiri della società italiana* [*Pubblicazioni della società Italiana, Papiri greci e latini*], iv (Firenze 1917)
- QDAP *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine*
- RAO Clermont-Ganneau, C., *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*
- RB *Revue Biblique*
- RE Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
- REJ *Revue des Études Juives*
- RHC Or. *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Orientales*
- RHC Occ. *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*
- RMD M.M. Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas*
- ROL *Revue de l'Orient Latin*
- SEG *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
- SNG *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, Danish National Museum, Lycia, Pamphylia, Vol. 31 (Copenhagen 1955)
- Survey 1967 M. Kochavi (ed.), *Judaea, Samaria and the Golan, Archaeological Survey 1967-1968* (1972, in Hebrew)
- SWP Conder, C.W. and Kitchener, H.H., *Survey of Western Palestine, Memoirs*
- TAPA *Transactions of the American Philological Association*
- TIR Tsafir, Y., Di Segni, L., Green, J., *Tabula Imperii Romani: Iudaea, Palaestina* (Jerusalem, 1994)
- Tos. *Tosephta*
- VT *Vetus Testamentum*
- ZDMG *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
- ZDPV *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*
- ZPE *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

INTRODUCTION

The roads from Jaffa to Jerusalem are the subject of our second volume in a series of monographs which are eventually intended to cover all of the Roman province of Judaea and some adjacent areas. Our first monograph, published in 1982, dealt with the Legio - Scythopolis road. This is one section, relatively well-known, of a major highway linking different parts of the Empire: it connected Alexandria with Damascus and the Nile Delta with the Euphrates. The road also had local importance, for within Judaea it linked the two most important cities in the northern part of the province: Caesarea and Scythopolis, running via the legionary base of Caparcotna / Legio. Nevertheless, the ancient sources make it abundantly clear that it should be seen as a highway between continents rather than cities. During major wars it served imperial armies and in times of peace it was used by long-distance traders and other travellers.

For the second volume in the series we chose a group of roads which is of interest for quite different reasons. The roads from Jaffa to Jerusalem are indeed part of the provincial network of Roman highways, but they did not fulfill an essential function in a wider regional context. Battles between empires for control of the eastern Mediterranean coast were fought near Gaza or Megiddo. Battles for access to Jerusalem and the plateau were fought along the roads between the coastal plain and Jerusalem. This volume, then, considers roads linking Jerusalem with the coastal plain and serving local traffic (even if it originated elsewhere, which was the case with pilgrims). However, the role of Jerusalem as a city throughout the ages gave these roads a vital importance of a different kind. Before the destruction of the Second Temple these roads carried much of the traffic to Jerusalem, 'the most famous of the cities of the East, not only of Judaea'.² At that stage, of course, they had not yet been developed as part of the Roman road-network. After the destruction of the Temple, the city became the base of the *Legio X Fretensis*. The roads which linked it with the coastal plain thus became primarily military highways, for it is clear that the function of the legion was to maintain control over central Judaea. The other Judaeian legion, based in the second century at Caparcotna/Legio near Megiddo, must have had the task of controlling the long-distance highway mentioned above, besides policing the northern part of the province. Furthermore, a settlement of 800 veterans and their families was planted at Motza, on one of the roads studied in this volume. In the reign of Hadrian, Jerusalem was re-founded as a Roman

Colony, or *Colonia Civium Romanorum*,³ as marked on many milestones leading to the city. Although the rate of development of the city may have been far slower than is often assumed, as one of the two highest ranking cities in the province, a centre of Latin culture and still a legionary base, the roads linking Jerusalem with the coast were vital to its existence. When the Empire became Christian in the reign of Constantine, Jerusalem was almost immediately turned into the focus of imperial involvement. Religious devotion, munificence from the court and the encouragement of pilgrimage made the city the goal of travellers from all over the empire. This it continued to be until the Islamic conquest.

In the light of all this, there is no need for further explanation of why we thought the roads from Jaffa to Jerusalem were worth comprehensive study. However, it was also clear that such a study would require a format different from the earlier monograph on the Scythopolis - Legio road. Along that road many milestones, inscribed and anepigraphic had been found, but the evidence from sites along the road was scarce. The nature of the Valley of Jezreel is such that there were very few ancient settlements along the road which we could survey. Even if we consider the entire route from Caesarea to Scythopolis, the only major sites to be considered were these two cities and the legionary base of Caparcotna/Legio. There were no significant communities in between. Moreover, very little remained of the road itself. Our survey produced what could best be described as a string of milestations which allowed us to reconstruct the course of the road.

Our study of the Jaffa - Jerusalem roads was concerned with an entirely different type of country, evidence and documentation. Very few milestones, inscribed or anepigraphic, have been found: 7 inscribed milestones along all the roads together, a total of 115 Roman miles, as compared with the 22 milestones found between Legio and Scythopolis alone, a length of 24 Roman miles. This means that the latter has produced 15 times as many inscriptions per Roman mile. This is a matter of preservation and does not necessarily reflect the numbers set up in antiquity, of course. However, there is a mass of literary sources of many periods, describing the journeys to Jerusalem both of private individuals and of armies marching and fighting along the roads to and from the city. This had to be presented in some form. Between Jaffa and Jerusalem, moreover, there are the remains of more than 130 ancient settlements connected with the road-system, both large and small sites, including two which obtained city status. While we obviously could not excavate any significant number of them, we felt obliged at least to research, visit and survey them all. A selected sample had to be properly excavated to gain

² Pliny, *NH* v 70: 'clarissima urbium orientis, non Iudaeae modo'.

³ Isaac, *Talanta* 12-13 (1980-81), 31 - 54; *The Limits of Empire* (1992), Chapters vii and viii.

Introduction

an impression of the relationship between these sites and the road-network. Yet another important difference between the Legio-Scythopolis road and the roads discussed in the present study is the topography. While the entire length of the former runs over level ground, all roads to Jerusalem ascend from the coastal plain to 800 m. above sea-level. Consequently, there was no one single route preferred by all armies and travellers in all periods. Each road has its advantages and drawbacks. Patterns of movement therefore varied with the times, and it was one of our aims to trace these changes and the interrelationship between patterns of movement and of settlement along the roads. The complexity of the topography, furthermore, required different forms of presentation and illustration. Again, because the region was mountainous, and settlement dense in some periods, there were several secondary roads which could not be ignored. These were used, and partly improved or even paved in the Roman period, but they were never provided with milestones. Thus they are not to be considered Roman state roads.

This volume therefore starts with a chapter which gives a survey of the literary evidence. The focus naturally is on travelling along the roads between Jaffa and Jerusalem. This includes movements of armies on campaign and recorded journeys of individuals. For the literary evidence, no less than the archaeological material, it is obvious that we cannot isolate the Roman period. The choice of possible routes to Jerusalem is limited by topography, rather than other factors, so that none of the roads to the city was used only in the Roman period. Although, as we have already noted, patterns changed between periods, all routes constructed as Roman highways were used before, and most of them afterwards too.

Thus, in order to clarify the Roman and Byzantine perspective, we have taken account of both earlier and later periods with respect to both the literary and the material evidence. This is particularly true for the Hellenistic period. We refer briefly to the extensive sources on the battles for the approaches to Jerusalem in the Old Testament. Then we discuss more extensively the sources relating to the period of the Hasmonaeans, and the first centuries BC and AD. As will be seen, many crucial battles for Judaea were fought in our area. It is a familiar problem in the study of Judaea that the literary evidence is scanty for the Roman period proper. We have no information about army movements along these roads between AD 70 and the Persian occupation in the seventh century. What happened in the Bar Kokhba revolt in the second century, for example, is not recorded in any extant source. Even for the Byzantine period, a time of large-scale pilgrimage to Jerusalem, we have very few literary sources which give an impression of the reality of individual journeys to the city. The subsequent periods, however, including the nineteenth century,

have left a wealth of descriptions. Many of these are of great interest because of the impression they give of travel up to Jerusalem in circumstances unchanged since the Roman and Byzantine periods.

Like the literary sources, the material remains along the roads reflect the history of all periods. As already stressed, not only were all the roads in use before the Roman period, but the local or imperial authorities after the Byzantine periods did not demolish earlier structures on a large scale. The Ottoman authorities did not undertake large-scale road construction before the second half of the nineteenth century. Thus the remains of the road-system which existed in the late nineteenth century represent a development of thousands of years, even if the Roman construction activities had a more drastic impact than those of any other imperial power. A survey of the literary accounts on travel to Jerusalem is therefore necessary to gain an understanding of the material remains of the post-Byzantine periods. These latter could not be ignored in our survey, since there is never any *a priori* certainty as to which period material remains belong. Part I, therefore, pays far more attention to later periods than is usual in works concerned essentially with Rome and Byzantium. Given the rapid rate of destruction of all the remains of the old road-system, this volume may be of some use to those interested in other periods which, for us, had of necessity to remain on the periphery of our research.

The second Part offers a description of the roads which requires no explanation, except for the inclusion of a section on secondary roads. This is relevant for two reasons. First of all, there is clear evidence of improvement and construction in antiquity of roads which sometimes cannot be distinguished from those which were provided with milestones. Secondly, any attempt to understand the lines of communication between the coastal plain and Jerusalem must take these roads into account. This might seem a truism, were it not for the fact that some of them became main roads in other periods. This work aims to reach an understanding of why certain roads were chosen by the Roman authorities to serve as main roads, while others were preferred in later periods. Yuval Shahar and Yigal Tepper have contributed two appendices on secondary roads which they themselves surveyed. These roads are particularly interesting in a study of the shifting patterns of traffic, for one was in use particularly in the Hellenistic and Hasmonaean periods, and the other in the Crusader period.

The third Part, the Gazetteer, offers a list of sites in alphabetical order, presenting literary evidence and the archaeological material published by others or seen by us. For reasons set out above, the literary evidence includes sources from the pre-Roman periods and accounts from later periods, down to the nineteenth

century. It will be clear that it is not always possible to distinguish between nineteenth-century travel accounts and archaeological literature. For the material remains we have also consulted the archives of the Antiquities Authority, both of the British mandatory period and of the State of Israel. Each site can be located with the aid of an eight-figure grid reference and the maps provided. The advantage of an alphabetical arrangement is obvious. Any other method would complicate consultation and bring with it internal contradictions. A difficulty is that many sites have more than one name: a Hebrew name, one or more Arabic names and ancient names. We have attempted to list all names in the entries with cross references in the index. The Gazetteer includes all the sites related to the road-system, except for the remains of the roads themselves, which are described in Part II. Entries included in the Gazetteer vary from minor undefined sites to important cities such as Jaffa and Lydda. We have not included an entry on Jerusalem since the scope of the present work could not do justice to the complexity of the literature and subject matter. Also included are brief reports on the sites excavated by Moshe Fischer: 'Aqed, Kafr Rut, and Horvat Mazad (Kh. el Qasr), the first a military site, the second a minor settlement, the third a road-station. An appendix contributed by Yuval Shahar and Yigal Tepper presents an account of underground hide-outs which they discovered and surveyed at Kh. Kureikur, Kh. Kafr Rut (Lut), and er-Ras, all three sites which are directly connected to the route proposed for the portion of the Beit Horon Ascent which passes through the Shephelah. The discovery, in recent decades, of scores of underground hide-outs gives a fascinating insight into the nature of the resistance to the authorities which was organized in parts of Judaea and Galilee. Several such hide-outs have been found at sites between Lydda and Jerusalem. Since most of the material about such installations is not accessible in English, we decided to present the evidence in a separate section attached to the Gazetteer.

The catalogue of milestones and milestone-inscriptions is organized like its counterpart in *Roman Roads in Judaea* i. It should be noted that ancient inscriptions other than those on milestones are cited in the Gazetteer in the relevant entries.

The last Part attempts to correlate and integrate the information from the literary sources and the material remains. Special attention has been paid to the following subjects:

(1) The indication of distances in Roman and Byzantine literary sources as compared with actual distances along the roads. Since various literary sources give quite a number of distances between places, this gives a valuable insight into their accuracy when they give measurements of this sort.

(2) The distribution and development of settlements and road installations. Our survey of sites along the roads covers many sites of various kinds, but any conclusions to be drawn are subject to two restrictions: firstly, we have included only sites whose location is related to the road-system. While this is a valid criterion for our purposes, the results therefore do not represent a full regional examination. Secondly, while our survey of the existing literature has been exhaustive, our activities in the field were of a restricted nature. We visited sites and collected sherds from the surface. We cannot claim to offer decisive data regarding the occupation of such sites in various periods. In particular one should be wary of accepting negative evidence. The absence of pottery of a given period on the surface does not prove it was not occupied in that period. We shall, however, formulate some cautious conclusions about the occupation of various kinds of settlements and road-installations as well as their geographical distribution in time.

A third topic here discussed concerns the routes preferred in different periods. Jerusalem can be reached from the coastal plain by various roads, described in Part II. Some of these run primarily through the valleys, others along the watersheds. Patterns of movement shifted in various periods. These can be traced with the help of the literary sources, sketched in Part I, through the periods of occupation of various kinds of sites, described in Part III (Gazetteer), and through the milestone-inscriptions published in Part IV. In this section of the concluding Part V we shall consider the reasons why various types of roads were preferred in some periods and avoided in others. We shall then consider the impact such shifts had on army organization, pilgrimage and the cult of holy sites, and, again, on settlement patterns.

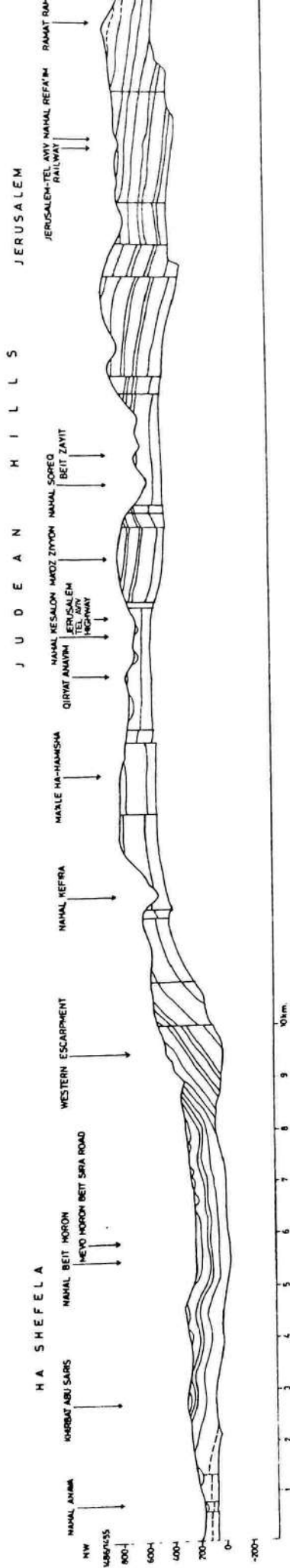


Fig. 2. Topographical Section, Jaffa - Jerusalem (after *Atlas of Israel*).

I

TRAVELLING TO JERUSALEM

1: ANTIQUITY

Preliminary Remarks

The roads from Jaffa to Jerusalem have probably been described more often, throughout the ages, than most other highways anywhere. At many periods throughout history, Jerusalem was the target of pilgrims in times of peace, and of armies in times of war. This book is one of a series dealing with the Roman road-system in Judaea, but, as already noted in the introduction, we have decided that in the present case it would be pointless to isolate the Roman phase from other periods in our study of the road-system and the use made of it. This conclusion was originally reached on purely archaeological grounds: in studying the ancient roads and the sites and installations along them we found it impossible to ignore the abundant remains of other periods, or, if not impossible, highly undesirable. It is obvious that there was a road-system before the Roman period and some of the roads that we studied remained in use for centuries afterwards. We have therefore taken account of sites and remains from other periods. The results of these investigations are presented in Parts II and III.

This part of the book discusses information from literary sources about travel between Jaffa and Jerusalem. It does not present information about topography, for which the reader is referred to Part II and the maps. Paradoxically, the literary sources are rather meagre for the Roman and Byzantine periods and much better for other phases. Our aim here is to present information on traffic and travelling conditions between Jerusalem and the coast, tracing the patterns of movement of both armies on campaign, and of individuals in times of peace. This is not a collection of information on individual sites, for which the reader is referred to the Gazetteer in Part III. We have not discussed individual campaigns in detail nor have we attempted to write a history of pilgrimage to Jerusalem at any time.¹ We have seen all the relevant ancient sources, but we do not claim to have taken account of all the important travel accounts from the fifteenth century onwards. We have simply attempted to give a somewhat impressionistic account of how the roads which we explored were used at different periods. The information presented here will be referred to again in

the final part, where we have attempted a synthesis of the literary and archaeological material, together with our conclusions. A separate chapter in this part of the book is devoted to the Early Islamic period. We are grateful to Dr Shulamit Sela who has contributed this section.

The Location of Jerusalem

Jerusalem is more or less accessible from all directions except the south-east, for here, east of the Judaeian mountains, lies a desert which although not entirely impassable, is definitely impracticable for traffic on a large scale. It was possible to cross the Dead Sea, but most travellers between the lands west and east of the River Jordan would have avoided the Judaeian Desert. As Y. Aharoni has observed, this makes the significance of Jerusalem more intelligible,² for it lies on the southernmost line affording regular communication between the east and west bank of the river. The traditional capital in the centre of Judaea proper was Hebron, cut off from Transjordan in the manner indicated. Jerusalem lies on an east-west artery which always linked a series of substantial settlements: Jaffa, Gezer, Ayalon, Beit Horon, and Jericho. In the Roman period Gezer and Ayalon were superseded by Lydda and Emmaus.

Yet it is obvious that the crucial importance of Jerusalem resulted not from its topography but from historical developments outside the sphere of geography. The site as such is important locally, but not of major significance for the wider area, for it does not command long-distance routes or substantial resources. There are three strategic routes in the wider area: the coast road between Egypt and northern Syria; the branch of this road which leads to the Euphrates; and the old caravan route in Transjordan, also named the King's Highway, or *Via Nova Traiana* of Roman milestones.

Jerusalem does indeed lie at a crossroads, but it is one of mainly local distinction. The north-south road over the watershed links Samaria with Judaea proper, but is not an international highway of primary importance. The east-west road is essentially a branch linking the coast-road with the King's Highway. As explained at length in Part II, Jerusalem is in fact hard to reach, lying as it does off the main routes in the coastal plain and in mountains which are difficult to cross. The east-west road on which it lies may be the southernmost link between Jordan and the coastal

¹ For pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire: E.D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire AD 312-460* (1982).

² Y. Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 30. See also: G.A. Smith, *Historical Geography*; A. Alt, *PJb* 24(1928), 74-98; M. Har-El, *Biblical Archaeologist* 44(1981), 8-18; M. du Buit, *Supplement au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, fasc. 58(1984), cols. 1026-31. General observations on the terrain between Jaffa and Jerusalem are found below, Part II.

plain, but it is not an easy one. The Jerusalem - Jericho road, particularly its eastern section, is not easy, unlike the road from Jericho to Gophna further to the north.³ The best road from the coastal plain to Jerusalem, the Beit Horon road, joins the watershed near Gibeon, eight kilometres north of Jerusalem.⁴

Roads lead to Jerusalem because people want to go there, not because it is a natural halting place or caravan city. This is most clearly illustrated by the fact that the decisive battles for control of the Middle East were fought, not near Jerusalem, but near Megiddo in the Valley of Jezreel, for this was the main strategic crossroads in the country.⁵ Jerusalem owes its eminence to the fact that King David made it his capital.⁶ This was a political decision, the town being conveniently situated between Judaea and Israel and belonging to neither. The choice resembles that of Washington D.C. as capital of the United States. Once David had established his capital there, rather than at Hebron, Solomon chose it for his Temple and this determined the centrality of Jerusalem for the Jewish people, and hence for Christians and Moslems, from the tenth century BC till the present day. For the Romans before Constantine, Jerusalem had no importance as such. The seat of the governor was established at Caesarea, the main city on the coast which had an excellent artificial harbour built by Herod.⁷ Jerusalem had to be guarded, however. Before the destruction of the Second Temple in AD 70 any occupying power in Judaea had to base a strong garrison there,⁸ because it was the one important city of Judaea with a substantial population, the cult centre of Judaism, and a focus of pilgrimage for Jews

wherever they lived.⁹ After the destruction of the Temple the city was left in ruins, either as a matter of political convenience or out of lack of interest. Even then the site had to be guarded and became legionary headquarters as a matter of necessity rather than choice.¹⁰

Hadrian converted Jerusalem into a Roman colony, but there is no indication that it regained its old prominence.¹¹ In the fourth century it became the centre of interest for large numbers of Christian pilgrims.¹² Byzantine Jerusalem was important, not as a centre of commerce or administration, but as a focus of pilgrimage and the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. This situation lasted till the Islamic conquest. Under Moslem rule, Jerusalem never became the capital of Palestine and was therefore only of secondary importance as a city, despite the interest of the Umayyad caliphs in promoting it as a holy city for Islam.¹³ The district capital was the new city of Ramle in the coastal plain, which was better sited for communications with other parts of the Umayyad empire.

Upon the establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem by the Crusaders the city was again proclaimed capital. After the loss of Jerusalem to Saladin, the city retained the interest of its rulers mostly because it was a holy site for Christians from the west. Jerusalem regained its status of capital only with the

³ For the Jerusalem - Jericho road: R. Beauvery, *RB* 64(1957), 72-101; J. Wilkinson, *Biblical Archaeologist* 38(1975), 10-24. For the Jericho-Gophna road: P. Thomsen, *ZDPV* 40(1917), 75 f.

⁴ Below, Part II.

⁵ Cf. Isaac and Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea*, i, Chapter I.

⁶ For the history of Jerusalem as capital, A. Alt, 'Jerusalems Aufstieg' in: *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1959, iii, 243-57.

⁷ Tacitus, *Hist.* ii 78: *Judaeae caput*. On Caesarea: Schürer, *History*, ii, 115-8; a recent publication: K.G. Holum et al., *King Herod's Dream: Caesarea on the Sea* (1988).

⁸ For the garrison of Jerusalem till the First Jewish Revolt, B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire: The Roman Empire in the East* (1990), 279f.

⁹ The fame of Jerusalem is clearly brought out in Greek and Latin sources of the period discussed by M. Stern, *Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period*, *Abraham Schalit Memorial Volume*, ed. A. Oppenheimer, U. Rappaport, M. Stern (1980), 257-70 (Heb.). Jewish pilgrimage is discussed below.

¹⁰ For Jerusalem as legionary headquarters, Isaac, *op.cit.*, Appendix I. J. Wilkinson, *Levant* 7 (1975), 118-136.

¹¹ Cf. Isaac, *op.cit.*, 323-5, 353f. See also: B. Lifshitz, *ANRW* ii, 8 (1977), 444-89; for the coinage, bibliography in A. Kindler and A. Stein, *A Bibliography of City Coinage of Palestine* (1987), 22-37; Y. Meshorer, *The Coinage of Aelia Capitolina* (1989).

¹² Jerome, *ep.* 58, 4,4; cf. F.-M. Abel, *Miscellanea Geronimiana* (1920), 131-55 (inaccessible to us). For Jerusalem in this period, H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem nouvelle* (1914-26), 1-38; 875-902; Y. Tsafir, 'Jerusalem', *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, eds. K. Wessel and M. Restle (1975), 544-552.

¹³ See the section on the roads to Jerusalem in early Islamic sources, below.

institution of the British Mandate in Palestine, followed by the State of Israel.¹⁴

All this is well known, but it is essential for a proper understanding of patterns of movement to and from Jerusalem in times of war and peace. The historical and religious significance of the city, not the topography of the region, made it a focus of interest for travellers. It was the topography, however, which determined the course of the roads to the city and the siting of the secondary centres that developed along the roads. As the requirements of travellers and armies in different periods varied so did the routes they chose. This was one of the factors which determined the development of settlement in the region. Patterns of movement and their interrelationship with patterns of settlement will be considered in the final part, in which we attempt to formulate conclusions based on the combination of archaeological and literary material. These literary sources are the subject of the remainder of this part of the book.

The Use of the Roads by Armies¹⁵

The Old Testament

The most famous, but legendary, battle along any of the roads to Jerusalem is that described in Joshua 10. We are told how the Israelite army under Joshua came to the assistance of the four Gibeonite cities that had come under attack by an alliance of five cities led by Jerusalem.

And the Lord discomfited them before Israel, and slew them with a great slaughter at Gibeon, and chased them along the way that goeth to Beit-horon, and smote them to Azekah, and unto Makkedah. And it came to pass, as they fled from before Israel, and were in the going down to Beit-horon, that the Lord cast down great stones from heaven upon them unto Azekah and they died: they were more which died with hailstones than they whom the children of Israel slew with the sword. Then spake Joshua to the Lord in the day when the Lord delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel, and he said in the sight of Israel, Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon; and thou Moon, in the valley of Ayalon.¹⁶

¹⁴ For the geography of modern Jerusalem: D. Amiran *et al.* (eds.), *Urban Geography of Jerusalem. A Companion Volume to the Atlas of Jerusalem* (1973).

¹⁵ For the following discussion, see the relevant maps, figs. 1 and 44.

The first historical battle along this route is related in the book of Samuel: the Philistines advanced against Saul along the Beit Horon road. They then encamped in Michmash and sent out 'raiding parties from the Philistine camp in three directions. One party turned towards Ophrah in the district of Shual, another towards Beit-horon, and the third towards the range of hills overlooking the valley of Zeboim and the wilderness beyond.'¹⁷ Saul's counter attack took place in the opposite direction. When Saul and Jonathan 'smote the Philistines that day from Michmash to Aijalon' we can deduce here that they used the Beit Horon route.¹⁸ Later, after conquering Jerusalem, David defeated the Philistines 'from Geva [or: Giv'on] until you come to Gezer'¹⁹

It may be concluded that the Beit Horon road was the main route for large forces into the mountains in this period.

Solomon built a number of forts on key-sites which included Jerusalem, Gezer, Beit Horon, and perhaps Baalath.²⁰ The location of the latter is uncertain, but it is clear that at least the forts at Beit Horon and Gezer were situated on the main approaches to the capital. This may have been a response to the expedition by the Egyptian ruler which, early in Solomon's reign, resulted in the conquest of Gezer.²¹ This is the first attempt known to us of fortifying the main approach to Jerusalem from the West.

Another series of fortresses is said to have

¹⁶ Joshua 10, 10-12. This is undoubtedly an imaginary description, based perhaps on historical events in a later period. Cf. J. Blenkinsopp, *Gibeon and Israel* (1972), Chapter iv: 'The Battle of Gibeon and its Sequels', 41-52. D.A. Dorsey, *The Roads and Highways of Ancient Israel* (1991), Chapter 10, has nothing new to offer.

¹⁷ 1 Sam. 13, 17 f.

¹⁸ 1 Sam. 14, 31.

¹⁹ 2 Sam. 5, 25. 1 Chron. 14, 16: 'from Gibeon to Gezer'. It may be inferred that the Beit Horon road was followed. It is possible that this historical battle formed the basis for the description of Joshua's legendary victory.

²⁰ 1 Kings 9, 17. Cf. 2 Chron. 8, 5.

²¹ 1 Kings 9, 16.

been built by Rehoboam.²² 2 Chron. 11,5-12 lists fifteen towns in strategic positions in Judah, one of them being Ayalon: 'He strengthened the fortifications of these fortified cities, and put governors in them, as well as supplies of food, oil and wine. Also he stored shields and spears in every one of these cities and strengthened their fortifications.'

The function of such forts during a full-scale military campaign is best seen from the description of Cestius Gallus' rout, cited below. In times of peace or relatively minor unrest they could help in suppressing banditry or guerrilla fighting such as attested in the Amarna correspondence, in Josephus' account of the unrest following Herod's death, and in the Crusader sources, all mentioned below.²³

Despite these activities Pharaoh Shishak went up to the hill country in ca. 927 BC via the ascent of Beit Horon, on his way from Gezer and Ayalon towards Gibeon.²⁴ In negotiations at Gibeon Shishak accepted a heavy tribute and so refrained from attacking Jerusalem.²⁵ An inscription preserved in the Amon Temple in Karnak contains a long topographical list which includes Gezer, ??, Rubute, Ayalon, Gatim, Beit Horon, Gibeon.²⁶

The Amarna Letters - Use of the Road by Brigands

So far we have considered the information on large-scale warfare along the roads from the west to Jerusalem. One source which deals with hostilities at a different level should be mentioned here as well. Dating to the early fourteenth century BC, it is earlier than all those cited above:

'So send me a garrison this [year], and send me a commissioner likewise, O my king. I have sent [gifts (?)] to the king, my lord [...]

²² Scholars disagree about the king to whom these activities should really be attributed. Cf. N. Na'aman, *BASOR* 261 (1986), 5 ff., with references.

²³ Josephus, *Ant.* viii 7,4 (187) states that Solomon paved the roads to Jerusalem with black stone. This is an anachronism.

²⁴ 1 Kings 14, 25-8; 2 Chron. 12, 1-12. For the date: K.A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period* (1973).

²⁵ 1 Kings 14.25-8; 2 Chron. 12.1-2.

²⁶ For this list see recently Schmitt in R. Cohen and G. Schmitt, *Drei Studien zur Archäologie und Topographik Altisraels* (Wiesbaden 1980). We follow suggestions made to us by Nadav Na'aman.

captives, five thousand ... [...] and eight porters for the caravans of the k[ing, my lord]; (but) they were captured in the plain of Aijalon. Let the king, my lord, know that I cannot send a caravan to the king, my lord. For thy information! Behold, the king has set his name in Jerusalem for ever; so he cannot abandon the lands of Jerusalem!'²⁷

This is a passage from one of the Amarna letters in which the vassal prince in Jerusalem complains about the lack of control exercised by the Egyptian authorities. He claims that his last caravan containing tribute and captives for the king was attacked and robbed near Ayalon, presumably by the men of Milkilu, prince of Gazru (Gezer) and the sons of Lab'ayu of Šakmu (Shekhem). The king of Gezer was ruler of Aijalon, scene of similar events in the Roman and Crusader periods and in the nineteenth century, described below. The passage is of interest for its combined reference to Ayalon, Gezer and Jerusalem and the control of traffic to Jerusalem. This is the only document which certainly refers to events on one of the roads under discussion. Another letter, EA 290, may also be relevant. The ruler of Jerusalem complains that Milkilu and Shuwardata took Rubutu (a city between Gezer and Jerusalem) and another belonging to Jerusalem, named Bit-NINURTA. It has been suggested that the latter was Beit Horon.²⁸

However, many of the Amarna letters contain similar information about raids.²⁹ This is the first instance of a problem which was endemic in every period of diminished central control: the upsurge of banditry on the roads which made regular commercial

²⁷ EA no.287, 50-60 as translated in *ANET*³, p.488, with minor corrections based on the recent French translation by W.L. Moran, *Les lettres d'el-Amarna* (1987), 510-12. Cf. N. Na'aman, *The Political Disposition and Historical Development of Eretz-Israel according to the Amarna Letters* (Ph.D. thesis, Tel Aviv, 1973, Heb.), 39*f.; 90 f.; A. Altman, *Bar-Ilan* 14/15 (1977), 1 - 29.

²⁸ Z. Kallai & H. Tadmor, *EI* 9 (1969), 138-147; cf. N. Na'aman, *Tarbiz* 55 (1986, Heb.), 470.

²⁹ No. 244, op.cit., p.485: Lab'ayu plunders Magidda (Megiddo). No. 250: his sons and Milkilu plunder the northern coastal plain. Nos. 252- 254: Lab'ayu protests innocence. His son who associated with the 'Apiru was handed over. Nos. 270f.: Milkilu protests his innocence, makes various complaints and claims that he himself was attacked by the 'Apiru.

and economic activity difficult or even impossible.³⁰ Local rulers often condoned or even organized the brigands, as in the present case.

The Wars of the Maccabees

George Adam Smith observes: 'it was in the time of the Maccabean wars and in the time of the Crusades that this part of the Shephelah was most famously contested ... The battles rolled - for the battles in the Shephelah were always rolling battles - between Beit-horon and Gezer...' The Maccabean revolt broke out in Modi'in, a village in the Shephelah on the Beit Horon road.³¹ One of Judas Maccabeus' first two successes against the Seleucid army at the beginning of the war took place on the ascent of Beit Horon.³²

'As he [sc. Seron] approached the ascent of Beit Horon Judas advanced towards him with a small number of men. When they saw the army coming against them they said to Judas: "How can we with such a small number fight against such a powerful and numerous army?"³³ ...' Having spoken Judas suddenly attacked and Seron and his army were defeated by his blows. They pursued them along the descent of Beit Horon down to the plain. Some eight hundred men fell and the remainder fled to the land of the Philistines.³⁴

Judah the Maccabee, apparently, ambushed the enemy while he was engaged in climbing the narrow pass, where there was no room for manoeuvring. The rout which then followed took the armies down the descent of Beit Horon, a glorious success which reminded the Jews of biblical victories, as shown perhaps by the evocative term: 'the land of the Philistines.'³⁵

³⁰ Cf. Isaac, *Limits of Empire*, 60-7; 77-89; 91-9.

³¹ See below, Gazetteer s.v. and fig. 8.

³² 1 Macc. 3, 13-26; Jos. *Ant.* xii 7,1 (287-92). Cf. F.-M. Abel, *RB* 32(1923), 503 f.; O. Plöger, *ZDPV* 74(1958), 158-88, esp 162 f.; B. Bar-Kochva, *PEQ* 108(1976), 13-21; id., *Judas Maccabaeus: The Jewish Struggle Against the Seleucids* (1989), 207-218. For the discussion here, see the maps of this segment of the road.

³³ 1 Macc. 3, 16f.

³⁴ 1 Macc. 3, 23f.

³⁵ According to Abel, *Livres des Maccabées*, 60 n. For a different view: Bar-Kochva, *Judas Maccabaeus*, 217 f.

Emmaus is first mentioned as the site of the victory of Judas Maccabaeus over Gorgias, who had placed his camp there in 166/5 BC (see fig. 12 for Emmaus and vicinity).³⁶ The advantages of a camp at this spot for an army moving towards Jerusalem are clear: it is a well-watered site in a fertile region and one which occupies a central position near both main roads from Jaffa to Jerusalem.³⁷ Abel has suggested that the most likely route for Judas to have followed was that through Biddu and Abu Ghosh.³⁸ This would have allowed him to approach the Seleucid camp from the south without being noticed. Following the first successful encounter, the Seleucid troops were pursued as far as 'Gazer, the plains of Idumaea, Azotus and Jamnia.'³⁹

Judas' last successes, in 161 BC, were again achieved along the Beit Horon road to Jerusalem (see fig. 10). 1 Maccabees and Josephus describe the first engagement between Judas and Nicanor as taking place at a 'village called Khapharsalama' (Macc.) or Kapharsalama (Josephus).⁴⁰ Nicanor was defeated and withdrew to Jerusalem. According to these sources this preceded the battle at Adasa. The ensuing victory followed a familiar pattern: Nicanor was encamped at Beit Horon and Judas at Adasa, a site near the junction of the Beit Horon road with the Jerusalem - Neapolis

³⁶ 1 Macc. 3, 38-41; 4, 1-25; 2 Macc. 8, 12-36; Jos. *Ant.* xii 7,3 (298f.); 4 (305-12). Comments by L.-H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Emmaüs, sa basilique et son histoire* (1932), 287-9; id., *RB* 32(1923), 505-9; *Livres des Maccabées*, 66 n.; Bar-Kochva, *Judas Maccabaeus*, 243-74, with comments on the site of the camp. For the chronology: Schürer, *History of the Jewish People* i (1973), 160 n. 58.

³⁷ Part III, Gazetteer. s.v. Emmaus.

³⁸ Abel, *RB* 32(1923), 507. This route was followed in the opposite direction, by British troops in 1917, as described below.

³⁹ 1 Macc. 4,15.

⁴⁰ 1 Macc. 7,31; Josephus, *Ant.* xii 10,4 (405). For the site, Gazetteer, s.v. Kh. 'Id (Kh. Salma, Kefar Salama). The parallel source, 2 Macc.14, 16 mentions a preliminary skirmish at 'Dessau', thought by some to represent a scribal error for 'Adasa'. It is a matter of dispute whether one, two or three battles were actually fought. Cf. 1 Macc.9,5 which mentions Elasa. For discussion, Gazetteer s.v. Adasa.

road.⁴¹ The enemy was defeated and pursued all the way to the plain, from Adasa to Gezer.⁴² Although there are problems of interpretation, there can be no doubt that this pursuit took place along the Beit Horon road.

In 160 BC the Seleucid general Bacchides built several forts to check the operations of Jonathan, the brother of Judas.⁴³

And he returned to Jerusalem and strongly fortified [a number of] towns in Judaea: the forts at Jericho, Emmaus, Beit Horon, Beit El, Thamnatha of Pharathon,⁴⁴ and Tephon, with high walls, gates, and bars. And he placed in these garrisons to intimidate Israel. And he fortified the towns of Beit Zur, Gazara and the Acra [i.e. the citadel of Jerusalem] placing there forces and stores of victuals.

The passage distinguishes between two kinds

of forts: the first, in so far as they can be identified,⁴⁵ were sited on strategic spots controlling the main roads to Jerusalem, but they were not important as settlements. The second group were significant towns in their own right. Thus we see that, in the first half of the second century BC, Gezer was still the more significant place,⁴⁶ while Emmaus is listed because of its strategic site. The presence of a strong garrison at all these forts would have meant that Jerusalem and its vicinity were cut off from the rest of Judaea. We have already discussed the function of such forts above. The other point of interest here is the similarity between the measures taken by Bacchides in 160 BC and those of Vespasian and Titus in AD 69-70, described below. A number of the sites are also mentioned in relevant Talmudic sources relating to the First Revolt and the Bar Kokhba war.

Simon the Maccabee (143/2-135/4 BC) 'built up Adida in the Shephelah and fortified it, erecting gates and bars.'⁴⁷ Hadid is a strong site on a hill-top near Lydda. Simon fortified it as part of his campaign to control access to Jerusalem - a campaign which included the conquest of Gezer, Beit-Zur, Jaffa, and the fortress in Jerusalem itself. At the time of the expedition into Judaea made by Tryphon, Simon descended from Jerusalem and 'made his camp at Adida on the edge of the plain.'⁴⁸

The Hasmonaeans in their quest for a link with the sea consistently aimed at control of Jaffa. In 147-6 BC Jonathan expelled the garrison of Demetrius II from the town.⁴⁹ Some time afterwards, Simon Maccabaeus captured the city, established a garrison there and expelled its inhabitants.⁵⁰ He made it his sea port⁵¹ and fortified the town.⁵² In the subsequent

⁴¹ There are three sites with a suitable name in the area, see Gazetteer s.v. Adasa for the sources and discussion. The northern site is the only one lying near an important ancient crossroads. The western site lies near the junction of the Beitunia-Biddu and al-Jib -- ar-Ram roads. Neither of these is known to be ancient, but this consideration need not be decisive. For the Jerusalem - Neapolis road: G. Dalman, *PJB* 21(1925), 58-89.

⁴² 1 Macc. 7,39; 45; Jos., *Ant.* xii 10,5(406-11). The site of Judas Maccabaeus' last battle, near his camp at Elasa, may have been to the south of modern Ramalla, south-west of al-Bira, cf. Bar-Kochva, *Judas Maccabaeus*, 386-8.

⁴³ 1 Macc. 9, 50-3. for further discussion, see Appendix I to Chapter II.

⁴⁴ 'Thamnatha of Pharathon' because καὶ τὴν is missing between these two names. It is therefore a compound name, indicating that this is not the well-known Thamnatha on the Antipatris - Gophna road in southern Samaria (Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer*, 100, s.v. Thamna I), but another place, perhaps to be identified with Kh. et-Tabbāna, overlooking the Jerusalem - Beit Guvrin road where it starts the descent to the Valley of Elah. For this site cf. *Department of Antiquities, Geographical List of the Record Files 1918-1948* (1976), 165. The reading of 1 Macc. 9,50 is to be preferred to that of Jos. *Ant.* xiii 1,3 (15): ...καὶ Θαμναθὰ καὶ Φαραθῶ... See too Appendix iii to Part III.

⁴⁵ Cf. the comments by Abel, *Livres des Maccabées*, 172; Avi-Yonah, *The Holy Land* (1977), 53 f. The only excavated fort that can be assigned to these years with any degree of probability is Kh. Aqed near Emmaus (see Gazetteer).

⁴⁶ See Gazetteer, s.v.

⁴⁷ 1 Macc. 12,38: Καὶ Σίμων ᾠκοδόμησε τὴν Ἀδιδα ἐν τῷ Σεφηλα καὶ ὠχύρωσεν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐπέστησε θύραν καὶ μοχλοῦς. See Gazetteer, s.v. el Haditha.

⁴⁸ 1 Macc. 13,13: Σίμων δὲ παρενέβαλεν ἐν Ἀδίδοις κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ πεδίου.

⁴⁹ 1 Macc. 10, 75f.

⁵⁰ 1 Macc. 12, 33-4; 13, 11-12.

⁵¹ 1 Macc. 14, 5.

struggles Jaffa again appears as a major target for the various parties.⁵³ The city remained in Jewish hands, however,⁵⁴ since it is attested as being under Jewish control during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus.

In 38 BC the Roman commander Machaeras, lieutenant of Ventidius, went up to Jerusalem with two legions and a thousand horse and then withdrew to the city (πὸ λῆς) of Emmaus.⁵⁵ His route is not indicated - he may have chosen the Beit Horon road or the Abu Ghosh road - but in both cases the siting of Emmaus at a nodal point in the road-system is clear.

Guerrilla Warfare

With the conquest of Jaffa, Jewish control of the roads from Jerusalem to the sea was complete. The warfare which occurred in the subsequent period took place elsewhere, and for the next two centuries there are no reports of major campaigns along the roads discussed in this book. There is, however, some evidence of a different sort of fighting in times of unrest, which did not involve large forces. Josephus tells us that during the troubles following Herod's death, a company of Roman soldiers was attacked near Emmaus: that is, in roughly the same area where similar events are recorded in the Amarna documents of the fourteenth century BC.⁵⁶ The company was on its way to Jerusalem bringing grain and arms to the garrison in Jerusalem. The commanding centurion and forty men were killed, the remainder being saved by Gratus with his Sebastene troops. Josephus says this sort of attack was typical of the unrest in this period, and this is very likely, for the incident has all the characteristics of this kind of fighting. The attackers would have gained the food and arms conveyed by the troops for themselves, while denying it to the legion in Jerusalem. Both major roads to Jerusalem enter the hill country near Emmaus, so this would have been a good place for attacks on detached Roman forces. The Roman punitive measures are equally characteristic: the town of Emmaus was burned at the orders of the

governor of Syria, Quintilius Varus,⁵⁷ for the Romans held the local population collectively responsible for guerrilla attacks in the countryside.⁵⁸

Josephus mentions another incident on the Beit Horon road, about 18 km. from Jerusalem, i.e. near Lower Beit Horon: Stephen, a slave of the emperor was attacked and robbed 'on the public highway'. The governor Cumanus then sent troops to sack the neighbouring villages and to arrest the local leaders.⁵⁹ The sequel is well known: one of the soldiers desecrated a *Torah* Scroll, which caused very serious tension between the Jews and the Roman authorities all over the province. It is interesting to note that the road is called τῇν δημοσίαν ὁδόν in both sources. If used in a formal sense, this expression shows that the road was considered a Roman state road in Josephus' time.⁶⁰ The essence of a state road, in Roman terms, is that the soil is state property and that everybody is allowed to use it. The presence of Roman milestones along the main roads, discussed in this book, shows that this was certainly the case by the time the stones were set up.⁶¹

Cestius Gallus, AD 66

The march to Jerusalem in 66 undertaken by Cestius Gallus, governor of Syria, and his disastrous withdrawal, both via the Beit Horon road, are the subject of the last description in the literature of great Jewish victories along this road. Josephus gives a lengthy description of the campaign and its stages, but his account is not sufficiently precise to determine the exact location of all the major events. Consequently there has been much discussion of Josephus' account

⁵² *ibid.*, 34.

⁵³ 1 Macc. 15, 28-30; 31; 35; *Ant.* xiii 8,3(246) and cf. Schürer, *History*, ii, 112.

⁵⁴ Josephus, *Ant.* xiii 15,4(395), lists it among the cities held by the Jews under Alexander Jannaeus.

⁵⁵ *Ant.* xiv 15,7 (436).

⁵⁶ *Ant.* xvii 10, 7 (282 f.); *BJ* ii 4,1 (63). On guerrilla fighting in Judaea in this period: Isaac, *Limits of Empire*, 78-83.

⁵⁷ *Ant.* xvii 10, 9 (291); *BJ* ii 5,1 (71).

⁵⁸ Ulpian describes the duties of the proconsul as follows: 'He must besides pursuing temple robbers, kidnappers and thieves, mete out to each of them the punishment he deserves and chastise people sheltering them; without them a robber cannot hide for very long.' *Digest* i 18, 13, Praef.

⁵⁹ *Ant.* xx 5,4 (113 ff.); *BJ* ii 12,2 (228).

⁶⁰ For δημοσία ὁδός = *via publica*: *IGLS* iv 1347; *BE* 1958. 341; Preisigke, s.v. For the legal status of public highways: T. Pekáry, *Untersuchungen zu den römischen Reichsstrassen* (1968), 1-7; *RE* Supp. vii, s.v. '*viae publicae*'.

⁶¹ In Judaea milestones appear in large numbers under Hadrian and afterwards: Isaac, *Limits of Empire*, 109-111, but so far no Hadrianic milestones have been found along the Beit Horon road.

and the topography.⁶² We shall not reiterate the various views on every problem. For the present chapter it will suffice to indicate what Josephus' description adds to our understanding of the course of the road and its use by large forces, and we shall note observations we made in the field where these are relevant.

The approach to Jerusalem started with a combined operation by land and sea against Jaffa.⁶³ The main body, almost 30,000 men altogether,⁶⁴ marched from Caesarea to Lydda via Antipatris.⁶⁵ The tower of Afeq, a stronghold near Antipatris,⁶⁶ various villages, and Lydda itself were set on fire. From Lydda the army took the Beit Horon road to Gabao (Gibeon) where it pitched camp. Josephus then describes an attack on the van of the Roman forces which was almost successful, and an attack by Simon bar Gioras on the rear-guard as it was mounting towards Beit

Horon.⁶⁷ This resulted in the capture of many of the baggage-mules.⁶⁸ Cestius Gallus pitched his next camp on Mt. Scopus. Following his failure to take Jerusalem, he made his way back to the camp at Gibeon under continuous harassment.⁶⁹ After two days rest the army killed most of the pack-animals, except those carrying artillery equipment, and then started the descent along the Beit Horon road which developed into a rout.

Cestius led his army on towards Beit Horon. On the open ground the Jews assaulted the army less, but, once the Romans were crowded together where the road is narrow and steep,⁷⁰ part of them [sc. the Jews] went

⁶² T. Oelgarte, *PJb* 14(1918), 73-89, esp. 84-89; A. Alt, *PJb* 23(1927), 23-28; S. Applebaum, *Prolegomena to the Study of the Second Jewish Revolt* (1976), 36 f.; Bar-Kochva, *PEQ* 108(1976), 13-21; M. Gichon, *PEQ* 113(1981), 39-62.

⁶³ *BJ* ii 18,10 (507-8).

⁶⁴ According to Josephus, *BJ* ii 18,9(500 f.), the army consisted of the entire *Legio XII Fulminata*, 2000 men from other Syrian legions, 6 cohorts and 4 *alae*, 2000 cavalry and 3000 infantry, most archers from Antiochus of Commagene, less than 1000 cavalry and 3000 infantry from Agrippa II, 3000 infantry and 1000 cavalry from Soaemus of Emesa, most of them archers and militia-men from various cities. Cf. I. Shatzman in U. Rappaport (ed.), *Judaea and Rome: The Jewish Revolts* (Jerusalem 1983, Heb.), 304 f.

⁶⁵ *BJ* ii 19,1 (513 f.). This was preceded by a battle on Mt Asamon and the ravaging of Nabatene. All attempts to determine the ratio of Jews and gentiles living at Antipatris on the strength of this passage are singularly futile. All that can be said is that the Jews in the vicinity thought that they were sufficient in number to put up effective resistance against a major Roman force - until they actually saw it coming.

⁶⁶ The Tower of Afeq is a fort on the edge of the Samarian hills overlooking the narrow defile between these hills and the headwaters of the Yarkon river. On the site are the remains of a large building which includes parts of the Crusader castle Mirabel; cf. F.-M. Abel, *RB* 36(1927), 397 ff.; M. Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land* (1970), 194-6.

⁶⁷ *BJ* ii 19,2 (517-22). It is not quite clear when this fighting took place; whether it was at the time when Cestius Gallus was moving towards Gibeon, q.v. Bar-Kochva, *PEQ* 108(1976), 18, or the next day, when he was on his way from Gibeon to Jerusalem, q.v. Gichon, op.cit., 52 f., fig.4. In this case it is not clear how the rear-guard could have been on its way to Beit Horon. The march route through Wadi Beit Hanina (Nahal Soreq) proposed by Gichon, does not seem convincing to us. The valley is rather narrow, and of a kind usually avoided by Roman roads, while the course followed by the regular Roman road is far more suitable for military transport. We did not find remains of an ancient road in the Wadi Beit Hanina. Oelgarte, op.cit., 85, misunderstood the text as referring to a withdrawal by Cestius Gallus from Gibeon to Upper Beit Horon.

⁶⁸ This is one of the passages which show that the Roman army marching in the Judaeian mountains had no wheeled vehicles at its disposal in the first century AD.

⁶⁹ 19,7 (540-4). The victims included the legate of Legio VI Ferrata, a tribune, and a prefect of an *ala*.

⁷⁰ Bar-Kochva, art.cit., 19 n.23, prefers to read τῇν κατὰ τὰ στενὰ κατὰ βᾶσιν following PAL Lat., contrary to Niese: εἰς τὰ στενὰ καὶ τὴν κατὰ βᾶσιν, translating 'the descent under the narrows'; similarly: Oelgarte, op.cit., 86. Bar-Kochva makes this refer to 'the pass between Upper Beit Horon and Sheikh Abu Shusha' which must be a misunderstanding of the topography, for Sheikh Abu Shusha is a sheikh's tomb in the village of Upper Beit Horon. Note the suggestion that an alternative track through Wadi Suleiman and the village of Tira was followed as far as Upper Beit Horon, first raised as a possibility but rejected by Applebaum, *Prolegomena*, 37; then accepted as most likely by Gichon, fig. 3 on p.50 and pp. 58f. Having walked the entire stretch we concluded that the route through Tira would not have

ahead of them and blocked their passage, others pushed the rearguard down into the ravine, while the main body lined up above the narrow part of the route and covered the column with missiles. Here, while even the infantry defended themselves with difficulty, the danger to the cavalry was even more menacing, for they could not advance in an orderly manner down the road while being fired upon, and to attack the enemy uphill was impossible for cavalry. On the other side⁷¹ were cliffs and ravines and those who fell perished. There was no way of escaping nor any idea of defending themselves...

Towards evening the Roman troops found refuge in (Lower?) Beit Horon.⁷² Despite Jewish efforts to hem in the Roman camp from all sides, the Roman troops managed to advance without being noticed during the night, but at daybreak the Jews followed them. The Romans were pursued as far as Antipatris; 5300 infantry were killed and 480 cavalry. Most of the Roman artillery was captured by the Jews.

The precise location of the attacks during the descent, as described by Josephus, has been subject of some discussion. We have not come up with any new information which could decide the matter. It is, however, clear that the Roman suffered most when they were first attacked on the ascent between Lower and Upper Beit Horon. They were then attacked twice while withdrawing: first between Jerusalem and Gibeon, and then while descending towards Lower Beit Horon. We would argue that Josephus' account is not as precise as modern topographers might desire, but, if carefully interpreted, is not inconsistent. As summed up by Applebaum: 'what is described is a real tactical situation, wherever it actually occurred, which involved the attack on a column from the rear and flanks in a defile. Neither the infantry nor the cavalry can deploy; the archers are either unexploited due to the confusion and lack of ability of the commander, or themselves infected by general demoralization. For final protection

been practicable.

⁷¹ Not 'on both sides' as translated by Bar-Kochva, which, as he himself notices, does not make very good sense. τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ θάτερα means 'on the other side'.

⁷² (550). Oelgarte, op.cit., 88 and Gichon, op.cit., 59, take this as referring to Upper Beit Horon.

the Roman force has to utilize the defensive capabilities of a Jewish upland village.⁷³

We should note the importance of Antipatris, first as a staging post, then as a refuge for the fleeing troops. Below it will be seen that Vespasian also halted there. Antipatris was the main road-station for everybody travelling from Caesarea or Galilee to Jerusalem. It was also the main crossroads of the southern Sharon.⁷⁴ Talmudic sources explicitly mention Kefar Otnai (Caparcotna, Legio) and Antipatris as the two corresponding halting places in the north and south for Jews travelling from Galilee to Judaea or vice versa.⁷⁵

The final point to be noted here is that there is no explicit record of any major army in antiquity ever using the southern road from Lydda to Jerusalem, through Abu Ghosh, even though its existence as a road is attested for all periods. The reason is clear: the Abu Ghosh road was important as an alternative route for individual travellers in peace-time, but quite impracticable for large-scale troop movements, or for the transportation of heavy baggage. Those marching from the plain to Jerusalem tended to use the Beit Horon road as the lesser evil - the secondary roads discussed in Part II were even more impracticable. We know of six different occasions when Jewish troops pursued vanquished enemies down the Beit Horon road, but most of these were far apart in time, apart from the battle of Adasa, which was separated from Seron's defeat by less than five years. Titus, however, apparently decided not to make the same mistake in AD 70, for he approached Jerusalem by way of a more northerly route through Gophna.⁷⁶

Vespasian and Titus, AD 67-70

In the spring of 68 Vespasian 'marched from Caesarea to Antipatris where he restored order in town in two days. On the third day he marched on, destroying and burning all places in the vicinity. Having subdued the region of the toparchy of Thamna

⁷³ Loc.cit.

⁷⁴ I. Roll in M. Kochavi and P. Beck (eds.), *Aphek-Antipatris*, i (forthcoming).

⁷⁵ M. Gittin 7,7; Tos. Gittin 7,9 (Zuckermann, 331); BT Gittin 76a and parallels. See also the summary of the history and archaeology of the town by M. Kochavi, *Biblical Archaeologist* (1981), 75-86.

⁷⁶ BJ v 2,1 (50). For this road: I. Finkelstein in M. Broshi et al. (eds.), *Between Hermon and Sinai* (1977, Heb.), 171-180; I. Roll and E. Ayalon, *PEQ* 118(1986), 121, 125.

he went to Lydda and Iamnia. In both cities which he had subjected before he settled a considerable number of Jews who had surrendered and next he came to Emmaus. He occupied the passes leading to the capital,⁷⁷ built a fortified camp and, leaving the fifth legion there, marched to the toparchy of Beitleptenpha. He destroyed with fire this and the neighbouring district and reinforced suitable strongholds in the vicinity of Idumaea.⁷⁸

Having completed his operations in Idumaea he left forces there which ravaged the region.

'Vespasian returned with the remainder of his army to Emmaus, from where he [marched] through Samaria past so-called Neapolis, named Mabatha by the local population, and descended to Corea. There he encamped on 2 Daesius [i.e. 20 June 68] and the following day he reached Jericho where he met with Traianus, one of his officers who commanded the troops from Peraea, for the lands across the Jordan were already subjugated.'⁷⁸

'Vespasian who blockaded those in Jerusalem on all sides built camps in Jericho and Adida and placed garrisons from the Roman and allied troops in both. He also sent Lucius Annius to Gerasa with a unit of cavalry and a large body of infantry. He stormed the town and took it... Since the war now encompassed all the hill-country and the coastal plain those in Jerusalem were cut off in all directions.'⁷⁹

These passages describe the preparations for the siege of Jerusalem. Vespasian first subjugated the regions west, south, and north of the city, in that order. From his base at Emmaus 'he occupied the passes leading to the capital.' This clearly refers to the Beit Horon road, the Abu Ghosh road, and the minor routes to Jerusalem from the west. The headquarters of the *V Macedonica* were established at Emmaus (see Gazetteer).

Vespasian then moved to the Jordan valley in a wide arc through Neapolis (Nablus), avoiding the dangerous Beit Horon road - he must have learnt of Cestius Gallus' misfortune. He then established garrisons at Jericho and Adida. The site of the latter is

⁷⁷ 'their capital' i.e. that of the Jews, Jerusalem.

⁷⁸ BJ iv 8,1 (443-50). See the entries on Emmaus and Hadid in the Gazetteer.

⁷⁹ BJ iv 9,1 (486-90). For the identification of Gerasa, see the entry on Gezer in the Gazetteer.

described below (Gazetteer, s.v. el Haditha). It is a commanding hill-top overlooking the coastal plain near Lydda, at the point where one of the branches of the Beit Horon road enters the hill-country. Thus army units blocked the road to Jerusalem from the east through Jericho and both major routes from the west: the Lydda - Emmaus - Jerusalem road and the Lydda - Beit Horon - Jerusalem road. The legion at Emmaus, the regional headquarters, would further have controlled the Ayalon Valley and the smaller unit at Adida/Hadid the plain around Lydda.⁸⁰

In 70 Titus, on the march to Jerusalem, ordered the fifth legion and tenth legion to join him from Emmaus and Jericho respectively.⁸¹ Josephus does not tell how the fifth and tenth legions went up to Jerusalem, but Titus himself, like Vespasian before him, again avoided the Beit Horon road, choosing instead a more northerly route, through Gophna,⁸² perhaps for the same reason.

After the First Revolt

A Talmudic passage seems to echo Josephus' statement that Vespasian 'blockaded those in Jerusalem.'

Vespasianus Caesar placed guards at eighteen miles from Pomais [=Emmaus?]⁸³ and they would ask pilgrims and say 'To whom do you belong?' and they would say: 'To Vespasian, to Trajan, to Hadrian.'

The historical context is not entirely clear, for the reference to pilgrims suggests policing in peacetime. However, it is tempting to think there is a connection between these guards and the military units which were apparently stationed at Emmaus for some time after the suppression of the First Revolt. As noted in the Gazetteer, although no actual military base has been found at or near Emmaus itself, the inscriptions found there strongly suggest that there was a long-term military presence on the spot after the First Revolt. It is certainly clear that this passage reflects Roman

⁸⁰ For the theory of A. Schlatter, *ZDPV* 19(1896), 221, see Gazetteer s.v. el-Haditha. For the Roman forces in this campaign: Shatzman in *Judaea and Rome*, 317-23.

⁸¹ BJ v 1,6 (42); 2,3 (67).

⁸² BJ v 2,1 (50 f.).

⁸³ Lamentations Rabbah i, 52. Pomais: cf. ed. Buber, p.80. S. Klein, *Sefer ha-Yishuv*, 5, interprets this as a reference to Emmaus, Buber as referring to 'Pamias', i.e. 'Paneas'. Cf. Gazetteer, s.v. Emmaus.

methods of monitoring traffic to Jerusalem.

This source reminds us of another passage, related to the Second Revolt.

Hadrian - may his bones be crushed - stationed three guard posts, one at Hamatha [Emmaus],⁸⁴ one at Kefar Leqitia, and one at Beit El of Judah, and he said: 'anyone who tries to escape here will be caught here, and anyone who tries to escape there will be caught there.'

Unlike the previous source, this obviously refers to a state of war. In both sources Emmaus seems to be prominent as the major station on the roads to Jerusalem from the west. Beit El lies on the Jerusalem - Neapolis road. The Buber edition of *Lamentations Rabbah*, based on the Rome MS has (p.82): 'one at Hamath Gader, and one at Bethlehem, and one at Kefar Leqitia'. Hamath Gader makes no sense in the present context, for it is far from the area of the revolt, but Bethlehem controls the Jerusalem - Hebron road. While Kefar Leqitia cannot be identified, all the other places mentioned in one version or the other make geographical sense in a passage describing a series of roadblocks around the Jerusalem region. Both passages appear to be lively descriptions of the policy which Josephus describes as 'occupying the passes to Jerusalem'.

In 70 the headquarters of *Legio X Fretensis* was established in Jerusalem to guard the former centre of the revolt. This is stated explicitly by Josephus on three occasions.⁸⁵ It also follows from the text of a diploma from AD 93,⁸⁶ and is clear from inscriptions and numerous legionary stamped bricks found in the town.⁸⁷ Although Jerusalem after the First Revolt had lost, for the time being, its significance as the largest city of the region, the roads which linked it with the coast retained their importance to the Roman government because they linked the legionary

headquarters with the provincial capital. There is no further information in the literary sources about the means whereby the Roman army policed the region after the revolt. The epigraphic information is presented in the Gazetteer and discussed in the last part.

However, Josephus' statement regarding the settlement of 800 veterans at Ammaus is relevant.

'About the same time Caesar sent instructions to Bassus and Laberius Maximus, the procurator, to dispose of all Jewish land. For he founded there no city of his own while keeping their territory, but he merely assigned a place for settlement called Ammaus, which lies at a distance of thirty stades from Jerusalem, to eight hundred veterans.'⁸⁸

As argued in the entry on Motza, there can be no doubt that this settlement is to be sought at Motza (Qaluniya), a site near the Roman bridge across Nahal Soreq (fig. 17). We have no explicit information about the aim of this foundation, apart from the obvious fact that it would have been a cheap method of rewarding discharged veterans,⁸⁹ but it cannot be denied that the establishment of 800 former soldiers with their families at a key-spot along the Abu Ghosh road must have had an impact on the security situation for some time.

There is no further information in the written sources on any use by military forces of the Jaffa - Jerusalem roads in antiquity. *Legio X Fretensis* is attested at Aela (Aqaba) on the Gulf of Elath/Aqaba in the late third or early fourth century.⁹⁰ In the late fourth

⁸⁴ *Lamentations Rabbah* i, 45.

⁸⁵ Josephus, *BJ* vii 1, 1 (1); 2 (5); 1, 3 (17). See also *Vita* 76, 422.

⁸⁶ *IJS* 9059: 'qui militaverunt Hierosolymis in legione X Fretense.'

⁸⁷ Inscriptions: e.g. *AE* 1978, 825; *CIL* iii 12080 a; 13587 (vexillation of III Cvr., AD 116/7). Stamped bricks: D. Barag, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 167 (1967), 244-67. The archaeological evidence does not provide clear information on how the legion was encamped in the city. Cf. H. Geva, *IEJ* 34 (1984), 239-54 with comments by Isaac, *Limits of Empire*, 427 f.

⁸⁸ Josephus, *BJ* vii 6,6 (217). More about this passage in the Gazetteer s.v. Motza. Cf. B. Isaac, *JJS* 35 (1984), 44-50.

⁸⁹ On this subject in general: Isaac, *Limits of Empire*, Chapter VII: The Military Function of Roman Veteran Colonies.

⁹⁰ The legion is still attested at Jerusalem by city-coins of Herennius Etruscus (AD 250-251) and Hostilian (AD 251): *BMC, Palestine*, p.100, no.104; Y. Meshorer, *The Coinage of Aelia Capitolina* (1989), p.114, nos. 168-70 (Herennius Etruscus); *ibid.*, p.116, nos. 179, 181, 182 (Hostilian). Eusebius, *Onomasticon* 6, 17-20 (Klostermann), mentions the legion as based at Aela on the Red Sea in his time (c. 260-c. 340); also: *Comm. in Ezech.* 47,18 (Glorie); *Not. Dig. Or.* xxxiv 30. For a recent tetrarchic or Constantinian inscription from the excavations at 'Aqaba' R.G. Khouri and D. Whitecomb, *Aqaba Port of Palestine on the China Sea* (Ammann 1988), 16. Discussion by E.A. Knauf and C.H. Brooker, *ZDPV*

century Jerome mentions the presence of an *ala* in Jerusalem.⁹¹ The *Notitia Dignitatum Orientis* lists three units in the region of Palaestina Prima: the *Equites Mauri Illyriciani* at Aelia, a *Cohors I Salutaria* between Aelia and Jericho, and the *Equites scutarii Illyriciani* at Chermula (Carmel).⁹²

In the Later Roman Empire troops were apparently no longer needed between Jaffa and Jerusalem. West of Jerusalem, Christian, Samaritan and Jewish bandits infested the area of Emmaus/Nicopolis, according to John Moschus.⁹³ The point of Moschus' story is not the presence of bandits, which was in itself unremarkable, but the collaboration of bandits of different persuasions. Yet this is also a rare reference to banditry in the densely populated parts of the country in this period. There is far more evidence of banditry in the sparsely occupied areas, for instance those east of Jerusalem, where, as we have noted, there was a cohort stationed.⁹⁴ It is, however, interesting to note that it was precisely in this area that similar activities were recorded in the Amarna documents of the early fourteenth century BC, in Josephus, (referring to the first century AD), and, as will be seen below, again in the period of the Crusaders.

The Moslem sources on Amawas or 'Imwas (Nicopolis) will be cited below.⁹⁵ As noted there, the town was apparently the location of a major camp of the Moslem army, for a plague which struck the troops and claimed the lives of many soldiers in 639 is called the Plague of 'Amwas.

It is not until the Crusader period that large armies are again reported between Jaffa and Jerusalem.

104 (1988), 179-181.

⁹¹ Jerome, *ep.*, 58, 4.4: 'Si crucis et resurrectionis loca non essent in urbe celeberrima, in qua curia, in qua ala militum, in qua scorta, mimi, scurrae et omnia quae solent esse in ceteribus urbibus...'

⁹² *Not. Dig. Or.* xxxiv, 21, 48 and 20.

⁹³ *Pratum spirituale*, ch. 95, PG lxxxvii 3, 3032.

⁹⁴ At Ma'ale Adumim (Qala'at ed Damm). Jerome mentions highwaymen on the Jerusalem-Jericho road in his translation of Eusebius' *Onomasticon*, 25, 9 ff. and in *Ep.* 108, 12, referring to 'the fort with soldiers located there for the protection of travellers'.

⁹⁵ Also: L.-H. Vincent, L.-H. and A.-M. Abel, *Emmaüs, sa basilique et son histoire* (1932), 356-8; 420f.

The information on this period is relatively good and will be discussed below in the chapters devoted to the periods following the Moslem conquest.

The Use of the Roads by Civilians

The first reference to transport along any of the roads to Jerusalem in peace time is the transportation on a cart of the Holy Ark in the direction of Jerusalem.⁹⁶

The second book of Samuel describes the events as follows: 'After that David again summoned the picked men of Israel, thirty thousand in all, and went with the whole army to Baalath-judah to fetch the Ark of God .. They mounted the Ark of God on a new cart and conveyed it from the house of Abinadab on the hill, with Uzzah and Ahio, sons of Abinadab, guiding the cart. They took it with the Ark of God upon it from Abinadab's house on the hill, with Ahio walking in front. David and all Israel danced for joy before the Lord without restraint to the sound of singing, of harps and lutes, of tambourines and castanets and cymbals. But when they came to a certain threshing floor, the oxen stumbled, and Uzzah reached out to the Ark of God and took hold of it. The Lord was angry with Uzzah and struck him down there for his rash act...'

This is a rare description of heavy transport from Abu Ghosh towards Jerusalem and the only passage which mentions wheeled transportation in this region. It is immediately clear how difficult it was to convey a heavy load along this road.⁹⁷

Jewish Pilgrimage to Jerusalem before AD 70⁹⁸

In the Second Temple period tens of thousands of Jews made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem three times a year: at Pesah, Shavuot and Sukkot. It is impossible to estimate how many people from Judaea and the Diaspora filled the city on those occasions, but

⁹⁶ 2 Sam. 6, 1 ff.; 1 Chron. 13, 6 ff. The description in 2 Sam. may belong to a relatively late date.

⁹⁷ For means of transportation in the early first millennium BC: M.A. Littauer and J.H. Crowell, *Wheeled Vehicles and Ridden Animals in the Ancient Near East* (1979), 99 ff.

⁹⁸ J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* (1969); S. Safrai, *Die Wallfahrt im Zeitalter des Zweiten Tempels* (1981).

it is clear that the number was very large. 'Thousands of people from thousands of cities come to the Temple, some over land, others over sea, from east, west, north and south at every feast.'⁹⁹ Josephus reckons that there were 2,700,000 Jews present in Jerusalem at Passover 68.¹⁰⁰ Even if this number is not accurate, it does at least indicate the scale of pilgrimage. The Babylonian Jews would deposit the two-drachm coins for the Temple in Jerusalem at Nehardea and (Babylonian) Nisibis.¹⁰¹ From there these were sent to Jerusalem, by a convoy of 'tens of thousands of Jews'.¹⁰² Herod established Zamaris in Batanaea with his settlers from Babylonia for a dual purpose: to protect both the local population and the pilgrims who came from Babylonia to Jerusalem against banditry from Trachonitis.¹⁰³ And we have already noted that when Cestius Gallus reached Lydda in AD 68 he found the town virtually abandoned because the entire population had gone up to Jerusalem for Sukkot.¹⁰⁴

The impact on the commerce and economy of the city must have been considerable. Large-scale preparations were necessary: lodgings, water and food had to be supplied and the road-system organized. Talmudic passages refer explicitly to the latter:

'On the first of Adar announcements are made regarding the payment of the *sheqel* and the prohibition of the mixing of kinds; on the fifteenth [of Adar] the scroll of Esther is read in walled cities, the roads and streets are repaired and the ritual baths prepared; all public affairs are arranged and tombs are marked.'¹⁰⁵

⁹⁹ Philo, *De specialibus legibus* i 12 (69): μυρίοι γὰρ ἀπὸ μυρίων ὁσων πόλεων οἱ μὲν διὰ γῆς, οἱ δὲ διὰ θαλάττης, ἐξ ἀνατολῆς καὶ δύσεως καὶ ἄρκτου καὶ μεσημβρίας, καθ' ἐκάστην ἑορτὴν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καταίρουσιν.

¹⁰⁰ BJ vi 9,3 (425).

¹⁰¹ For these cities: A. Oppenheimer, *Babylonia Judaica in the Talmudic Period* (1983), 276-93 (Nehardea); 333 f. (Nisibis).

¹⁰² Jos. Ant. xviii 9,1 (312 f.).

¹⁰³ Jos. Ant. xvii 2,2 (26); for Zamaris and his settlers: G.M. Cohen, *TAPA* 103(1972), 83 - 95; S. Applebaum in *Judaea in Hellenistic and Roman Times* (1989), 47-65; Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, 229-31.

¹⁰⁴ Jos. BJ ii 19,1 (513 f.).

¹⁰⁵ M. Sheqalim i 1; cf. M. Mo'ed Qatan i 2.

The parallel passage in the Tosefta adds:

'On the fifteenth of this month the messengers of the court go out to repair the streets and the roads which suffered from the rains before the dates of pilgrimage, for the convenience of the pilgrims so that the roads are in order for the three feasts.'¹⁰⁶

The Babylonian Talmud further explains this:

'a leap-year is proclaimed only if it was necessary because of the roads and the bridges, because of the Passover ovens, and because of the Jews from the Diaspora who left their homes, but have not yet arrived. But not because of snow, because of cold, and not because of the Jews from the Diaspora who have not left their homes yet.'¹⁰⁷

It appears that one of the reasons for the proclamation of a leap-year, i.e. the intercalation of an extra month in the spring, was the bad state of the roads and the bridges after the winter rains. These repairs may have been rather limited, as suggested by other sources which only mention the removal of thistles from the roads.¹⁰⁸

The pilgrims must have used all the suitable roads,¹⁰⁹ but there is some specific evidence which may be cited here.

'An ass-driver came to Hillel the Elder and he said: "Rabbi, see what an advantage we have over you. You suffer having to travel all the way from Babylonia to Jerusalem and I leave my house and sleep at the gate of Jerusalem." He was silent and waited for a reply. Hillel said: "For how much will you rent me your ass from here to Emmaus?" He answered: "For a dinar". "To Lod, for how much?" He said: "For two". "To Caesarea, for how much?" He said: "For three". Hillel said: "Look, as I travel further your wages are

¹⁰⁶ Tos. Sheqalim i 1, ed. Lieberman, p. 200. Note also *Derekh Eretz Rabbah* (= Tosefta *Derekh Eretz*, v5, ed. Higger, p. 305), where road repair is mentioned as a public responsibility.

¹⁰⁷ B.T. Sanhedrin 11a; cf. Tos. Sanhedrin ii 12

¹⁰⁸ B.T. Mo'ed Qatan 5a; cf. S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie* (1911), ii, 324 n. 59.

¹⁰⁹ For the routes: Safrai, *Die Wallfahrt im Zeitalter des Zweiten Tempels* (1981), 133-41.

higher". He answered: "Yes the wages are in accordance with the road". Hillel said: "Will not the wages of my legs be as the wages of the legs of your animal?"¹¹⁰

This passage, which refers to the period before the destruction of the Temple, explicitly mentions the road from Jerusalem to Emmaus (presumably via Abu Ghosh) and thence to Lydda and Caesarea. It shows that some people would make the journey on foot as a matter of piety or principle, but it is clear that those who wanted to, and could afford it, could rent an ass.

Other Civilian Traffic Before AD 70

When the Second Temple was built in the days of Zerubbabel, lumber for the Temple was transported to Jerusalem via Joppa:

'They gave money also unto the masons, and to the carpenters; and meat, and drink, and oil, unto them of Sidon, and to them of Tyre, to bring cedar trees from Lebanon to the sea of Joppa...' ¹¹¹

This shows that heavy goods for the Temple were shipped over sea to Jaffa and brought from there over land to Jerusalem, either by the Beit Horon road, or the Abu Ghosh road. The harbour of Jaffa (*limina shel Yafo*) is also mentioned in a Talmudic source which relates how Nikanor's gates for Herod's Temple in Jerusalem were brought from Alexandria and saved through a miracle during a storm at sea.¹¹² In the third century BC Jaffa was an important port where Greek merchants and officials resided, as shown by the Zenon papyri.¹¹³

In Luke 24,13 we read: 'That same day [Sunday after the crucifixion] two of them [sc. of the disciples] were on their way to a village called Emmaus which lay sixty stades from Jerusalem.'¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ Avot de-Rabbi Nathan, Version B xxvii, ed. Schechter, p. 55 f.

¹¹¹ Ezra 3,7. For Jaffa as a harbour see Gazetteer, s.v. Jaffa.

¹¹² J.T. Yoma iii 41a. For the gates, Schürer, *History*, ii (1979), 57f.

¹¹³ See references in the Gazetteer, s.v. Jaffa.

¹¹⁴ Καὶ ἰδοὺ δύο ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἦσαν πορευόμενοι εἰς κώμην ἀπέχουσαν σταδίου ἐξήκοντα ἀπὸ

They arrived at the village towards evening,¹¹⁵ had dinner and, upon discovering the miracle of Jesus' presence, immediately 'set out and returned to Jerusalem. There they found that the Eleven and the rest of the company had assembled...' ¹¹⁶

This passage undoubtedly refers to the Jerusalem - Abu Ghosh road. As explained in the Gazetteer s.v. Motza, we feel certain that the Emmaus of the book of Luke should be identified with Motza/ Colonia. However, even if the identification with Emmaus/ Nicopolis is preferred, this would simply mean that the disciples walked a longer stretch of the same road.¹¹⁷ The following passage in the Mishnah, dealing with the use of willow branches in the Temple at the time of Sukkot, belongs to the same period:

'Below Jerusalem there is a place named Motza. They go down and cut willow shoots there ...'¹¹⁸ At the period of the Second Temple, the inhabitants of Jerusalem appear to have gone down along the route of the later Roman road to gather willow branches at Motza where willows grew in abundance because the valley was well-watered.

In the Acts of the Apostles, Peter is described as making his way gradually from Jerusalem to Lydda, and thence to Jaffa and Caesarea.¹¹⁹ That in itself does not tell us much, for it is obvious that people travelled from Jerusalem to the coast. It is of interest, however, that Peter interrupted his journey for longer stays at these three places in particular. Lydda and Jaffa apparently were the main Jewish centres in the plain and on the coast south of Caesarea.

When Paul's preaching had caused riots in Jerusalem he was taken away by an escort consisting of two hundred infantry under two centurions, with

Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἣ ὄνομα Ἐμμανοὺς. Part of the MSS have σταδίους ἑκατὸν ἐξήκοντα.

¹¹⁵ Luke 23, 29 ...ὅτι πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἐστὶν καὶ κέκλινεν ἡ δὴ ἡμέρα.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. 33: Καὶ ἀναστάντες αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ εὗρον ἡθροισμένους τοὺς ἑνδεκα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς.

¹¹⁷ Qubeiba lies on a different road, but there is no serious basis for the identification of Luke's Emmaus with this site, as observed in the Gazetteer.

¹¹⁸ M. Sukkot 4:5, cf. Gazetteer, s.v. Motza.

¹¹⁹ Acts 9,32; 9, 38; 10, 23 f. M. Hengel, *ZDPV* 99(1983), 169-73.

seventy cavalry and two hundred *lancearii* (spearmen, or whatever $\delta\epsilon\chi\iota\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\omicron\iota$ may mean).¹²⁰ They spent the night at Antipatris and then they dispensed with the infantry and spearmen for the remainder of the journey to Caesarea.¹²¹ This episode brings out clearly an important aspect of Roman rule in Judaea in this period, namely the fact that the provincial administration was based at Caesarea-on-the-Sea, while Jerusalem was the most important town of the province. This is illustrated again by one of the passages in the *Acts* describing the affairs of Paul:

'Now when Festus had arrived in his province [sc. when taking up his new post as governor], after three days he went up to Jerusalem from Caesarea. And the high priests and the foremost men of the Jews denounced Paul to him; and they asked him as a favour to have Paul sent to Jerusalem, since they were preparing an ambush in order to kill him on the way. Festus replied that Paul was being kept at Caesarea and that he was about to go there shortly. "Let those with authority among you", said he, "go down with me, and if there is something the matter with him, let them accuse him". After staying not more than eight or ten days with them, he went down to Caesarea, and the following day he sat upon the tribunal and ordered Paul to be brought.'¹²²

The movements of the governor are significant: immediately upon his arrival in his province he travelled from the provincial capital Caesarea to Jerusalem where he was in touch with the Jewish leadership. After a week or so he went back to Caesarea. The prisoner Paul was deliberately kept there rather than in Jerusalem. Whatever the truth about the report that the Jews planned to kill Paul, the obvious way to do this would have been to prepare an ambush on the road between Caesarea and Jerusalem - the heavy escort which accompanied Paul between Jerusalem and Antipatris shows how difficult it was to

prevent such attacks.

Following these accounts of civilian, non-military traffic along the Jaffa - Jerusalem roads, there is a gap in the literary sources between the end of the first century and the fourth century. The *Itinerarium Antonini*, the central part of which probably goes back to the time of Caracalla, mentions several roads in the country, but not those between Jaffa and Jerusalem.¹²³ A road between Emmaus and Jerusalem is indicated on the Peutinger Table. This source and the distances indicated on it are briefly discussed below. The Aelia - Diospolis and Aelia - Nicopolis roads are both mentioned once by Eusebius (early fourth century).¹²⁴ The latter is also mentioned independently by Jerome.¹²⁵

A famous passage in the Babylonian Talmud succinctly describes the difficulty of climbing the Beit

¹²³ *Itineraria Romana*, ed. O. Cuntz (Leipzig 1929), pp. 21; 27. In this Itinerary the following roads are listed: the coast road (150), the Caesarea - Eleutheropolis road (199, via Betar and Diospolis), and the Neapolis - Ascalon road (199-200, via Aelia and Eleutheropolis).

¹²⁴ Diospolis - Aelia: *Onomasticon*, 96, 25. This reference mistakenly places Thamna on the Diospolis-Aelia road, cf. Abel, *Géographie*, ii, 481 f. for the location of Thamna (Kh. Tibne, G.R. 160.157, on the Antipatris - Gophna road). For the Aelia - Nicopolis road: 48, 9: Βηρώθ (Jos 9,23). ὑπὸ τὴν Γαβαῶν. καὶ ἔστι νῦν κώμη πλησίον Αἰλίας κατιόντων ἐπὶ Νικόπολιν ἀπὸ ζ' σημείων. This appears under the heading Beeroth and is problematic. Cf. Jerome, 49, 8f.: *ostenditur hodieque villa ab Aelia euntibus Neapolim in septimo lapide*. Jerome thus substitutes Neapolis for Nicopolis, while Procopius of Gaza, PG 87, 1029 C, substitutes Βηρώθ, i.e. Beit Horon, for Beeroth. The distance of 8 m. from Aelia to Beit Horon, given by Procopius, is incorrect. These questions are relevant for the identification of Beeroth, but should not concern us here. Cf. Abel, *Géographie*, ii, 262. Although the locations of Thamna and Beeroth in Eusebius' work are problematic, the references to the two ancient roads are in themselves undoubtedly genuine.

¹²⁵ Jerome, *On*. 19, 16: The reference is interesting. Eusebius, 18, 13 ff., erroneously places Ayalon of Jos. 10, 12 east of Beit El, near Gaba and Rama. Jerome, in his translation, adds: 'But the Jews assert that Ayalon is a village near Nicopolis, two miles on the road to Aelia.' It is one of the few cases where Jerome provides independent information, which, in this case, derives from Jewish contacts.

¹²⁰ Acts 23, 23; 31. This was as much as one fifth of the garrison in Jerusalem, if the $\chi\iota\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\upsilon$ = *tribunus militum* of this passage and John 18,12 was the commander of a milliary cohort, as it must have been for, according to John, it was a cohort ($\sigma\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha$) which excludes the alternative possibility that it was a legionary detachment.

¹²¹ Acts 23, 32. Cf. Hengel, *op.cit.*, 173-5. For the Antipatris - Caesarea road: S. Dar and S. Applebaum, *PEQ* 105 (1973), 91-9; I. Roll and E. Ayalon, *Israel-People and Land* 4 (1986/7), 152-5.

¹²² Acts 25, 1-5.

Horon ascent:

Two camels which ascend the *ma'alot* [steps] of Beit Horon and meet each other; if they both ascend [at the same time], both will fall off; [but if they go up] one after another, both can ascend.¹²⁶

The Babylonian Talmud was developed between the third and the fifth centuries but it is not possible to date this passage to any specific period.

Christian Pilgrimage

In the fourth century Jerusalem again became a focus for religious pilgrimage of an entirely different character. It was undertaken by Christians and encouraged and supported by the imperial authorities.¹²⁷ This must have resulted in a renewed importance of the links between Jerusalem and the coast.

A unique expression of Christian interest in the holy places of the scriptures is Eusebius' *Onomasticon*, a topographical guide, alphabetically arranged, to the holy places of the Scriptures. The work correlates Biblical and contemporary place-names, adding a rough indication of their location with reference to major topographical features, such as roads, towns, military forts, or mountains. Eusebius' work and its Latin translation by Jerome have been extensively misused by modern scholars, who have seriously over-estimated the character of the information about the Roman administration to be found in it.¹²⁸ Since main roads are often used as points of reference, most Roman roads in Judaea are mentioned somewhere in the work. Thus both the Beit

Horon road and the southern road are referred to.¹²⁹ They are both described as 'the road from Aelia to Emmaus', but the places along them show which one is meant. It must be noted that this is the only ancient literary source which explicitly and unambiguously refers to the southern (Abu Ghosh) road as the Aelia-Emmaus road.

Next follows the Bordeaux Itinerary (AD 333):

'Item ab Hierusolyma, sic: civitas Nicopolis milia XXII / civitas Lidda milia X / mutatio Antipatrida milia X / mutatio Beththar milia X / civitas Caesarea milia XVI.'¹³⁰

'From Jerusalem to the town of Nicopolis is twenty-two miles. [Thence] to the town of Lydda is ten miles. From there to the poststation Antipatris is ten miles. To the poststation Beththar is ten miles. To the town of Caesarea is sixteen miles.'

Antipatris is not listed as a town, even though, like Nicopolis, it issued coinage under Elagabalus, a century before,¹³¹ while in Jerome's letter to Eustochium it is described as a small half-ruined town.¹³² Whatever its status as a settlement, Antipatris is mentioned in both passages as an important road-station. The distances indicated are discussed in Part V.

Later in the fourth century, probably in 381-4,

¹²⁶ B.T. Sanhedrin 32b.

¹²⁷ B. Kötting, *Peregrinatio religiosa. Wallfahrten in der Antike und das Pilgerwesen in der alten Kirche* (1950); J. Sumption, *Pilgrimage. An Image of Mediaeval Religion* (1950); E.D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire AD 312 - 460* (1982); G. Stemmerger, *Juden und Christen im Heiligen Land* (1987), Chapter IV: 'Das christliche Pilgerwesen.' For Armenian pilgrimage before the Islamic conquest: M.E. Stone, *RB* 93(1986), 93-110.

¹²⁸ Isaac and Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea* i (1982), pp. 11 f., where we show that the *Onomasticon* does not contain the 'hidden' information on city territories that some scholars thought could be found in it.

¹²⁹ *Onomastikon* 46, 21-3, s.v. Βηθωρών ... καὶ εἰσι κῶμαι β' ὡς ἀπὸ σημείων Αἰλίας ἰβ' ἐπὶ τὴν εἰς Νικόπολιν ὁδόν. Also: 48, 10. Ibid., 48, 23, s.v. Βαάλ: ... καὶ ἔστι κατιόντων ἀπὸ Αἰλίας εἰς Διόσπολιν κῶμη Καριαθιαρεῖμ ὡς ἀπὸ σημείων ι'.

¹³⁰ *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 600, ed. Geyer and Cuntz, *CCSL* 175, pp. 20 f.; *Itineraria Romana*, ed. O. Cuntz (1929), p. 98. Cf. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, 55 ff.; 83-5; G. Stemmerger, *Juden und Christen im Heiligen Land* (1987), 78-84.

¹³¹ *BMC, Palestine* xv f.; Y. Meshorer, *City-Coins of Eretz-Israel and the Decapolis in the Roman Period* (1985), 54 f.; A. Kindler, *Eretz-Israel* 19(1987), 125-31; A. Kindler and A. Stein, *A Bibliography of the City Coinage of Palestine* (1987), 41 f.

¹³² Jerome, *ep.* 108, 8.

the pilgrim Egeria visited the Holy Land.¹³³ That part of the text which mentioned our roads is lost. However, Peter the Deacon's *Liber de locis sanctis* contains material from Bede, who in turn used the original text of Egeria. This may contain an indirect reference to the Beit Horon road: 'Not far from Jerusalem is Gibeon, which was captured by Joshua, and sixty stades from Jerusalem is Emmaus [i.e. Nicopolis]...' ¹³⁴ This description presumably reflects a situation in which the village of Gibeon was one of the prominent landmarks on the way from Jerusalem to Emmaus-Nicopolis.

In the same decade, in 385-6, the noble lady Paula undertook a journey to Jerusalem, together with her daughter Eustochium, a number of other ladies, and Jerome himself, who described it in a letter to Eustochium.¹³⁵ They travelled down the coast-road, from Caesarea to Antipatris:¹³⁶

¹³³ For the date: P. Devos, *Analecta Bollandiana* 85(1967), 165-94; *Ibid.* 86(1968), 337-50; H. Sivan, *HTR* 81(1988), 59-72. The text: *Itinerarium Egeriae*, ed. A. Franceschini & R. Weber, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 175, 29-90; P. Maraval, *Égérie. Journal de voyage (Sources chrétiennes 296, 1982)*; English translation: J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels in the Holy Land* (Revised ed. 1981, Jerusalem and Warminster, England 1981).

¹³⁴ Peter the Deacon, P2, *CCSL* 175, p. 97.

¹³⁵ Jerome, ep. 108, ed. Hilberg, *CSEL*, IV, p. 314.; also Paula's letter *ap.* Jerome 46.

¹³⁶ 'Deinde Antipatrida, semirutum oppidulum, quod de patris nomine Herodes vocaverat; et Lyddam versam in Diospolim, Dorcadis, atque Aeneae resurrectione, ac sanitate inclytam. Haud procul ab ea Arimathiam viculum Joseph, qui Dominum sepelivit; et Nobe urbem quondam sacerdotum, nunc tumultum occisorum. Joppen quoque fugientis portum Jonae; et (ut aliquid perstringam de fabulis Poetarum) religatae ad saxum Andromedae spectatricem. Repetitoque itinere, Nicopolim, quae prius Emmaus vocabatur, apud quam in fractione panis cognitus Dominus, Cleophae domum in Ecclesiam dedicavit. Atque inde proficiscens ascendit Bethoron inferiorem et superiorem, urbes a Salomone conditas, sed varia postea bellorum tempestate deletas; ad dexteram aspiciens Ajalon, et Gabaon, ubi Jesus filius Nave contra quinque reges dimicans, soli imperavit et lunae; et Gabaonitas ob dolos et insidias foederis impetrati, in aquas, lignariosque damnavit. In Gabaa urbe usque ad solum diruta, paululum substitit, recordata peccati ejus, et concubinae in frusta divisae, et tribus Benjamin trecentos viros, propter Apostolum reservatos.'

'a small half-ruined town which Herod had named after his father; and to Lydda, renamed Diospolis, and renowned as the place where Dorcas was brought back to life, and where Aeneas was cured. Not far off she came to Arimathea, the village of the Joseph who buried the Lord, and to Nob, which had once been a city of priests, and was now a graveyard of the slain. And then she came to Joppa, the harbour from which Jonah had fled and also (if I may be permitted to mention a story from one of the poets) the place which witnessed Andromeda bound to the rock. Then, turning back along the way she had come, she reached Nicopolis (formerly called Emmaus), where the Lord made himself known to Cleophas in the breaking of bread, thus consecrating his House as a church. From this she passed on and climbed to Lower and Upper Beth-horon, cities which were founded by Solomon, but later destroyed in the disasters of war; seeing on her right Ayalon and Gibeon, where Joshua the son of Nun fought against the five kings, and uttered his command to the sun and moon; and condemned the Gibeonites to become drawers of water and hewers of wood because of the deception by which they tricked him when they asked to become allies. At the city of Gibeon, which was razed to the ground, she paused to remember her own sins, and those of the concubine who was cut in pieces, and remembered also the six hundred Benjaminites who were spared on account of the Apostle Paul.

But I must not waste time. She passed on her left the Tomb of Helena, Queen of Adiabene, who brought the people corn in time of famine, and entered Jerusalem.¹³⁷

The information on individual sites which may be derived from this account is discussed in the various entries in the Gazetteer below. The reference to the tomb of Helena of Adiabene is interesting as it is also described by Josephus, Pausanias and Eusebius.¹³⁸

Quid diu moror? ad laevam mausoleo Helenae derelicto, quae Adiabenorum regina in fame populum frumento juverat, ingressa est Jerosolimam urbem...

¹³⁷ Trans. J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims* (1977), 47, 49.

¹³⁸ *Ant.* xx 4, 3(95): The monument consisted of three pyramids at a distance of three stades from Jerusalem. It is also mentioned in *R/V* 2.2 (55), 3.3 (119), and 4.2 (147), by Strabo viii 16, 3; and by

This has been identified with the 'Tombs of the Kings', 800 m. north of the Damascus Gate, left of the Nablus road as one approaches the city from the north.

From Jerome also derives the information that what is now called the 'Jaffa Gate' used to be called the 'Fish Gate' 'the gate which leads to Diospolis and Joppe and was of all the roads the one nearest to the sea.'¹³⁹

It is not until the first quarter of the sixth century that we find another relevant source of information, Theodosius' *de Situ Terrae Sanctae*.¹⁴⁰

'From Jerusalem to Silo'¹⁴¹ where the Ark of the Testament was, is nine miles. From Silo to Emmaus, which is now called Nicopolis is nine miles (from Jerusalem to Emmaus sixty-five stades), where Saint Cleophas recognized the Lord in the breaking of the bread; there too he suffered martyrdom. From Emmaus to Diospolis is twelve miles, there Saint George was martyred. His body is there too and many miracles take place there. From Diospolis to Ioppe is twelve miles; there St. Peter raised Tabitha and the whale cast up Jonah. From Joppe to Caesarea Palaestinae is thirty miles. ... (6) From Jerusalem to Ramatha, where Samuel lies is five miles ...'

It is particularly interesting that this work

Eusebius *HE* ii 12,3. Cf. comments and bibliography in Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, ii, p.197; and Schürer, iii, 164, n.66.

¹³⁹ Jerome, *Comm. in Sophoniam*, PL xxv 1412: 'portam piscium eam vocabant quae Diospolim ducit et Joppen, et vicinior mari erat inter cunctas vias Jerusalem.'

¹⁴⁰ Theodosius, *de Situ Terrae Sanctae*, 4, CCSL 175, 116 (ed. Geyer): 'De Hierusalem usque in Silona, ubi fuit arca testamenti Domni, milia VIII. De Silona usque Emmau, quae nunc Nicopolis dicitur, millia VIII, in qua Emmau sanctus Cleopas cognovit Domnum in contrafractione panis; ibi et martirium pertulit. De Emmau usque in Diospolim milia XII, ubi sanctus Georgius martyrizatus est; ibi et corpus eius est et multa mirabilia fiunt. De Diospoli in Ioppen millia XII, ubi sanctus Petrus resuscitavit Tabitam; ibi et cetus iactavit se victo Ionam. De Ioppe ad Caesaream Palaestinae milia XXX.... (6) De Hierusalem in Ramatha, ubi requiescit Samuhel, milia V....' See also the discussion by Y. Tsafir, *DOP* 40(1986), 129-145.

¹⁴¹ MSS sidona, sinoda, sydonia

explicitly mentions the southern (Abu Ghosh) road, for 'Silo' must be a confused reference to Kiriath-jearim (Abu Ghosh), which is indeed half-way between Jerusalem and Emmaus/ Nicopolis, nine miles from both. This is therefore a description of the entire road from Jerusalem to Jaffa via Abu Ghosh.

An ancient document of a different kind should also be mentioned here, namely the Mosaic Map at Madaba (6th century), which depicts a number of major and minor sites, some of them indubitably associated with the Beit Horon road, such as Beit Horon, K[afar] Erouta (i.e. Kafr Rut) and Modi'in. Perhaps the unidentified 'To Tetarton' and 'To Ennaton' should be included here.¹⁴² The presence of an insignificant place like Kafr Rut may be an indication that the Madaba Map includes information taken from an illustrated itinerary.¹⁴³ Such an itinerary or map would have showed minor sites and road-stations along the main roads in the form of vignettes, known from the Peutinger Table and the Madaba Map itself. The theory, however, can neither be proved nor disproved, since we know nothing about the cartographic model used by the Madaba Map.

The available literary sources thus show that, at least up till the sixth century, both main roads between Emmaus and Jerusalem continued to be used, although the northern (Beit Horon) road is mentioned more frequently than the other.

A brief general description is given by Adomnan (AD 680):¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² These names clearly sound as if they represent road-stations, but they are not attested elsewhere, and cannot reliably be identified with any known sites. Cf. Gazetteer, entries on Kh. Hawanit and Latatin.

¹⁴³ This is taken for granted by M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map* (1954). Full photographic coverage: H. Donner & H. Cüppers, *Die Mosaikkarte von Madaba*, i (Wiesbaden 1977).

¹⁴⁴ Adomnan, *de locis sanctis* 20, ed. L. Bieler, CCSL 175, 198: 'Ab Helia septemtrionem versus usque ad Samuhelis civitatem, quae Armathem nominatur, terra petrosa et aspera per quaedam monstratur intervalla; valles quoque spinosae usque ad Tamniticam regionem patentes. Aliter vero a supradicta Helia et monte Sion qualitas regionum monstratur usque ad Cesaream Palaestinae occasum versus. Nam quamvis aliqua repperiantur angusta et brevia aspera loca interposita, precipue tamen latiores plani monstrantur campi interpositis laetiores olivetis.'

Northwards from Aelia as far as the city of Samuel, called Armathem, there are tracts of rough stony country, and the valleys are full of thistles till one reaches the district of Thamna. But it is a different type of country as one goes west from Aelia and Mount Sion to Caesarea Palaestinae. Certainly there are some small patches of rough country, but mostly it is wide gentle plains dotted with flourishing olive groves.¹⁴⁵

Armathem is Nabi Samwil. Between Jerusalem and Nabi Samwil the land may well have been stony at that time. Otherwise it is not immediately obvious what the pilgrim means. The rough, stony country would have spread north and west of Jerusalem and the wide gentle plains with olive groves must have been in the Shephelah and the coastal plain.

Accounts of pilgrimages made in the subsequent period are hardly relevant for our purpose. The few authentic descriptions do not offer new information.¹⁴⁶ There are a number of imaginary accounts that were very popular in the early Middle Ages, like the *Voyage de Charlemagne*, but these cannot be discussed here.¹⁴⁷

The last traveller before the arrival of the Crusaders to be mentioned here is the Persian Moslem Nassir-i Khosrau, who travelled from Acco to Jerusalem in 1047.¹⁴⁸ Following a description of Ramle he writes:

'On the 3rd of Ramadan [3 March] we left Ramla and came to a village called Latrun.¹⁴⁹ Farther on we came to a village called Qaryat al-'Enab. All along the way I noticed great quantities of rue growing wild. We saw a

spring with very good fresh water flowing out of rock; it was made with troughs all around and had several outbuildings about. From there we started up a hill as though ascending a mountain, on the other side of which one would expect to come down to a city. Once we had gone up a way, however, a vast plain came into view, partially rocky and partially soil. Atop the hill is the city of Jerusalem. From Tripoli which is on the coast, to Jerusalem is 56 parasangs. From Balkh to Jerusalem is 876 parasangs.'

There are several references, of a somewhat different kind from the pilgrims' accounts, to be found in the letters of mediaeval Jewish traders published by S.D. Goitein, said to date to about the mid 11th century, i.e. half a century before the First Crusade.¹⁵⁰ In two of these, Jaffa is referred to as 'the port of Ramle', a centre for the silk trade where exorbitant customs duties are levied.¹⁵¹ A merchant tells that a storm made it impossible to reach Jaffa and he was forced to take shelter in the synagogue in Caesarea where he remained five days.¹⁵² This is an interesting point. It would be worth knowing whether synagogues were frequently used as inns. Other merchants report on imports and exports from and into Palestine. The main products of the country, exported via Jaffa, were olive oil and apples. About business in Jerusalem we read: 'Corals are weak in Jerusalem, for it is a poor town. In any case bring them or a part of them, for success is in the hand of God. If Persians happen to arrive, they may buy them.'¹⁵³ The country imported money in the form of donations, silk, flax, and Tabaristan brocade, processed in Jerusalem and re-exported to Egypt. Yarn was also processed in Jerusalem and worked by Jewish craftsmen in Tyre, Lebanon, into clothes.¹⁵⁴ Another letter tells of pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the snow, the return to Ramle and refers again to the flax trade.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁵ Trans. J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims* (1977), 100.

¹⁴⁶ A collection of texts in translation may be found in J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims* (1977), 93 ff.

¹⁴⁷ *Le voyage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople*, trans. by M. Tyssens (1978); cf. A. Grabois, *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 59(1981), 792-806.

¹⁴⁸ Nassiri Khosrau, *Sefer Nameh*, 19; French transl. by Ch. Schefer, 1881, 65; English trans. W.M. Thackston Jr., *Naser-e Khosraw's Book of Travels (Safarnama)* (1986), 20 f., cited here.

¹⁴⁹ The MSS give 'Khatum', which Schefer reads as Latrun, loc. cit., n.1.

¹⁵⁰ S.D. Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders* (1973).

¹⁵¹ Op.cit., 47.

¹⁵² Op.cit., 46.

¹⁵³ Op.cit., 107.

¹⁵⁴ Op.cit., 107-110.

¹⁵⁵ Op.cit., 158-162.

'As for the other route, the border of Filasṭīn, it starts at the sea-shore, at the edge of Yāfā, reaches al-Ramla, proceeds to Bayt al-Maqdis (Jerusalem), then to Rihā, then to Zughar, then to the mountains of al-Sharā, until it ends at Ma'ān.¹

MEDIEVAL ARABIC SOURCES ON THE JAFFA-JERUSALEM ROADS

by Shulamit Sela

A. Arabic Milestones

The Arab conquerors of the seventh century A.D. preserved to a certain extent the Byzantine administrative division of Palestine. The former province of Palaestina Prima which included the coastal plain, Judaea and Samaria became 'Jund (province) Filasṭīn', the capital of which was not yet determined.² Under Muslim rule Jerusalem never became the capital of Palestine and was, therefore only of only secondary importance as a city.³ There was no consensus in early Islam as regards the sanctity of Jerusalem, but the massive building projects of the Umayyad caliphs (AD 661-744) who ruled from the neighbouring city of Damascus represented a turning point in the attitude of Islam towards the holy places. The construction of the Haram (sacred area) on the Temple Mount was to lead to the traditions which sited the 'isrā', Muhammad's night journey, at the Aqsa Mosque and the 'mi'rāj', his ascension to heaven, at the Dome of the Rock.⁴ Jerusalem now became an important station for many Muslim pilgrims on their way to Mecca. Thus the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik (who reigned from 685-705), decided to repair and maintain the old roads of Palestine.

The highway between Damascus and Jerusalem was reorganized so as to connect the

Umayyad capital with the new religious centre.⁵ Five milestones bearing the name of this caliph have been discovered so far.⁶ Two of these were found near Jerusalem on the road to Ramla (discussed below). The Arabic milestones, unlike those of the Roman period, were plaques, presumably inserted in a wall or other standing structure.

1. Discovered in 1893 in a ruin a few metres north of the tower of Bāb al-Wād and transferred to the Musée du Louvre in Paris. It measures 57x39x9. Limestone, upper part broken off. Five lines are preserved. Text as given by van Berchem:

أمر بعمارة هذا الطريق [وصنعة الأميال] (٢) عبد
الله عبد الملك (٣) أمير المؤمنين رحمت الله (٤) عليه من إيليا إلى هذا (٥) الميل
ثمنية (٦) أميال.

Translation:

'(ordered the construction of this) road (and the erection of the milestones), the slave of God, 'Abd al-Malik, the commander of the Believers, God's mercy be on him!'⁷ From Iliyā' (Jerusalem) to this milestone there are eight miles.

⁵ M. Sharon, *The History of Palestine from the Arabic Conquest until the Crusaders and under the Mameluks*, Jerusalem Publishing House, n.d., p.28.

⁶ For full publication of the four milestones found in the vicinity of Jerusalem and extensive comments see M. van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum, Syrie du Sud (Jerusalem ville)*, 1922, ii, pp. 17-29. The *editio princeps* of the milestone from Bāb al-Wād: M.-J. Lagrange, *RB* 3 (1894), pp.136-139; of the stone from Abu Ghosh: H. Vincent, *RB* 12 (1903), pp. 271-274. For the fifth stone of the same period, see M. Sharon, *BSOAS* 29 (1966), 367-372. Along the pilgrims roads in Saudi Arabia several 'Abbāsīd milestones have been found, see most recently S.A.A. Al-Rashid, 'A New 'Abbāsīd Milestone from Al-Rabada in Saudi Arabia', *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 3 (1992), 138-143.

⁷ Since the formula 'rahmatu 'llāhi 'alayhi' indicates a eulogy van Berchem may be right in suggesting that the successors of 'Abd al-Malik, after his death, carried on a project of road-building initiated by him. It is certainly true that 'Abd al-Malik was dead by the time when the text of the four milestones was formulated. The formula is not found on the fifth stone.

¹ al-Iṣṭakhri, *B.G.A.*, 1967, i, pp.65 f.

² See: Moshe Gil, *Palestine during the First Muslim Period*, (in Hebrew, 1983), I, par. 122.

³ For the history of Jerusalem as a capital see: A. Alt, 'Jerusalems Aufstieg' in: *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1959, iii, p.243.

⁴ Gil, *op.cit.*, I, par. 103-114.

2. The second stone on this road was discovered in 1902 in a ditch near the church of Abū Ghosh. Now in the monastery there. Measurements as preserved: 30x30 cm. The upper and left parts are broken off, the base and left side are damaged. The text is identical apart from the distance indicated which is seven miles on this stone.

The milestones were not found *in situ*. They may have been removed in the period of the Abassids since the latter declared the Umayyads illegitimate pretenders to the Caliphate and attempted to eradicate every reminder of this dynasty.⁸

The tenth-century Arab geographer al-Muqaddasī, in a conversation with his uncle, complains about the pains the Umayyads took in building religious monuments rather than roads.⁹ This shows that their road-enterprises had been forgotten by this time. On the other hand, in their own times, the Umayyads were criticized from within by members of the Arab tribes for spending too much money on building activities. Thus we read in al-Ṭabarī's chronicle that the Umayyad caliph Yazīd promised in his 'Speech from the Throne' (AD 744) to stop wasting funds on building and to distribute them (more) honestly among the tribes.¹⁰ This speech is an early indication why road-building would remain limited during the first Muslim period (AD 634-1099).

The milestone-texts themselves clearly show elements of Roman/Byzantine influence. The word 'mīl' is a Latin loan-word in Arabic and signifies (like the Latin word *miliarium* in Latin as well as in Greek) both

'mile' and 'milestone'.¹¹ A. Mez, whose basic assumption is that Islam was the successor of the classical world, admits that Arab rule was not conducive to the development of road-building.¹² He sees the Arabs as riders with no taste for military roads or wheeled transportation. The road-enterprises of 'Abd al-Malik and his descendants must be seen as an exception which confirms this rule.¹³

B. Sites Connected with the Road in the First Muslim Period (AD 634-1099)

'And Bayt al-Maqdis (Jerusalem) which used to be the residence (dār) of Sulaymān and Dā'ud now belongs to the district of Ramla.'¹⁴

An important event in the geographical history of 'Jund Filastin' was the foundation of Ramla (c.714) by Sulayman b. 'Abd al-Malik. The establishment of this new city, which became the capital of the province, reduced the status of Ludd (Lydda). The rivalry between the two cities is described in Arab sources as a conflict between the Muslim conquerors and the Christian residents of Ludd.¹⁵ The site of Ramla — an important crossroads — was ideal for the centre of Arab administration of the province. Al-Muqaddasī describes it as being close to the sea as well as to the mountains and near the holy places, as having inns and

⁸ It is possible, however, that at least one of them was still visible in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. See G. Zuallardo, *Il devotissimo viaggio di Gerusalemme* (Rome 1587), p.118: 'After travelling three or four mile (from Bir Ayub) we found between the trees and in the mountains the remains of a wall and a building bearing an inscription in Turkish characters. It is named Sarith.' George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun Anno Dom. 1610* (London 1615), p.201: '...we passed by a place called Sereth <i.e. Saris> where by certaine ruins there standeth a pile like a broken tower, engraven with Turkish characters, upon that side which regardeth the way: erected as they say, by an Ottoman Emperour.' A drawing of this structure was made by Zuallart in 1586.

⁹ al-Muqaddasī, *B.G.A.*, iii, p.159. In this passage the mosque of Damascus is discussed. In his reply, however, the uncle refers to Ludd (Lydda) and Jerusalem.

¹⁰ al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rikh*, Leiden 1964, B iii, p.1834. Gil, *op.cit.*, par.119.

¹¹ G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 1890, p.50. On the value of the Arabic mile see also Lagrange, *RB* 1 (1892), 87-95; 3 (1894), 136.

¹² A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams* (1922), Ch. 28, 461; English translation by S.K. Bakhsh and Margoliouth (1937), 492.

¹³ In the words of van Berchem: 'Ainsi nos milliaires seraient un nouvel exemple chez 'Abd Malik de ce génie organisateur qui le poussait à rajeunir des institutions anciennes pour les adapter à des besoins nouveaux et qu'on retrouve dans sa fameuse réforme monétaire, dans ses constructions célèbres et dans d'autres créations de son règne.' (*op.cit.* p.23). Not until the thirteenth century would Palestine see another substantial project of road-construction and organization — that of the Mamluk Baybars. However, as explained below, the latter had good reasons to ignore the route connecting Jerusalem with the coastal plain.

¹⁴ Mutahhar b. Ṭāhir, *Le livre de la création et de l'histoire* (in Arabic, with a French translation by M. Cl. Huart), 1907, iv, p.72. A tenth-century source.

¹⁵ al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, p.351 f., *B.G.A.* vii, p.328; al-Muqaddasī, *op.cit.*, p.165.

baths.¹⁶ Street-names vividly illustrate the central location of the town: Darb Bayt al-Maqdis (Jerusalem Road), Darb Bīla'a,¹⁷ Darb Ludd, Darb Yāfā, Darb Miṣr (the Road to Egypt), Darb Dājūn.¹⁸ The geographical lexicon of Yāqūt (thirteenth century) describes the villages of Bayt Nūba, Sāfiriyya, Dājūn and Yāzūr as belonging to the district of Ramla.

'From Ramla to Yāfā, which, lying on the sea-shore, is her nearest port, there are eight miles.'¹⁹

In the first Muslim period Jaffa was important as the main port of 'Jund Filastīn and its capital. The Umayyads developed this town as well as the other coastal cities of Palestine.²⁰ Yet, throughout the period of Arab rule — i.e. until the incorporation of Palestine into the Ottoman Empire — Jaffa remained a harbour of minor importance. In the words of al-Muqaddasī: 'A small town on the sea; she is, however, the supply-house of Filastīn and the port of Ramla; she has a citadel and an iron gate towards the sea, and the harbour is new.'²¹ Indeed, even on a sixteenth-century map the name of the town is given as 'Limān-Ramla', that is: 'the Harbour of Ramla'.²²

¹⁶ al-Muqaddasī, loc.cit. For discussion see Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, ii, pp.128-130. In the documents of the Cairo Geniza, Ramla is described as the gathering place of Jewish pilgrims on their way to the holy city of Jerusalem. See Gil, op.cit. par. 283.

¹⁷ For a suggestion regarding the identity of 'Bīla'a' see below.

¹⁸ Cf. Muḥīr al-Dīn, *Al-'uns al-Jalīl* (Cairo 1866), 416. This 12th century author mentions the gates of the city of Ramla: Bāb al-Quds, Bāb 'Asqalān, Bāb Yāfā, Bāb Nāblus, Bāb Yāzūr.

¹⁹ Ibn Khurdādhbe, *B.G.A.*, 1967, vi, p.78. Compare al-Iṣṭakhārī, op.cit., p.65: 'from Ramla to Yāfā half a stage'; Idriṣī: 'from Ramla to Yāfā, half a day'.

²⁰ See Gil, op.cit., par. 117.

²¹ al-Muqaddasī, p.174.

²² See A. Cohen, *Cathedra* 34 (1985), p.56 (in Hebrew).

'(The distance) from Quds (Jerusalem) to Ramla is eighteen miles'²³

While our information on the Jaffa-Ramla road from the first Muslim period is limited, we have somewhat more information on the road from Ramla to Jerusalem. An important town, at the time of the Arab conquest, was 'Amawās or 'Imwās (Nicopolis). This was apparently the location of a major camp of the Muslim army,²⁴ for a plague which struck the troops and claimed the lives of many soldiers was called 'ṭā'ūn (the plague of) 'Amawās'.²⁵ al-Muqaddasī informs us that this town was formerly the capital of the region, but because of the character of the site — on the slope of a mountain and because of a lack of wells it was abandoned in favour of the sea and the shore.²⁶ Yāqūt's lexicon describes its location as six miles from Ramla on the way to Bayt al-Maqdis.²⁷

'(The distance) from Ramla to Jerusalem (is) eighteen miles and half-way is Qarya Shana, which is also called Qaryat al-'Inab.'²⁸

Qaryat al-'Inab is described in the Persian itinerary of the Muslim pilgrim Nassiri Khosrau, who visited it on his way from Ramla to Jerusalem. 'In the village of Qaryat al-'Inab there is a fine spring of sweet water gushing out from under a stone.' He mentions the housing and facilities built for pilgrims.²⁹ One of the streets of Ramla listed above was 'Darb Bīla'a'. Le Strange would recognize in this name the Biblical

²³ Ibn al-Faqih, *B.G.A.*, 1967, v, p.102. Compare al-Muqaddasī, p.192: 'a distance of one stage'; Idriṣī: 'Bayt al-Maqdis to Ramla, a distance of a long day.'

²⁴ Gil assumes that the headquarters of the Fātimid army were located at Dājūn (Beth Dagan), op.cit., par.889.

²⁵ See: L.H. Vincent et F.-M. Abel, *Emmaus*, 1932, 357.

²⁶ al-Muqaddasī, p.176.

²⁷ Yāqūt, iii, p.729.

²⁸ Muṭahhar, op.cit., p.88 (see Joshua xvi,49).

²⁹ Nassiri Khosrau, *Sefer Nameh*, p.19; French transl. by Ch. Schefer, 1881, p.65. On his way from Ramla to Qaryat al-'Inab the author passed 'Khatoum', which Schefer identifies with Latrūn, ibid, n.1.

'Ba'ala', to be identified with Qiriath Ye'arim and with Qaryat al-'Inab.³⁰

Arabic sources mention several other sites along the roads from Ramla to Jerusalem, such as Qaṭṭ³¹ and Sārīs.³² The villages of Šuba³³ and Bayt Laqya³⁴ are mentioned as belonging to Jerusalem.³⁵ Yāqūt describes al-Jīb as lying between Bayt al-Maqdis (Jerusalem) and Nablus; 'there are here two forts called Upper al-Jīb and Lower al-Jīb and they are close to one another.'³⁶ Dayr Shamwīl is described by al-Muqaddasī as a village at a distance of one 'farsakh' (parasang) from Jerusalem 'close to the sky and far from the lowlands.'³⁷ Yāqūt gives the variant 'Mar-Šamwīl' or 'Māran Šamwīl', and explains the term 'Mār' as being Aramaic for monk. According to Yāqūt it was associated with one of the Jewish sages (Aḥbār).³⁸

Jaffa was not normally the port of arrival for Muslim pilgrims to Palestine in the First Muslim Period and as a result no 'riḥla' (travel-book) contains a description of a Muslim going from Jaffa to Jerusalem.³⁹ There exists, however, a document by a non-Muslim travelling from Jaffa to Jerusalem, an Arabic letter found in the Cairo Geniza. This describes the sea-voyage of Maḥbūb b. Nissim, a Karaite Jew, who embarked in Alexandria for a business-trip to al-Lādhīqiyya in Syria. As he writes: 'After the hardship which befell me at sea ... I disembarked in Jaffa and

proceeded to Ramla on the eve of the month of Marḥeshwan and I did some business there and earned one dirham on each dirham and went up to Jerusalem'.⁴⁰

C. Arabic Sources of the Crusader Period

The establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem by the Crusaders marked a fundamental change in the history of the region. The Christians, who regarded themselves as 'Verus Israel', followed the example of King David and his successors and proclaimed Jerusalem their capital.⁴¹ These events awakened the appreciation of the Muslims for their sacred sites and eventually resulted in the jihād — the holy war for the reconquest of the city. Arabic sources reflect this development in what is, in fact, the first detailed description of the Jaffa - Jerusalem road, at the time of Saladin's war of liberation. Thus we read of 'the battle of Yāzūr', a village lying between Ramla and Jaffa; of Saladin's destruction of Naṭrūn (Latrūn); of Bayt Nūba located one stage from Jerusalem, and of Qulūniyya at two parasangs from the city. We follow Saladin on his journey to Mār Šamwīl.⁴²

The route as a whole is mentioned by the historian Ibn al-Athīr (thirteenth century AD): 'And the Franks travelled from Yāfā to Ramla, having decided to march to Jerusalem'.⁴³ In this period the main Jaffa-Jerusalem road is perhaps referred to for the first time in an Arabic source. In his description of the same war Bahā' al-Dīn indicates Saladin's movements in 1192-93 from al-Quds to al-Jīb - Bayt-Nūba and thence to Ramla. He camped between Ramla and Ludd and moved on to Yāzūr - Bayt Dajan and threatened Jaffa.⁴⁴

D. After-Effects of Chrian Rule

After the final expulsion of the Franks from Palestine, in the second half of the thirteenth century, it

³⁰ Le Strange, *op.cit.*, p.305 f.

³¹ Yāqūt, iv, p.138.

³² Yāqūt, v, p.21 (ed.Wüstenfeld). See the entry in the *Gazetteer*.

³³ *Ibid.*, iii, p.431.

³⁴ al-'Umarī, *Masī'lik*, p.146.

³⁵ Yāqūt lists also Bayt Rīs as belonging to Bayt al-Maqdis, which, however, is ambiguous in this passage and may mean the whole of Palestine.

³⁶ R.D. Pringle, *Levant* 15(1983), p.145 wants to identify Upper al-Jīb mentioned by Yāqūt with Nabi Samwīl. This is unlikely since the latter place is mentioned separately by this author.

³⁷ al-Muqaddasī, p.188.

³⁸ Yāqūt iv, p.391.

³⁹ Jaffa was visited by Ibn Buṭlān (AD 1050) on his way to Egypt and it impressed him as a place in decline. See Yāqūt, iv, p. 1003 and J. Schacht, *Enc. Isl.*², iii, p.740 s.v. Ibn Buṭlān.

⁴⁰ Gil, *op.cit.*, ii, document 292, ll. 4,13f.

⁴¹ See Alt, *op.cit.*

⁴² Abū Shāma, 'Le livre des deux jardins' (Arabic text with French translation) in *RHC Or.*, iv 1, pp.48; 215; v, pp.45; 54f.; 82. Compare Yāqūt, iii, 534: 'Al-Ṭarūn ... It was taken by Saladin in 583 H. (AD 1187).' Yāqūt also mentions a fort 'Ḥisn al-'Inab in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem.' (Yāqūt, ii, 277).

⁴³ Ibn al-Athīr, *RHC Or.*, iia, p.53f.

⁴⁴ Bahā' al-Dīn, *Siraṭ Salāḥ al-Dīn* (1964), p.222; *RHC Or.*, iii, p.322 f. See also the entry on Beit Dagan in the *Gazetteer*.

became Muslim policy, particularly of the Mamluk Sultāns, to destroy harbours so as to prevent future invasions.⁴⁵ Jaffa was one of the coastal cities so treated. The Sultān Baybars demolished the town completely in 1268.⁴⁶ Baybars' destructive activity here stands in striking contrast to his otherwise constructive works: he re-organized the road-system of Palestine. However, the Jaffa-Jerusalem roads were excluded from his plans for obvious reasons, as we have attempted to show.⁴⁷

E. Conclusion

Jewish and Christian pilgrims regularly used the Jaffa-Jerusalem road under discussion throughout the Middle Ages, as appears from the relevant sources. This, as we have noted, is not true in the case of Muslim pilgrims. It is therefore interesting to observe that the western gate of Jerusalem is named Bāb al-Baḥr, the Sea-Gate, in al-Ḥimyarī's description of the city. The latter's Geography was completed towards the end of the thirteenth century.⁴⁸ Near the western gate of Jerusalem stands the dome (mihrab) of David, the first building which caught the eye of anyone coming up from Ramla, as we are told by al-Ḥṣṭakhri in the tenth century. The name 'Sea-Gate' reminds us, in fact, of the modern name: Jaffa Gate.

As we have seen, Muslim interest in the route from Jaffa to Jerusalem was primarily a reflection of European concern for the accessibility of the holy city from the port of Jaffa. More information is therefore available on the period after the annexation of Palestine by the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁹ In Arabic sources communications between Ramla and Jerusalem are more important than those between Jerusalem and the coast.

We may conclude with a quotation from a source which stresses the familiarity of the Ramla -

Jerusalem road in a tenth-century commentary in Arabic on Ecclesiastes 10,15 by the Karaite Jew Salmon b. Yeruḥam: 'The labour of the foolish wearieth every one of them, because he knoweth not how to go to the city.' The exegete then gives an example of the opposite, a man who knows his way: '... Like a man who sets out from Ramla to Jerusalem (Bayt al-Maqdis), which surely is a well known road. Now the man who knows his way will go past 'Amwās and Qaryat al-'Inab.'⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Sharon, *op.cit.*, p.46.

⁴⁶ See Y. Drori, *The History of Eretz Israel under Mamluk and Ottoman Rule* (1981, in Hebrew). Drori notes that the town was not rebuilt. However, there is evidence of a certain revival in the fourteenth century. See Abū al-Fidā', *Takwīm*, p.239.

⁴⁷ For the Mamlūk road-system in Palestine see: R. Hartmann, *ZDMG* 70 (1916), 488f. The main route through Palestine in the Mamluk period was the Cairo - Damascus road. This was, at the same time, the main road in Palestine itself, see R. Hartmann, *ZDMG* 64 (1910), 665-702.

⁴⁸ al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-Miṭ'ar*, ed. 'Bās, 1985, p. 68.

⁴⁹ A. Cohen, *op.cit.*, *passim*.

⁵⁰ J. Mann, *Texts and Studies*, 1972, ii, p.20. Gil, *op.cit.*, par. 311, n.311 refers to the manuscript: MS BM or. 2517, fol.92.

THE CRUSADERS

Crusader Roads

As observed above, it is not until the Crusader period that large armies are again reported between Jaffa and Jerusalem. The information on this period is relatively good. Like every other army the Crusader armies used the roads they found upon their arrival, but there is no indication that they introduced large-scale improvements in the road-system, either in the main highways that had linked the provinces of the Roman empire with each other, or in roads of special local importance, such as those connecting the main cities in the Kingdom of Jerusalem.¹

Pilgrims occasionally notice the old Roman roads, such as John Phocas (1177), who observes that 'the road from Samaria to the Holy City, being eighty-four stades is entirely paved with stones.'² However, travelling on the Jerusalem - Jericho road he found the last stretch 'narrow, stony and steep' and there is no sign that he travelled on a road which had ever received any attention.³ Travellers in 1280 note that the road between Ramle and Beit Nuba was bad, while that from Nabi Samwil to Jerusalem was good.⁴ While there is no indication that the Crusaders systematically constructed or maintained paved roads, there is good evidence of care for the water-supply along a few selected roads, as will be seen in Parts II and III.

It is theoretically possible to assume that the Franks did more than we are aware of. It is possible, but not certain, that they built a few bridges, for in Europe bridges were built in this period.⁵ However, it is usually assumed that the mediaeval bridges that exist in Palestine were built in the subsequent period by the Mamelukes, who used material taken from Crusader churches, as in the Jindas bridge near Lydda and the

bridge at Yavneh.⁶ Two extant bridges cross the Jordan north and south of the Sea of Galilee, the J. Benat Yakub⁷ and the Jisr el-Mujamia⁸. Both were built after the period of the Crusades, as shown by the building technique. The same is true for two other bridges across the Jordan, the Jisr es-Sidd⁹ and the J. ed-Damieh¹⁰; both have been destroyed but could be seen a century ago.

There is some evidence of the local improvement of important stretches of the roads that were used most intensively,¹¹ but such activities are basically different from the Roman organization which entailed the systematic construction and improvement of roads between all the important centres in the province. Similarly, there was no organized system of communications in the Crusader kingdom, such as existed in the Roman and Byzantine empires, and was maintained in modified form by the Moslem authorities.¹² When discussing the Roman road-system

⁶ For the bridge near Lydda: Clermont-Ganneau *Archaeological Researches*, ii 110-118. Benvenisti *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, 309, follows Clermont-Ganneau in arguing that the bridge was built by the Mamelukes and notes that bridges mentioned in sources of the Crusader period were built in earlier periods. R. Ellenblum in: *Studies in the Historical Geography and the Geography of Settlement in Ereẓ Israel* (1987), 215-8, argues against Clermont-Ganneau and Benvenisti and claims that the bridge was built by the Crusaders. We consider this less likely. It is quite possible that the extant bridge was built on the foundations of an earlier Roman bridge, for there are many Roman elements in secondary use in the bridge, but these could also have been taken from another Roman structure in town. A talmudic source mentions a 'ma'abarta deLod' which probably refers to a bridge but could also indicate a ford (J.T. Ta'anit iv 68c).

⁷ SWP i, 206 f.

⁸ H. B. Tristram, *The Land of Israel* (1865), 455 f.; SWP ii, 116; F.-M. Abel, RB 9(1912), 404 f. and fig. 1.

⁹ SWP i, 391; F.-M. Abel, RB 9 (1912), 403.

¹⁰ S. Merrill, PEFQS (1879), 138 f.; C. Steuernagel, Der 'Adschlun (1927), 347-9.

¹¹ A. Peled and Y. Friedman, Qadmoniot 20 (1987), 119-123; Ellenblum, op.cit., 203-8.

¹² For the Roman imperial post, H.-G. Pflaum, 'Essai sur le cursus publicus sous le Haut-Empire romain', Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie

¹ See in general: A.C. Leighton, *Transport and Communication in Early Medieval Europe, AD 400-1100* (1972), 48-124; also: R. Lopez, *Past and Present* 9 (1956), 17-29.

² Phocas, *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* 14, PG 133, 941.

³ Phocas, ibid. 20, PG 133, 950: Arriving in Jericho he still noticed the outlines of buildings, presumably those of the Hasmonaeon and Herodian palaces.

⁴ H. Michelant and G. Raynaud (eds.), *Itinéraires à Jérusalem et Descriptions de la Terre Sainte* (1882), 229: 'Pelrinages et pardouns de Acre.'

⁵ Cf. J. Colomb, *Ponts du Moyen Age* (1967).

we must think both in terms of organization and of construction. There is no evidence of the former in the Crusader kingdom, and very little of the latter. Finally, it must be noted that the essence of the Roman road system was that it linked centres throughout the empire. One could travel over Roman roads from Jerusalem to Rome. Whatever existed in the Frankish kingdom was of a local nature.

While they did not pave many roads or maintain a system of communications, the Franks ascribed great importance to the enforcement of security on selected roads. As will be seen below, a network of castles built on crucial spots was intended to assure the uninterrupted movement of pilgrims and other travellers, which was in a sense the *raison d'être* of the Crusader kingdom. How successful they were in these endeavours is another matter.

Military Campaigns and the Road System

In the campaign of 1099, during the First Crusade, the Crusaders marched from Caesarea to Ramle and Lydda, and thence to Abu Ghosh, which they called Emmaus.¹² They were afflicted by the lack of water in the hill country - it was June - until they

came to Abu Ghosh.¹⁴ From there a small detachment of horsemen under Tancred and Baldwin de Burco made their way to Bethlehem and thence to Jerusalem. 'Next the army, keeping Gabaon to the left approached the city...' ¹⁵ Like the British troops in 1917, they apparently avoided the main road from Abu Ghosh to Jerusalem through Motza, and took the branch road to Biddu. Thus they reached Nabi Samwil, keeping Gibeon to the left.

It is interesting to see that the Crusader army followed a route which armies in antiquity had always avoided, without suffering any harm. The reason is that there was no opposing field army. Above it has been seen that routs occurred when an army based in the plain was facing another army based on the plateau. The Crusaders in 1099 enjoyed the same sort of superiority as Pompey and Titus in their sieges of Jerusalem.

In the same year, Jaffa was taken by Godfrey of Bouillon. The town, its fortifications and harbour had been destroyed before its evacuation by the Fatimid garrison.¹⁶

Almost a century afterwards, the roads between Jaffa and Jerusalem played an important rôle in the war between the Crusaders and Saladin.¹⁷ At first Saladin was heavily defeated at the battle of Montgisart (1177), i.e. Gezer, the strategic bastion situated at the edge of the foothills of Judaea. Following the battle of Hattin west of Tiberias (1187), the fall of Jerusalem and the loss of all of Palestine in the same year, the Third Crusade was organized. Acre was recaptured in July 1191. In September the Moslems were defeated at Arsuf and then followed a lengthy campaign for the heart of the country and the roads to Jerusalem.¹⁸

¹² For the Roman imperial post, H.-G. Pflaum, 'Essai sur le cursus publicus sous le Haut-Empire romain', *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 14(1940), 189-391; T. Pekáry, *Untersungen zu den römischen Reichsstrassen* (1968), 'Bibliographischer Exkurs zum Cursus Publicus', 173-5; W.H.C. Frend, *JRS* 46 (1956), 46-56; S. Mitchell, *JRS* 66 (1976), 106-31. For the absence of such a system in the Crusader kingdom: Benvenisti, *CHL*, 269 f. For the Mameluke postal service: J. Sauvaget, *La poste aux chevaux dans l'Empire des Mamelouks* (1941); also: D.S. Richards in A. Hadidi (ed.), *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*, iii (1987), 205-7.

¹³ Balduinus iii, *Hist. Nicaena vel Antiochena*, Ch. 58 f., *RHC Occ.* v, 174: marching from Lydda 'ipso die venerunt ad castellum quod Emaus dicitur, quod juxta se habet Modim, civitatem Machabaeorum.' Similarly: Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Hierosolymitana apud Gesta Dei per Francos* (Hannover 1611), 1081; Albert d'Aix v 41-2 (*RHC Occ.* iv 459-61); William of Tyre vii 22-4; *Histoire anonyme de la première croisade*, x 34-7, ed. Bréhier (1964), 192; 194. For a sketch of the First Crusade: Steven Runciman in M.W. Baldwin, *The History of the Crusades*, vol. i, *The First Hundred Years* (1969), 308-341, esp. 331 ff. Bibliography: A.S. Atiya, *The Crusades: Historiography and Bibliography* (1962), 109-113.

¹⁴ Description in Albert d'Aix, v 43, *RHC Occ.* iv, 461.

¹⁵ *RHC Occ.* iii 354 f.; v 174.

¹⁶ Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, i 22; William of Tyre, viii 9, *RHC Occ.* i, 336f.; cf. Gazetteer, s.v. Jaffa.

¹⁷ For a sketch of the Third Crusade: R.L. Wolff and H.W. Hazard (eds.), *The History of the Crusades*, vol. ii, *The Later Crusades 1189-1311*, 45-85. Cf. J. Gillingham, *Richard the Lionheart* (1978); M.C. Lyons and D.E.P. Jackson, *Saladin* (1982).

¹⁸ For the battle of Montgisart: Gazetteer, s.v. Gezer. For the battle of Hattin: J. Prawer: *Crusader Institutions* (1980), ch 19: 'The Battle of Hattin', 485-500; N. Housley, *History Today* 37(1987), 17-23;

There is little point in recapitulating in detail the history of those years, but some of the movements along the roads to Jerusalem are worth mentioning as well as the rôle played by a number of important sites. After the battle of Arsuf, Saladin gave orders to deny vantage points on the roads to Jerusalem by demolishing all the key positions in the coastal plain and Shephelah: Blanchegarde (Tell es-Safiyah, Tel Tsafit), Jaffa, Casal des Plains (Yazur), Casal Moyaen (Maen, Beit Dajan), the church of St George at Lydda, Ramle, Beaumont (Belmont, Zovah) 'on the high mountain', Toron (Latrun), Châtel Ernaud (Castellum Arnaldi, Yalu/Ayalon), Beauvoir (Belvoir, Qastal) and Mirabel (Tower of Afeq).¹⁹ The Templars restored Casal Maen and Casal des Plains and perhaps others as well two months later.²⁰ 'This was indeed considered very necessary because of the passage of pilgrims travelling to these parts.'²¹ The great weight which the Crusaders attached to the free passage of pilgrims is clear also from the discussion about their objectives following the battle of Arsuf. Saladin was in Ascalon, and it would have been natural to make an attempt to capture that city. However, 'the French ... recommended that Joppa should be restored, because it furnished a shorter and easier route for pilgrims going to Jerusalem. The acclamation of the multitude seconded the opinion of the French.' 'Foolish counsel!' according to the chronicle.²²

In December of the same year King Richard occupied Latrun for some time. He gave it up after three weeks because of great difficulties in bringing supplies. 'The Moslems did not cease to have the advantage over the enemy as long as he stayed at Natrun. They robbed the merchants on the roads and

succeeded in capturing a great caravan which the Franks failed to regain.'²³ Richard moved to Beit Nuba, but decided it was impossible to move up to Jerusalem in winter and withdrew to Ramle.

In June 1192 the Crusaders advanced, in preparation for an assault on Jerusalem which failed to be realized. They made their camps at Blanchegarde (Tell es-Safiyah, Tel Tsafit) on the main road to Gaza and Egypt, and at Latrun.²⁴ The king moved ahead and planted his tent at Castellum Arnaldi (Ayalon, Yalu) 'on the higher part on the right hand side. The next day came the Franks and the whole army advancing to Bethenopolis [Beit Nuba].' The Itinerary of King Richard goes on to tell that 'there they stayed a month at the foot of the mountains, where the pilgrims were wont to pass on their way to and returning from the Holy City.' During that time Richard reached Abu Ghosh or Motza during one or more raids²⁵ and saw the Holy City from Mons Gaudii,²⁶ but he had to withdraw to Jaffa because he was not strong enough to capture the city.²⁷

In July of 1192 Richard withdrew from Beit Nuba to Jaffa. The army stayed one night at Casal Moyaen.²⁸ In the meantime Saladin had made an attempt to conquer Jaffa, which was still occupied by the crusaders. He marched from al-Quds to el-Djib -

B.Z. Kedar, 'The Battle of Hattin Revisited', in B.Z. Kedar (ed.), *The Horns of Hattin* (1992), 190 - 207. For the battle of Arsuf: I. Roll and E. Ayalon, *Apollonia and Southern Sharon* (1989), 111 f. (Heb.).

¹⁹ *It. Reg. Ricardi*, iv, 23, 280 (Stubbs); Ambroise, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte*, v.6854, ed. Paris, 407. Blanchegarde is on the spot where the roads from Ascalon and Beit Guvrin to Emmaus meet. All the other sites are discussed in the Gazetteer.

²⁰ *It. Reg. Ric.* iv, 29 (ed. Stubbs, 289); Ambroise, v.7211, 410; 7284, p.411).

²¹ *It. Reg. Ric.* iv, 29 (ed. Stubbs, 289). The army departed on November 15th; Ambroise, *l'estoire de la guerre sainte*, ed. G. Paris, V.6835, 407; V.7207, 410; *l'Estoire de Eracles*, *RHC Occ.*, ii, 196.

²² *It. Reg. Ric.* iv 26, trans. *Chronicles of the Crusades* (London 1848), 247.

²³ 'Imad el Din, *RHC Or.* v, 49.

²⁴ *It. Reg. Ric.* v 49 (Stubbs, 368f.), cited in the entry on Yalu-Ajjalon (Castellum Arnaldi); Ambroise, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte* trans. G. Paris, 1897, 437: le roi...bientôt planta sa tente à quelque distance du Châtel-Ernaud, à droite sur la hauteur. Le lendemain y arrivèrent les Français et les autres, et on avança jusqu'à Bettenuble. Cf. Abu Shama, *RHC Or.*, v, 54; Marinus Sanutus, *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*, ed. J. Bongars (Hannover 1611, fotogr. repr. 1972), 163; 169. See also the entry on Beit Nuba.

²⁵ *Itinerarium ...Regis Ricardi* v 49; Ambroise, 438; *RHC Or.* v 54 f.

²⁶ *It. Reg. Ric.* vi 33, ed. Stubbs, 435: 'pervenimus usque ad Montem Gaudii, unde cum civitatem Jerusalem eminus vidissimus, eximie laetati genibus in terram fixis, sicut mos est, humiliter Deo gratias persolvimus. Inde quoque vidimus montem Oliveti.'

²⁷ *RHC Occ.* ii, 182: 'Le rei erra tant qu'il vint à Saint-Samuel, que l'en apele la Montjoie qui est pres de Jérusalem à deux liues.'

²⁸ *Itinerarium* vi, 9 (Stubbs, 397).

Beit-Nuba and thence to Ramla.²⁹ He reached Bayt Dajan (Casal Maen) and Yazur (Casal des Plains), where he made his camp, but he failed to take the city and withdrew to Latrun.³⁰ It is clear that the abortive campaign for Jerusalem focussed entirely on the Beit Nuba - Qubeiba - Nabi Samwil road with Richard using the southern road at least once for a raid.

The essential difference between the First and the Third Crusade was that in 1191-2 there was a strong field army on the plateau facing Richard. A siege of Jerusalem is difficult in any circumstances, as we see from the experience of Titus, and of the Latins in 1099. It is impossible to say whether Richard could have captured the city if he had been a better general than he was, but it is clear that he was good enough to avoid the danger of a rout such as Seron, Cestius Gallus and others before them suffered on the roads from the coastal plain to Jerusalem.

According to the treaty signed in September 1192 at Ramle, the Kingdom of Jerusalem was re-established in the coastal plain from Tyre to Jaffa, but without Jerusalem. Acco became the capital.³¹ With Jerusalem in Moslem hands, there was no more fighting in the areas which are relevant for the present study. The Fourth Crusade did not reach Palestine,³² the Fifth (1218) lost momentum in Egypt. The Crusaders re-occupied Jerusalem for a brief period (1228-1244), but this did not involve major army-movements.³³ According to the treaty of 1229, the

Emperor Frederick II gained control over Jerusalem Bethlehem, Nazareth, Lydda and the villages between it and Jerusalem, Toron and its lands and villages. The walls of Jerusalem, Jaffa, Caesarea, and Montfort were to be restored. The Temple Mount in Jerusalem remained in Moslem hands but would be accessible for Christian prayer. Decisive battles were not fought along the roads to Jerusalem, but near major strategic crossroads: La Forbie between Gaza and Ascalon (Hirbiya, Yad Mordekhai), in 1244, and 'Ain Jalut ('Ein Harod) in 1260. In this they resemble the earlier great Crusader battles, which were fought near Ascalon (1099), Hattin (1187) and Arsuf (1191). The exception is Montgisart (Gezer, 1177) which represented a premature attempt by Saladin to reach Jerusalem. This strengthens our contention above that Jerusalem does not occupy a site which is itself of great strategic importance. It lies off the main international highways, and it is near these that the great battles for control over the area have been fought. The importance of Jerusalem lies in the fact that people want to reach and possess it.

Since the ultimate aim of the Franks and their enemies was the control of Jerusalem, the roads to the city were the focus of much activity at various times. It has been seen above that the roads used in this period were different from those followed in antiquity. We hear most frequently of movement along the secondary road Emmaus (Imwas) - Beit Nuba - Nabi Samwil. Abu Ghosh is mentioned occasionally. There is one explicit reference to the road through Qubeiba in the course of a campaign: in 1187-8 an emir in charge of an advance party marched carelessly along the road and was killed in a surprise attack at a place called el-Kobaibat.³⁴ There is no record of any use of the Beit Horon road by mediaeval armies. Indeed there was no Crusader fortress along this road.³⁵ In the final Part of this book we shall be more precise in our description of the routes followed and attempt to indicate the dates and background of the change in the pattern of movement.

Crusader Castles and Road Security

In the Crusader period, as at other times, the area between Latrun and Ayalon played a key part in the control over the roads. There were two castles

²⁹ Baha' al-Din, *RHC Or.* iii 322 f.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 333; 335. cf. Gazetteer, q.v. Beit Dajan.

³¹ Radulfus de Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, ed. Stubbs, Rolls series, vol. 68 b, 105 (truce between Richard and Saladin concluded Aug. 9, 1192): 'Tota maritima, scilicet Tyrus, civitas Acon, casellum Hymberti, Cayphas, Caesarea Philippi, Jopen et casellum Medianum, cesserunt in partem Christianorum. Civitas Ascalon ... de communi tam Christianorum quam Saracenorum assensu diruitur. Montana cesserunt in potestatem Saracenorum. Christianis est data potestas intrandi Jerusalem, dummodo venirent inermes.'

³² It achieved the capture of Constantinople in 1204.

³³ Cf. P. Jackson, *BSOAS* 50 (1987), 32-60. For the treaty of 1229: J.L.A. Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia Diplomatica Friderici Secundi* (Paris 1852-1861), iii 86 ff.; 90 ff.; 102 ff. esp. 92 and vol. i, Introd. pp. cccxxvii-viii; Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. Coxe, repr. 1969, vol. iv, 190 ff.; Philippe de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II against the Ibelins in Syria and Cyprus*, tr. J.L. Lamonte

(1936), 36 f. and n.4.

³⁴ Abu Shama, *RHC Or.*, iv, 323.

³⁵ At Beit Ur al-Fauqa (Upper Beit Horon) are the remains of what appears to have been a manor house, q.v. Gazetteer, s.v., but there is no literary or archaeological evidence of any large installation anywhere between Lower Beit Horon and Gibeon.

here, and it may be useful to consider the function of these buildings and other installations between Jaffa and Jerusalem, as indicated in the literary sources.³⁶

All Crusader castles are sited and constructed for defensibility. They are found on elevated positions which rendered them tactically strong. Where they were exposed to attack on level ground they are often surrounded by deep moats. They brought the art of fortification to an unparalleled level. Unlike late Roman and Byzantine forts, they were planned as independent logistic units in which the garrison could live for extended periods without requiring supplies from outside. They contained store-rooms and large cisterns. We do know that some of them were indeed besieged, and were well equipped to hold and repel at least small bands of invaders. In this respect they differ from Roman military camps which were not meant to withstand a siege but served only as bases and headquarters. The type which most resembles the *quadriburgia* of the fourth century and later is the so-called *castrum*,³⁷ which, unlike the more heavily defended spur-castle, was not an impregnable stronghold designed to withstand long sieges.³⁸ The *castrum* was a defended base for a garrison from which to seek out the enemy and fight in the open field. All the castles between Jaffa and Jerusalem for which we have plans belong to this category.

In the past, all Crusader castles were usually assumed to be part of a system of frontier defence. A more modern view, based on explicit statements in the sources, is that, particularly in the case of the *castra*, their functions were far more diverse. Many changed their purpose over time. Some, like the Hospitaller castles around Ascalon, were built in order to hold offensive garrisons and tighten pressure on an enemy centre.³⁹

³⁶ See R.C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare (1097-1193)*, (1956), Chapter VII, 204-244; Benvenisti, *CHL*, Part 4, 273-339. We are grateful to Prof. Paul Hyams for information and instruction.

³⁷ Smail, *op. cit.*, 228-233; Benvenisti, *CHL*, 280-2. There is no agreement as to how much the crusaders were influenced by Byzantine forts when they built their *castra*, but this is not important for the present discussion.

³⁸ The spur castles were built in the 13th century and there were therefore only four in Palestine, all of them in the North: Atlith, Saphet (Zefat), Montfort and Beaufort.

³⁹ William of Tyre xiv 22 (*RHC Occ.* i 638 f.) When Ascalon was captured in 1153 these castles lost their strategic importance, and became road castles and

'The Christians perceived that the bold incursions of the enemy showed no signs of ceasing; their forces were constantly renewed. Hence ... our people considered it best to build fortresses round the city, from which it would be easy to mobilize soldiers. These by their proximity could better check the enemy's forays and attack the city more frequently. Twelve miles from Ascalon they built a strong castle [Beit Guvrin, finished in 1136].'

Others, like Latrun, were built to hold positions of regional strategic importance: '...Castellum Arnulfi, which occupies a prominent position towards Jerusalem in the hills to protect the region and was built at the orders of the Catholic king with walls and fortifications.'⁴⁰ Finally, there were the fortresses which occupied positions of strategic importance on the frontier of the kingdom, such as Belvoir.⁴¹ Crusader castles 'served as residences, as administrative centres, as barracks, and as police posts. Above all, they were centres of authority. The commander of a castle and its garrison was master of the surrounding district and had means continually at his disposal to meet any challenge to his authority.'⁴²

There is one function which should be singled out here as particularly relevant, namely the attempt to secure the roads. Banditry, both by Moslems and Franks, was a serious problem, as stressed in various sources, for instance the following description of a journey from Damascus to Baniyas by Ibn Jubayr:

'We departed at dawn on Friday and reached a village called Beit Jann in the mountains [i.e. Mt. Hermon]. We left it early in the morning on Saturday, making for Baniyas. Half way we found an enormous oak with huge branches called 'the tree of the balance', as we were told and since we asked questions about this we were told that, on this road, it

administrative centres for the civilian settlements in the vicinity.

⁴⁰ Albert d'Aix, x 14, *RHC Occ.*, iv, 637: 'Hanc quippe victoriam Ascalonitae adepti...in terminos Ramnes reversi sunt in tubis et bucinis, in superbia magna castellum Arnulfi obsidentes, quod versus Iherusalem in montanis, ad regionem tuendam, jussu catholici regis muris et moenibus aedificatum prominebat.' For the identification of Castellum Arnulfi with Latrun, see Gazetteer s.v. Latrun.

⁴¹ Benvenisti, *CHL*, 291 ff.

⁴² Smail, *op. cit.*, 60 f.

marks the border between safety and fear. There are bandits, Franks, robbers and highway men. If they catch someone beyond this tree, as seen from the land of the Moslems, he is their captive. But if he is caught on this side of the border, they allow him to continue his journey. This is one of the funniest restrictions which the Franks impose on themselves and one of the most remarkable ones.⁴³

Fulcher of Chartres gives an eye-witness account of the sort of measures taken to suppress these activities:

'The following day [24 November, 1100] we [i.e. Baldwin, Count of Edessa and his men] went further out into the country where we found food for ourselves and our beasts in prosperous areas and where we also devastated the land of our enemies. Then proceeding farther, we found villas where the Saracen inhabitants had hidden themselves and their beasts and other possessions from us in caverns. When we were unable to draw out any of them, we set fires near the entrances to the caverns. Soon on account of the intolerable smoke and heat they came to us one after the other.

There were among them robbers who were accustomed to lurk between Ramla and Jerusalem and to kill our Christians. When we were told by some Syrian Christians who were kept in concealment among them that these malefactors were of this type, they were beheaded as soon as they came out of the cave. We spared these Syrians and their wives. Indeed we killed nearly a hundred Saracens. And after we had eaten and consumed everything we found there, grain as well as livestock and could find nothing more of use to us...'⁴⁴

It is interesting to see that the practice of hiding in caves was common in this period, as it was under Roman rule. The measures taken by the Franks were inadequate, as is clear, for instance, from the account of Saewulf (AD 1102-3):

'We went up from Joppa to the city of Jerusalem, a journey of two days, by a mountainous road, very rough and dangerous on account of the Saracens, who lie in wait in the caves of the mountains to surprise the Christians watching both day and night to surprise those less capable of resisting by the smallness of their company, or the weary, who may chance to lag behind their companions. At one moment you see them on every side; at another they are altogether invisible, as may be witnessed by anybody travelling there. Numbers of human bodies lie scattered in the way, and by the way-side torn to pieces by wild beasts. Some may perhaps wonder that the bodies of Christians are allowed to remain unburied, but it is not surprising when we consider that there is not much earth on the hard rock to dig a grave. ... many are cut off by the Saracens, but more by heat and thirst; many perish by the want of drink, but more by too much drinking.'⁴⁵

In the same decade the Russian pilgrim Daniel Hegoumenos (the Abbot, AD 1106-7) gives similar information. Following a description of the Church of St George at Lydda he says: 'And there are many springs here; travellers rest by the water but with great fear, for it is a deserted place and nearby is the town of Ascalon from which Saracens sally forth and kill travellers on those roads. There is a great fear too going up from that place into the hills.'⁴⁶

This pilgrim says of the Jerusalem - Jericho road that it is 'very difficult and frightening. There is no water. It passes through high, stony mountains and many pagans beat the Christians in these frightening gorges.'⁴⁷

In 1119 the Templar Order began to organize

⁴³ Translated from Ibn Jobair, *Voyages*, trans. M. Gaudetroy-Demombynes, vi (1953), 350 f.; Arabic and French: *RHC Or.* iii, 445 f.

⁴⁴ Fulcher of Chartres ii 4, 2-4; trans. F.R. Ryan (1969), 144. Note the parallel account by William of Tyre x 8.

⁴⁵ Saewulf, Trans. T. Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine* (1848), 36. For a new translation: J. Wilkinson (ed.), *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185* (1988), 94-116. On banditry in the Crusader period, see also Benvenisti, *CHL*, 312 f.

⁴⁶ *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, i 1, trans. B. de Khitowo (1889), 10 f.; J. Raba, *Russian Travel Accounts on Palestine* (1986, Heb.), 13; 31; English translation: J. Wilkinson (ed.), *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185* (1988), 121-171, for the current passage: 126.

⁴⁷ *Itinéraires russes*, 26; Raba, 41; Wilkinson, 136. Note also the description of the dangers of travelling from Jerusalem to the North, and from Mt. Tabor to Nazareth by the same author.

a system which aimed at securing the safety of the roads in the interior of the kingdom. They established a number of road-castles at crossroads and dangerous localities. One of these was Castellum Arnaldi (Yalu) of which it is specifically said that it was planned in 1133 to protect pilgrims to Jerusalem against attacks by bandits.

'...The Patriarch and the citizens of Jerusalem, putting their trust in the Lord, assembled in full strength at a place near ancient Nobe, which today is generally called Bettenuble. There, on the slope of a hill at the entrance to the plain, on the road leading to Lydda and from there to the sea, they built a fortress of solid masonry to ensure the safety of pilgrims passing along that route. In the narrow mountain pass, among defiles impossible to avoid, pilgrims were exposed to great danger. Here the people of Ascalon were accustomed to fall upon them suddenly. The work, when successfully accomplished was called Castle Arnold. Thus, by the grace of God and also because of this fortress, the road became much safer and the journey to or from Jerusalem was rendered less perilous.'⁴⁸

From this description it is clear that this castle was not built to suppress plain economic robbery by the local population, such as described above, or by Bedouin, but raids conducted by the Egyptians from their base at Ascalon.⁴⁹ It must be noted that the Valley of Ayalon is described as troubled by banditry as early as the period of the Amarna correspondence and as late as the nineteenth century. Nearby the Templars built and maintained the castle of Latrun which would also have contributed locally to the safety of the southern road to Jerusalem among its other functions.⁵⁰ This stronghold indeed occupied a strategic spot and therefore played a significant role in the general struggle for the roads to Jerusalem, notably during the campaign of Richard the Lionheart. In the course of the thirteenth century it was repeatedly used as base for operations.⁵¹

Another castle explicitly said to have served to protect travellers, was that at Yazur, one of those

demolished by Saladin in September 1191, after the battle of Arsuf.⁵² The Templars restored it two months later.⁵³ 'This was indeed considered very necessary because of the passage of pilgrims travelling to these parts.'

In September of 1192 a treaty was concluded by which the Crusader kingdom was restored. This left Jerusalem in Moslem hands, but it would be accessible to pilgrims. The two armies met at Latrun. A group of Moslem soldiers went for supplies to Jaffa, while large numbers of the Franks went up to Jerusalem as pilgrims.⁵⁴ Subsequently a number of major events must have influenced the traffic of pilgrims to Jerusalem, for in 1219 the city was destroyed, and following this, briefly returned to Frankish rule from 1228 till 1244.⁵⁵

In the thirteenth century highwaymen still threatened road security. Wilbrandus de Oldenburg (1211-12), travelling down the coast road to Jaffa found Arsuf 'a small and destroyed town, once inhabited by our people, which has many Saracen robbers in its territory.'⁵⁶ Another pilgrim who travelled from Caesarea to Jaffa in 1231 noted that, near the 'roche taillie' (Wadi Faliq, Nahal Poleg), before reaching Arsuf, 'i a un mauves pas, & là se herbergent mauvaises gens aucune foiz, por desrober & por taillier le chemin à ceus qui vont a Jaffe.'⁵⁷ This shows that highwaymen were established on the main road, a mere eight kilometres to the north of a fortified Frankish settlement, and in its territory. Another pilgrim has a similar report of the road from Ramle to Beit Nuba, some time before 1265: 'En après l'om vet de Rames à Betenuble où il i a .v. lives, le quel chemin est mult dutus par les bucement de Bedeuins, ke ocient

⁵² See above and the Gazetteer, s.v. Yazur.

⁵³ *It Reg. Ric.* iv 29 (ed. Stubbs, 289).

⁵⁴ Baha' al-Din, *RHC Or.*, iii, 349; v, 80 f.

⁵⁵ Letter of Richard of Cornville (AD 1241), inserted by M. Paris in *Grande Chronique*, French trans. by A. Huillard - Bréholles (Paris 1840), 190-1: sites along the Jerusalem - Bethlehem road, the Lydda - Jaffa road, Jerusalem and territory, Bethlehem.

⁵⁶ Wilbrandus de Oldenburg II 2, *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quattuor*, ed. Laurent (1864), 184.

⁵⁷ Anonymous, *Les pelerinages por aler en Iherusalem*, apud H. Michelant and G. Raynaud, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem* (1882), 92. Similarly: Anon., *Les chemins et les pelerinages de la Terre Sainte* (before 1265), Texte B, *ibid.*, 191.

⁴⁸ William of Tyre xiv, 8 (*RHC Occ.* i, 617; Translation Babcock and Krey [1957], ii, 58). The Latin is cited in the Gazetteer, s.v. Yalu.

⁴⁹ For the identification of Castellum Arnaldi, cf. Gazetteer s.v. Yalu.

⁵⁰ See the entry on Latrun in the Gazetteer.

⁵¹ See the references in Vincent and Abel, *Emmaüs*, 370 f.

la gent ke vunt en Ierusalem...'⁵⁸ Admittedly, the two castles in the Valley of Ayalon were no longer in Frankish hands by that time, but the reference to Bedouin is interesting. It serves to remind us that Bedouin activity is not necessarily restricted to the arid parts of the country.⁵⁹

Pilgrims and Travellers in the Crusader Kingdom

Pilgrims and travellers have been mentioned above in so far as they were the victims of banditry or insecurity. It remains to describe what individual accounts can tell us about the journey from the coast to Jerusalem and back. In fact, it will be seen that this is rather disappointing.⁶⁰ Obviously, pilgrimage to Jerusalem was to some extent the *raison d'être* of the Latin kingdom, but the information about the journey over land is limited and usually restricted to a bare mention of places and distances, interspersed with occasional references to Scripture. Crusader Jerusalem is so well-known that it can be fully mapped and described, but the minor settlements and sites along the roads were not a subject of interest to the travellers.

Maps

First we should mention a number of mediaeval maps of the country, reproduced in two articles by Röhricht.⁶¹

The first is a map produced about 1150. It shows Jerusalem with its gates and the roads leaving the city. The western exit from the town is through the present Jaffa gate, indicated as 'Porta David' with the adjacent 'David's tower' and the royal palace. Through

this gate lead the roads to Bethlehem and Hebron. (The northern exit, St. Stephen's gate, is shown as giving access to St. Stephen's church which is of no help to us.)

The second map, from about 1200, shows Jerusalem as circular in shape. The west gate leads nowhere, but the north gate leads to Nazareth and the port of Acco with the inscription: 'Hac via intrans peregrini.' Along the coast three ports are indicated in addition to the castle of Haifa: Cesarea, Joppe and Ascalon. From these ports roads lead to Becennoble (Beit Nuba). In the middle, between Becennoble and Jerusalem, are the Monastery of St. Samuel (Nabi Samwil) and Mons Gaudii (Mount Joy). This may be taken as an indication that the road through Beit Nuba and Nabi Samwil was the only one relevant to the author of the map and presumably reflects the situation after the treaty of 1192 between Saladin and Richard the Lionheart.

The third map, from about 1300, shows the western part of the country, from Jerusalem to the coast. Nahal Soreq is shown as flowing from somewhere west of Jerusalem to the sea between Joppe and 'Jamnya portus Jude', i.e. Yavneh Yam. North of the Soreq are Joppe, Ramath sophim - Ramula (Ramle) - Nobe (Beit Nuba) - Cariathiarim (--) - Gabaon - Silo 'now called ad Sanctum Samuelem.' Opposite Cariathiarim and south of the Soreq lies Emaus (Abu Ghosh?) and 'Modin - sepulchra Machabeorum' (Zovah?).⁶² Nearby is a bridge across the Soreq, clearly the bridge near Motza.

Although the map does not show roads, it is clear that the line of settlements indicated represents the road from Jaffa to Ramle, and thence to Beit Nuba and Nabi Samwil. The southern road exists, as is clear from the presence of Emaus (Abu Ghosh) and the bridge across the Soreq. One must be careful, however, in accepting the map as evidence for the state of affairs in mediaeval times, for part of the information is clearly taken from the work of Jerome, for instance the references to Kiriath-jarim and to Jamnia, neither of which existed under those names in the Middle Ages. As will be seen below, the same is true for the roughly

⁵⁸ 'Les chemins et les pelerinages', Texte B, *apud* Michelant and Raynaud, op.cit., 192.

⁵⁹ For Bedouin in the Valley of Jezreel, Isaac and Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea*, i 106.

⁶⁰ We do not cite all the accounts of pilgrims in this period. For a fuller treatment: Sabino de Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum* (Saec. XII-XIII) (1983) and, for part of the period: Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185* (1988). There are also imaginary accounts. Cf. J. Richard, 'Voyages réels et voyages imaginaires', in: *Croisés: missionnaires et voyageurs* (1983), no. xx; also: H.L. Savage in K.M. Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, iv (1977), 36-68; A. Graboïs in: *Ze'ev Vilnay's Jubilee Volume*, ii (1987), 339-345 (Heb.).

⁶¹ R. Röhricht, *ZDPV* 14(1891), Pl. 4 facing p.137; Pl. 5 facing p.138; ib. Pl. 1, facing p.8.

⁶² As indicated in the Gazetteer s.v. Latrun and s.v. Modiin, in the Middle Ages Emmaus and Modiin were identified as a pair, either with Imwas and Latrun or with Abu Ghosh and Zovah. The former is less likely in the present case. B. Bagatti, *I monumenti di Emmaus El-Qubeibeh e dei dintorni* (1947), 188, suggests Colonia could be meant. The location on the map is indeed suitable, but there is no other mediaeval source which places Emmaus at Motza/Colonia (where in our view it belongs).

contemporary treatise of Burchardus de Monte Sion.

Matthew Paris (1200-1259) included two maps in his *Chronica Maiora*.⁶³ On one of these the Jaffa - Jerusalem road is indicated by a line with the note: 'Iter in Jerusalem'. On the other the road is marked by the words: 'le chemin de Yafeh a Jerusalem'.

It is clear that contemporary maps show the same pattern as the description of army movements: the main road follows the line Ramle - Beit Nuba - Nabi Samwil and the southern road, through Abu Ghosh, is also represented, while the Beit Horon road is ignored.

Individual Accounts

There is very little relevant material from the twelfth century, when Jerusalem was the capital of the Latin kingdom. Most eyewitnesses write about military campaigns rather than individual voyages. The most noteworthy authors are Saewulf (1101-3), Daniel (about 1106-8), Benjamin of Tudela (1166-71), Theoderic (1172) and John Phocas (1177). The information found in the works of Saewulf, Daniel and Phocas has been cited above and in the Gazetteer. Saewulf, we may add, gives a vivid description of the activity of the port of Jaffa and its unreliability. Upon his arrival there were thirty large ships laden with pilgrims and merchandise at anchor. Only seven of those remained safe during a sudden storm.⁶⁴

In 1172 Theoderic travelled from Jerusalem to Ramle over the southern road: He mentions St. John's in the Wood (Ein Kerem), Modin (Zovah, Belmont), Emmaus (Abu Ghosh): 'Near these mountains is the castle of Emmaus, which the moderns called Fontenoid.' Ramle was to him the birth place of the prophet Samuel, Nabi Samwil (Silo), the place where he was buried. It is unlikely that he actually visited Nabi Samwil, for he claims that springs flow into the valleys from Mount Silo. He probably saw the springs in Nahal Soreq and thought the water came from springs higher up. 'At Silo the prophet Samuel is buried; this is why the ancient name has been changed into that of Saint Samuel, where there is a congregation of grey monks.'⁶⁵ He pursued his way down to Lydda. 'From here one goes down by the way that leads

toward Achon, or Ptolemais, through a pleasant and beautiful plain that extends between the mountains and the flat country by the seashore, on which are many cities and towns, both new and old.'⁶⁶ He gives a description of Acco. 'Wherever the ships of pilgrims may have landed them, they are all obliged to repair to the harbour of this city to take them home again on their return from Jerusalem.' He counted eighty ships in the port (as compared with the thirty seen near Jaffa by Saewulf).⁶⁷ Theoderic notes that there are two main roads from Acco to Jerusalem: one that leads through Nazareth, Samaria and Neapolis, named 'the Upper Road', and the other that leads through Caesarea and Lydda, called the 'Via Maris'.⁶⁸ Theoderic was struck by the influence of the great orders:

'It is not easy for anyone to know how much power and riches the Templars have. For almost all the cities and villages which were once frequent in Judaea and had been destroyed by the Romans, they and the Hospitallers have captured, and they have built castles everywhere and garrisoned them with soldiers. This is in addition to a great many properties they are known to possess in lands abroad.'⁶⁹

Benjamin of Tudela (1170) travelled from Nabi Samwil three parasangs to 'Mahomeriah le Petitah which is Giv'at Shaul, and there are no Jews there and this is Giv'at Binyamin [Qubeiba]. And from there it is three parasangs to Beit Naube which is a city of priests and in the middle of the road are two rocks of Jonathan, one is called Bozez and the other Sneh, and there are two Jewish dyers there. And from there it is three parasangs to Rames [Ramle]...and from there it is five parasangs to Jaffa.'⁷⁰ This is a clear reference to the Qubeiba - Beit Nuba route. Benjamin furnishes valuable information about several places, such as Nabi Samwil and mentions others, such as Ramle and

⁶³ Reproduced in *Atlas of Israel* (1970), map I/3/C.

⁶⁴ Saewulf in T. Wright (trans.), *Early Travels in Palestine* (1848), 34-6; Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, 99 f.

⁶⁵ Theoderic, *de locis sanctis*, iii 38, ed. M.L. and W. Bulst, 42.

⁶⁶ Op.cit., iii 39, trans. A. Stewart, 58; ed. Bulst, 43.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 40.

⁶⁸ Op.cit., iii 48.

⁶⁹ trans. Wilkinson, 294.

⁷⁰ Adler ed., 28. See also A. Ya'ari, *Masa'ot Eretz-Israel* (1976, Heb.): 'The Journey of Ya'akov Ben Netana'el Hacoen', 55-62, esp. 57 (second half of the twelfth century): 'From Jerusalem a man goes ...parasangs to Nob, a city of priests. From Nob to Lod two parasangs and one parasang to Dodanim [Ramle?], two parasangs to Yavne, two parasangs to Ashdod, four parasangs to Ascalon.' Cf. J. Prawer, *Cathedra* 40 (1986), 45-56 (Heb.).⁷⁰

Latrun (q.v.). He notes that the main place of disembarkation of all Christian pilgrims was Acco, because this was the frontier town of Palestine and had a large harbour.⁷¹

The first thirteenth-century pilgrim who gives a rather colourful account is Wilbrandus de Oldenburg (1211-1212):⁷²

'[Leaving Jaffa] we travelled through a land truly flowing with milk and honey and we passed through Rama, a ruined city inhabited by Saracens, from where Saint George came in the time of the Greeks who then ruled the country... The same day we came to Bettenobele [Beit Nuba], a village, the walls of which are destroyed, inhabited by Saracens. It is seven Gallic miles from Iopea or Iaf. The next day, which will be counted the happiest of my life, we climbed the mountains to Jerusalem. These are rather high, stoney and very rough and, a remarkable thing, they produce much vine, olive and grain. There we saw many destroyed and abandoned villages and monasteries whose names I have forgotten, where religious men lived near their mother.'

Wilbrandus clearly followed the Beit Nuba - Nabi Samwil road. A number of related thirteenth-century texts describe the stages of the journey with little comment: 'De Rames à Betenuble a v lieues. Betenuble est une grant ville. De Betenuble à la Montioie a v lieues. Sus la Monioie est l'yglise Saint Samuel le prophete; si a iij lieues iusques en Iherusalem à entrer pour la porte S. Estiéne.'⁷³ It appears that twenty years after Wilbrandus someone considered Beit Nuba a substantial settlement. Apart from this rather doubtful item we have no accounts of the period 1228-1244 which might show to what extent the temporary recovery of Jerusalem made a difference to the pilgrims.

The road via Qubeiba became the obligatory route for pilgrims from the thirteenth till the late fifteenth century. As a result, some of the holy places pointed out to pilgrims along the route were transferred

from one road to the other. The last sources to mention Abu Ghosh as Emmaus date to the thirteenth century.⁷⁴ A source of 1280 first identifies Qubeiba with the Emmaus of Luke.⁷⁵ Nabi Samwil kept attracting attention from both Christian pilgrims and Jews. For instance, Ricoldus de Monte Crucis travelled in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century from the coast, via Qaqun to Lydda, thence to Beit Nuba, Nabi Samwil and Jerusalem. He took the same route back. On the way up he visited 'the house of Samuel' and on the way down Emmaus, where he saw a beautiful church.⁷⁶

A report of a different kind is offered by Burchardus de Monte Sion (AD 1283).⁷⁷ This is not an account by a traveller, but a description of the Holy Land with references to Scripture, in itself a traditional genre.⁷⁸ As part of a detailed section on Jerusalem it gives a list of places in the vicinity with distances from the city. It is better informed, but much is copied from Jerome's translation of Eusebius' *Onomasticon* and the work does not refer to roads or travelling in particular. For instance: 'Four and a half *leugae* west of Jerusalem on the road to Diospolis or Lydda is Cariathiarim

⁷⁴ 'A iij lieues de Iherusalem, devers soleil coucant, a une fontaine c'on apele le Fontaine d'Emaus': Ernoul, *L'estat de la cité de Iherusalem* (1228), xx, cited by S. de Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum*, iii (1983), 410. This must be Abu Ghosh, for there is no spring at Qubeiba. Anonymous, *La Sainte Cite de Iherusalem...* (1229-1261) vii, 20, *RHC Occ.* ii 504: 'A iij lieues de Iherusalem par devers soleil couchant, avoit une fontaine que l'en apeloit la Fontaine des Emauz. Le chastel des Emauz est de lèz.' *L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur* xviii, *RHC Occ.* ii, 384 (AD 1229), mentions a journey from Jaffa to Emmaus and thence to Bethlehem. This is likely to refer to Abu Ghosh.

⁷⁵ H. Michelant and G. Raynaud (eds.), *Itinéraires à Jérusalem et Descriptions de la Terre Sainte* (1882), 229: 'Pelrinages et pardouns de Acre.'

⁷⁶ Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, ap. Laurent (ed.), *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quattuor*, 107; 113.

⁷⁷ Burchardus de Monte Sion, ap. Laurent (ed.), *Peregrinatores*, 76-8; 84 f. Cf. A. Grabois in *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer* (1982), 285-96.

⁷⁸ Cf. *De via eundi de Iope in Ierusalem et de sancto sepulchro et aliis locis* (about AD 1175), ap. P. Girolamo Golubovich, *Bibliotheca Bibliographica della Terra Santa* (1906), i, 405-8. The most elaborate work of this kind is that of Marinus Sanutus, *Liber Secretorum* (1310-1318) (reprint 1972).

⁷¹ Benjamin of Tudela 31, ed. Adler, 21.

⁷² Wilbrandus de Oldenburg, ii 3, *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quattuor*, 184.

⁷³ Anonymous, *les Pelerinages por aler en Hierusalem* (1231), eds. H. Michelant and G. Raynaud, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem...* (1882), 92f. Note also the anonymous pilgrims of 1231, *ibid.*, 87-103 and 104-107.

which was one of the cities of the Gabaonitae.⁷⁹ This is a straightforward translation from Jerome.⁸⁰ Kiriath-jeearim was not a place-name in the period of the Crusaders and the name Diospolis was forgotten. Hence the reference to Lower Beit Horon by Burchardus must also have been taken from this source and is no exception to the rule that the Beit Horon road is ignored in literary sources of this period.

One also finds contemporary information mixed with elements taken from Jerome, for instance in the following item from the twelfth-century work of Rorgo Fretellus: 'Six miles from Jerusalem to the South [*sic*] on the road to Ramatha [Ramle] is Mount Modyn whence came Matathyas, father of the Maccabees. The tomb in which they lie is there also and their graves are still visible. Eight miles from Modyn on the road to Ioppe is Lydda which is Diospolis where the tomb of Saint George is shown, a mile from Ramatha.'⁸¹ Modi'in was in that period identified with Belmont (Zovah) or with Latrun, but the latter does not fit here. The author enters information on Modi'in from Jerome, but accepts the contemporary identification with a site near the Abu Ghosh road. His reference to Lydda combines the anachronistic use of the name Diospolis with a remark about the church of St George.

It must be concluded that the travellers in the Crusader period do not tell us much beyond the stages of their journey. Most took the Beit Nuba - Qubeiba -

Nabi Samwil road, but the road through Abu Ghosh was also in use. In 1291 the last Frankish footholds in the country were lost and the entire region became part of the Mameluke empire.

⁷⁹ *Peregrinatores*, 77: 'De Ieusalem IV leucis et dimidia contra occidentem euntibus Diospolim siue Lyddam est Cariathiarim, que fuit una de urbibus Gabaoniatum...'

⁸⁰ Eusebius, *On.* 114, 23-7 (Klostermann): Καριαθιαρείμ Jos 18, 14 ἡ καὶ Καριαθβαάλ ἡ καὶ πόλις Ἰαρείμ. μία τῶν Γαβαωνιτῶν, φυλῆς Ἰούδα, μεταξύ Αἰλίας καὶ Διοσπόλεως. ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ κειμένη ἀπὸ σημείων θ' Αἰλίας. Jerome: 'Cariathiarim, quae et Cariathbaal, civitas saltuum, una de urbibus Gabaonitarum, pertinens ad tribum Iudae, euntibus ab Aelia Diospolim in miliario nono.' Procopius of Gaza, *PG* 87, 1023 f. cites Eusebius, *On.* 128, 1; Rorgo Fretellus (12th century), *Description de la Terre Sainte* 71 (ed. P.C. Boeren, 1980), 40, also cites Jerome.

⁸¹ Rorgo Fretellus 69, ed. Boeren, 39: Sexto miliario ab Iherusalem contra meridiem via que ducat Ramatha, mons Modyn, ex quo Matathyas pater Machabeorum, in quo et sepulti quiescunt, eorum adhuc apparentibus tumulis. Octavo miliario a Modyn, via que ducit Ioppe Lydda que est Dyospolis, in qua corpus beati Georgii sepultum fuisse manifestatur, miliario ab Ramatha.

FROM THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Fourteenth Century Travellers

The travellers of this period came to a province of the Mameluke empire rather than to a part of the Latin kingdom. Their accounts are somewhat more lively and evocative than the dry lists of distances and halting places that characterize most of the pilgrims' reports from the previous period. However, we have nothing to match the histories of authors like William of Tyre or Fulcher of Chartres who knew the country well. The travellers who wrote about their visits to the Holy Land came for a relatively short stay as pilgrims, most of them travelled along a fixed circuit which varied only a little in the course of time, and they generally repeat what they were told by local guides. All travellers from this period till the nineteenth century were western visitors who saw the country through the perspective of tourists and we must interpret their observations accordingly. Thus, a man who had been robbed might say that the country was infested with bandits, while another who had an escort would know nothing about banditry. What we offer here are therefore travellers' impressions only, not a social history of Palestine through the ages.

'The Travels of Sir John Mandeville' (written before 1371) is really a literary forgery by the Belgian Jean d'Outremeuse which enjoyed considerable popularity.¹ It contains much undoubtedly genuine information. The road from Jaffa to Jerusalem is described in one of the principal Mediaeval versions, MS. Egerton 1982.² It is mentioned as the shorter way - i.e. not via Babylon (Cairo) and Sinai, recommended for people who do not like deserts and want to see wife and children again.

'Than he gase to schippe [from Cyprus] and comez na mare on land if he will before he come at porte Iaffe that es the next hauen to ierusalem for it es bot a day iournee and a half fra ierusalem that es to say .xxxvj. myle. Fra the porte Iaffe men gase to the citee of Rames the whilk es bot a lytill theine and it es a faire citee and a gude and mykill folk therin. And

withouten that citee toward the south is a kirk of oure lady whare oure lord schewed him till hir in three cloudes the whilk betakned the trinitee. And a lytill theine es ane other citee that men callez *Dispolis* bot it hight sum tyme *Lidda* a faire citee and a wele inhabited. Thare es a kirk of sayne george whare he was heueded. Fra theine men gase to the castell of Emaus And so to the mount ioy thare may pilgrimes first see to ierusalem. At mount ioy liggez Samuel the prophete. Fra theine men gase to ierusalem. Beside thir ways es the citee of *Ramatha* and the mount *Modyn* And theroff was Matathias ludas Machabeus fader. And thare er the graves of the Machabeez.'

The ms. then goes on to describe yet another way via Haifa:

'the cite of Cayphas that sum men callez the castell of Pilgrimes And fra theine to ierusalem er .iiij. day iournez In the whilk men schall ga thurgh *Cesaria Philippi* and so to *Iaffe* and *Rames* and the castell of *Emaus* and so to ierusalem.'

The passage ends on a cheerful note: 'Now hafe I talde yow sum ways by land and by water that men may ga by to the haly land after the cuntreez that thay com fra neuertheles thai com all til ane ende.' The author mentions several places in the vicinity of Jerusalem: the Monastery of the Cross, Ein Kerem ... 'And fro that chirche is a myle to the castell of Emaux [Qubeiba].'³ 'Also fro Ierusalem .ij. myle is the mountioye [i.e. Nabi Samwil] a full fair place and a delicious and there lyth Samuel the prophete in afair tombe. And men clepen it mountioye for it yeueth ioye to pilgrymes hertes because that there men seen first Ierusalem.'

One of the better itineraries of this period is that written by Ludolph de Suchem (1336-1350).⁴

'Going on from Assur [Arsuf], one comes to a very fair city, tolerably full of people even at this day, called Ascalon. Going on from Ascalon one comes to Joppa, an exceeding

³ Op.cit., p.62.

⁴ *Gedenkbuch des Litterarischen Vereins Stuttgart*, Vol. 24-5: Ludolphii de Itinere Terrae Sanctae Liber, ed. F. Deycks (1851); also in S. Feyerabend, *Reyssbuch dess heiligen Landes* (1584); English translation: *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society* (London 1895). Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, iii (1841), Appendix I, p.11, considered it 'decidedly the best Itinerary of the fourteenth century', but he did not know the work of Jacobus de Verona.

¹ Mandeville's Travels translated from the French of Jean d'Outremeuse, ed. P. Hamelius, E.E.T.S., O.S. no.153 (Oxford 1919, repr. 1960); cf. C. Deluz, *CRAI* 1989, 394 - 402.

² Op.cit., Appendix, 213-4; 216.

ancient and beauteous city standing on the sea-shore. ... It is about two days' journey distant from Jerusalem, but pilgrims are not able to land at the port. Inland, not far from Joppa, there stands a fair city, once called Ruma, but now called Bael [i.e. Ramle], situated in a most beauteous, pleasant, and delectable place, and inhabited by Christians alone. It is believed that no Jew or Saracen could live or dwell therein for more than a year. All the wine drunk by the Christians in Jerusalem and the other places is brought from hence. On the left hand side of this Ruma, or Bael, there stands a fair city, still well peopled, called Diospolis, or by another name, Lydda. In this city the glorious martyr St. George suffered martyrdom and was beheaded. There is an exceeding fair church, well adorned with mosaic work and marble, wherein, in the choir, the place of his beheading is shown.⁵

In this city [i.e. Ramatha ... Ramle] dwells at this day the Cadi -- that is, the Bishop of the Saracens -- and here we once had much trouble about some Christians who had been taken prisoners there through their own folly, before we set them free. The prophet Samuel was born in this city, and buried in it. It was near this city that Habakkuk the prophet was carrying the harvesters their dinner, when he was caught up by the angel and carried to Daniel in the lions' den at Babylon. Not far from Ramatha was a once fair, but now deserted, city named Arimathea, the birthplace of Joseph who buried Christ. Near this place, three miles off, once stood a famous city, which now is a small village, called Shiloh, where the Ark of the Covenant stood, and the Hebrews gathered together there to pray. Not far from Shiloh is Emmaus, once a fair city, but now deserted, where Jesus appeared to His disciples after his resurrection. This city is now called Nicopolis. Near Nicopolis, on the right hand, once stood two very famous cities, now deserted -- to wit, Gibeon and Ajalon -- where Joshua fought against five kings ...'

The topography of places on the coast is confused. Ramle is mentioned twice, and it is clear that the first report is based merely on hearsay, while the second represents the pilgrim's genuine visit. Following this, the topography is confused again. Shiloh is Nabi Samwil, Emmaus certainly Qubeiba which he found deserted - but he must have seen it before coming to

Shiloh. Only then does he mention Gibeon and Ajalon. The references to Arimathea and to these two places may well be copied from Jerome's letter to Eustochium,⁶ cited above. Although this is considered by some scholars the best of the fourteenth-century travel accounts, there is in fact little news in the description: the fertility of the area around Ramle is duly noted, Ramle is once more the administrative centre, and we hear of a church(?) of Habakkuk near Ramle.⁷

The traveller Jacobus de Verona (1335) acknowledges the superior local knowledge of the Jewish population: they knew the country best from their family tradition and learning and even when he wanted to inquire about places overseas he frequently asked the local Jews.⁸

Jacobus de Verona writes that Jaffa had been a splendid city with a good spring, but when he visited he found it totally abandoned and destroyed, apart from the presence of six guardsmen.⁹ The pilgrims were received by an officer from the provincial authorities at Ramle. On the way to Ramle he noticed the derelict castles of Yazur and Beit Dajan. He thought Ramle ('Rama or Ramelech') was the birth place of the prophet Samuel (Ramacha Sophin) and he was shown the prophet's tomb in a church converted into a mosque. Near Ramle he visited Lydda where he saw the church of St. George. He travelled to Jerusalem on an ass, because Christians were forbidden to ride on a horse. He passed Nabi Samwil, which he calls St. Michael, 'called in antiquity Rama, where the children of Israel lead a miserable life.' It was frequented by Jews because they believe that Samuel was buried there rather than in Ramle, he says, adding that many of the judges of Israel are buried there. He further mentions Emmaus (Qubeiba), vallis Terebinti (Nahal Soreq), Modyn (Latrun), Gibeon, and Beit Nuba 'where David received Goliath's sword', but the topography is so confused that it is not clear which places he actually saw. He observes that all these places are now derelict and inhabited by poor Saracens.

Finally we should mention the existence of

⁶ Jerome, ep. 108.

⁷ At Yazur? q.v. Cf. Theoderic, *Guide to the Holy Land* iii 36, trans. A. Stewart (1986), p.55, who places somewhere in the region of Jaffa and Arimathea (Ramle) '... the field where Abacuc the prophet was carried off by an angel...'

⁸ Jacobus de Verona, ed. R. Röhrich, *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 3(1895), 224.

⁹ Op.cit., p. 180.

⁵ Ludolph, ed. Deycks, p. 50, trans. PPTS, 64 f.;

fictitious accounts, usually attributed to famous men, such as the poet Petrarch,¹⁰ who in fact never visited Palestine.

Pilgrims now came to the Holy Land from virtually every country of Europe, from Britain¹¹, Spain¹², Germany¹³, and Russia.¹⁴

Fifteenth Century Travellers

The travellers of the fifteenth century all used the same route between Jaffa and Jerusalem, visited the same sites and describe virtually identical experiences in more or less detail. One of the most extensive accounts is that by Felix Faber (Schmidt, 1480-3).¹⁵ Thus, after the author's arrival at Jaffa he tells us:

'Now, as soon as the name of each pilgrim and that of his father had been written down, there were appointed certain Saracens who straightway seized him and dragged him to the entrance of a darksome and decayed dwelling beneath a ruinous vault, wherein they thrust him even as men are wont to thrust a sheep into a stable to be milked. In this cavern there is a seven years' indulgence ... Now, when we entered these caverns we found the very place of our abode abominably defiled and befouled with filth, nor was there any place to sit down save upon filth.¹⁶ Now, while we were in this place of abomination there came to us certain Saracens, poor men, who had collected together rushes and branches of trees, which they sold to us, and

we covered the wet earth with them and made beds of them. Moreover, merchants who came from Rama and from Jerusalem entered our abode with sweet-scented merchandise and made market there.'¹⁷

The pilgrims had to pay for their lodging in these caves where they were kept three days. They were then provided with asses and an escort for the journey to Ramle.¹⁸ On the way they admired the extensive ruins of Jaffa. Before reaching Ramle they were ordered to dismount, for it was forbidden for Christians to ride in town. They stayed the night in the hostel built by the Duke of Burgundy,¹⁹ were informed of the 'rules of good behaviour in the Holy Land' and visited Lydda, near which they saw 'Mount Modyn' (Latrun). From Ramle they travelled through the ruins of Emmaus (Qubeiba) and saw Nabi Samwil, but did not visit it, for they followed a branch road through Wadi Suriq (Nahal Soreq) which they called the 'Valley of Elah' or the 'Valley of the Terebinths', a route often used in later periods. 'It is a fertile valley with olives, figs and vine and at this day many Terebinths stand therein.'

Other travellers made the same journey and visited the same sites.²⁰ The descriptions are remarkably similar to each other. They all complain of the appalling filth in the caves in Jaffa.²¹ Hans Werli von Zimmer is unusual because he mentions the old

¹⁰ Francesco Petrarca, *Viaggio in Terrasanta* (ed. A. Altamura, 1979).

¹¹ E. Hoade, *Western Pilgrims* (1951).

¹² S. Eiján, *España en Terra Santa* (1910).

¹³ R. Röhrich, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem heiligen Lande* (1889).

¹⁴ B. de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes en Orient* (1889); J. Raba, *Russian Travel Accounts on Palestine* (1986, Heb.).

¹⁵ Felix Faber, *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*, ed. Hassler (1843-9); English translation by Aubrey Stewart, *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society* (1892); German text of 1556: *Die Pilgerfahrt des Bruders Felix Faber ins Heilige Land, Anno MCDLXXXIII*, re-issued (Heidelberg, no date).

¹⁶ Felix Faber, i 1, PPTS, 224.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, 226.

¹⁸ For details regarding the equipment of the asses in 1527: Anon. 'Bericht über eine Jerusalemfahrt', *Mittheilungen des historischen Vereines für Steiermark* 44 (1896), 90.

¹⁹ This hostel is generally reported to have been well built, but deprived of any convenience, including beds or mattresses. Later pilgrims were told it was the house of Joseph of Arimathea.

²⁰ For instance: *Le voyage d'Outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière*, ed. C. Schefer (Paris 1892), 10 f., 24 f. (a journey made in 1432-3); *The Itineraries of William Wey ... to Jerusalem, AD 1458 and AD 1462* (London 1857), 58; A. Barrois (ed.), 'Itinéraires en Terre Sainte conservés à la bibliothèque d'Amiens', *RB* 38 (1929), 404-20: two accounts dated 1475 and 1507; J. Brefeld, *ZDPV* 101 (1985), 134-55; Hans Werli von Zimmer (AD 1483), next note.

²¹ They are shown on the map of Bernhard von Breitenbach: R. Röhrich, *ZDPV* 24 (1901), 129-135; reproduced in colour in the *Atlas of Israel* (1970), map i/2/b.

Roman bridge near Motza.²² He also noted the fertility of the valley with 'many gardens and much ancient work cut in the rocks and many old walls and in the past many people have lived there.'²³ Many travellers complain of extortion.²⁴ Sometimes there was a considerable delay at Ramle²⁵ and many travellers complain of the hostility and rapacity of the local population, particularly of stone-throwing between Jaffa and Ramle.²⁶ Disease was a frequent cause for worry.²⁷

It may be added that a Jewish traveller of 1481 identifies Ramle with Gat. He notes that it was on the main caravan route from Egypt to Damascus and had more than 30,000 inhabitants.²⁸

Sixteenth Century Travellers

In the sixteenth century conditions were better for travellers and their accounts are more lively. Francesco Suriano (1524) observes that from Ramleh to Jerusalem

'there are three ways, all of which are mountainous and tiring, along which there is

²² Hans Werli von Zimmer in S. Feyerabend, *Reissbuch des heiligen Landes* (Frankfurt 1584), 130: 'Über den Torrent auf dem David die fünf Steine nam ist eine steinerne Brücke da ritten wir aber fürbass hin.'

²³ Op. cit., 128-130; the text is sometimes identical with the German version of Felix Faber.

²⁴ For instance: *Itinéraire d'Anselme Adorno en Terre Sainte* (1470-1), ed. and French trans. J. Heers and G. de Groer (1978), 302.

²⁵ Op. cit., 304: two weeks.

²⁶ Bern. de Breydenbach (1483-4), *Sancta peregrinatio in montem Syon* (Spira 1502), no page numbers; *Die Reise ins Heilige Land*, ed. E. Geck (1961), p. 18. Breydenbach visited the Holy Land at the same time as Felix Faber and their texts are strikingly similar. Breydenbach is unusual in commenting on a bath-house in Ramle. His maps have been mentioned above.

²⁷ Anon., *Le voyage de la Sainte Cité de Hierusalem* (1480), ed. C. Schefer (Paris 1882), xvii f. The arrival at Jaffa: 57-62; journey to Ramle: 62 f.; at Ramle: 63-4; trip to Lydda: 65; description of Ramle: 67; journey to Jerusalem: 67-9; extortion and stone throwing on the way back: 99 f.

²⁸ R. Meshulam from Volterra, ap. E. Adler, *Jewish Travellers* (1966), 197.

neither water to drink nor food for animals, but there are many wild trees and carubs and woods, some in the valley of Anathot and Ramatha in which there are many vines and olive trees. And in Emmaus [Qubeiba] and Sylo [Nabi Samwil] it is the same. Then, five miles further on the road to Jerusalem you find vineyards, olive groves, figs and other fruits...²⁹

Denis Possot (1532) spent a peaceful first night in Jaffa, sharing his supper with priests from Jerusalem.³⁰ He does not complain about trouble between Jaffa and Ramle, 'tout beau chemin, entre lesquelles villes y a deux villaiges [i.e. Yazur and Beit Dajan or Sarafend] où sont petitez temples des Sarrazins, à tourelles rondes comme les moustiers de Venise.'³¹ In Ramle he was well received by the Christians who brought 'toutes sortes de vivres come poulles, raisin, poires, pompons, angories et melons, mais là n'y a point de vin...'³² They travelled from Ramle to Jerusalem under armed protection provided by the governor, because of the presence in the region of 'Arab brigands from the desert.' At this period pilgrims used the southern road again. Possot travelled along a rather beautiful road and saw the ruined 'castle of the good thief' (Latrun). Here they encountered Arab archers who did not harm them, thanks to their armed escort. They drank water from a well to the right of the road (Bir el Helu) and again from Bir Ayub and travelled through 'marvellous rocks, mountains and lands to the place of St. Jeremy named Anathet' (Abu Ghosh). Travelling 'through terrible places' Possot's guide pointed out the castle of Soubas (Zovah), Nabi Samwil, the sanctuary at Ein Karim, and Emmaus (Qubeiba). 'By the road on the left, on the mountain' he saw a village (Qaluniya).

Denis Possot enjoyed better treatment than most travellers. Others still had to spend some time in the notorious caves,³³ although they complain less about the indescribable stench and filth, so perhaps

²⁹ Fra Francesco Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*, English trans. by T. Bellorini and E. Hoade (1940), 40.

³⁰ Denis Possot, *Le voyage de la Terre Sainte*, ed. C. Schefer (Paris 1890), 155-7.

³¹ Op. cit., 159.

³² Op. cit., 157 f.

³³ E.g. Albrecht Graff zu Löwenstein (1562), 'Pilgerfahrt gen Jerusalem/Altkayr' in *Reissbuch des heiligen Landes* (1584), 192f.; Johan Helffrich, *Kurzer und Wahrhafftiger Bericht von der Reisz aus Venedig nach Hierusalem...* (Leipzig 1581), D V.

these were kept somewhat cleaner. This is indeed possible as we are told that the caves were also used as warehouses for grain exported to Constantinople.³⁴ At those times they were not used to lodge pilgrims, who had to wait on board ship till permission to disembark was obtained from the governor in Ramle, a procedure which usually took three days. This was followed by another stay in Ramle which could take from three to eight days. The sole reason for these delays was their profitability to the local population, who sold the pilgrims foodstuffs³⁵ while they stayed at the hostel donated by the Duke of Burgundy. This was a sort of caravanserai:

'This is very large and hath a great many Arched Chambers within, and a fine Well; within the Inner Court is a pretty large place, all grown over with green Aloes...'³⁶

In the courtyard was a well with good, clean water, but the rooms had no furniture³⁷ and some of the pilgrims were dissatisfied with the unavailability of wine.

Many forms of harassment, both official and unofficial, are reported: a Franciscan was almost torn apart in Ramle by two ass drovers who both felt he was their customer³⁸, while visitors to the Church at Abu Ghosh would find their way out blocked by armed men who demanded money.³⁹ Travellers were particularly

liable to meet with violence in the mountains. Usually, however, the escort provided for payment by the governor in Ramle protected the travellers against serious harm, especially from the Bedouin, who were hostile towards Turks and the Turkish authorities.⁴⁰ Such escorts could be quite considerable in size. A traveller in 1562 mentions twenty horsemen between Jaffa and Ramle, and two hundred between Ramle and Jerusalem.⁴¹

The impression we gain from these accounts is that the travellers suffered a good deal of harassment aimed at extorting money, but that few actually suffered bodily harm. It is difficult to judge whether the sums demanded were indeed substantial. It is quite possible that the pilgrims had the habit common to travellers at all periods, of complaining whenever they had to pay anything. The governor of Ramle himself would also detain travellers till they paid him money.⁴² Rauwolf was held up near Yazur by a 'great Turkish Lord' encamped there, who informed the pilgrims that 'he was one of them to whom the Grand Sultan had given Charge of the Temple, and the Mount Calvaria, with strict orders to let no Pilgrim in before they had paid a certain sum of Money.'⁴³ Rauwolf indeed had to pay three times between Jaffa and Jerusalem. On rare occasions western travellers were imprisoned in revenge for Maltese piracy. Thus Melchior von Seydliss (1556) spent almost three years in a Turkish prison.⁴⁴

³⁴ L. Rauwolff (1575), 'Itinerary into the Eastern Countries', iii 2, trans. from the Dutch by N. Staphorst, in J. Ray (ed.), *A Collection of Curious Travels & Voyages* (London 1693), 268.

³⁵ 'Bericht über eine Jerusalemfahrt zweier Franciscaner aus Friedau im Jahre 1527', *Mittheilungen des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark* 44(1896), 88 f.: 'Das tet er [i.e. the governor] von deswegen, das sein volk di zeit gelt von uns löset, wann di zeit, so di pilgram zu Ramatha seind, tragen si hin zue in das haus, do innen di pilgram wonen, hennen, air, brot, frucht und allerlai gattung und, was not ist, gesoten und ungesoten und losen gelt von den pigram und erfreien sich vast der zuekunft der pilgram und sechen gern, das di pilgram lang da selbst beliben, auf das si fil gelts von inen lösen mechten.'

³⁶ Rauwolff, op.cit., 269.

³⁷ Johan Helffrich, loc.cit.

³⁸ Op.cit., 92 f.

³⁹ This happened in 1561 to Jacob Wormbser, 'Eigentliche Beschreibung der Aussreysung und Heimfahrt...', *Reissbuch des heiligen Landes* (1584),

218; and a year later to Albrecht Graff zu Löwenstein, 'Pilgerfahrt...', loc.cit.

⁴⁰ 'Jerusalemfahrt zweier Franciscaner', 91; Rauwolff, p.270; N.C. Radzivil (1583), *Ierosolymitana Peregrinatio* (Antwerpen 1614), 121, who tells that he could not visit Emmaus (Qubeiba) because of the presence of hostile Arabs there. Two hundred Arabs belonging to this group made the vicinity of Bir Ayub also unsafe.

⁴¹ Löwenstein, loc.cit. All the same they suffered maltreatment at Abu Ghosh.

⁴² Jacob Wormbser, loc.cit.; Rauwolf, 269; Radzivil, op.cit., 123.

⁴³ Rauwolf, op.cit., 268. The official was there to collect corn and ship it to Constantinople.

⁴⁴ Melchior von Seydliss, 'Gründtliche Beschreibung der Wallfahrt nach dem heyligen Land' in *Reissbuch des heiligen landes* (1584), 256. A similar experience: G. Golubevich, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica*, ii (1930), 48 f. Anselme Adorno (1470-1) relates that the population of Ramle threatened to sell him and his companions when Christian pirates were operating in

The route most frequently followed in this period was Ramle - Latrun - Abu Ghosh - Motza - Jerusalem. Sometimes a detour was made through Nahal Soreq and past Nabi Samwil.⁴⁵ Part of this road was called 'the road of the disciples', for it was assumed that Emmaus was at Qubeiba, and the spot where Jesus joined the disciples on the Jerusalem - Emmaus road was believed to be Beit Tulma (Gazetteer, q.v.).

In the late sixteenth century we find the first series of illustrations of the Holy Land actually made on the spot. They are not of intrinsic artistic value, but we reproduce several of them here because they clearly represent a new approach to the realities of the land, and because they are an interesting record of a journey along the roads here discussed. They are the work of Jean Zuallart who visited the country in 1586.⁴⁶ They are often reproduced in books of the seventeenth century, by Cotovicus (Kootwijk), who also copied large sections of Zuallart's text (without acknowledgment), and by George Sandys, who reproduced them from Cotovicus.⁴⁷ We reproduce some of these illustrations with our comments. It is particularly interesting to compare them with the account of Martinus Seusenius (1602/3), another Dutchman (from Leeuwarden in Friesland), who provides personal details and facts not encountered in the works of earlier pilgrims.⁴⁸

(I) *Jaffa* (Pl.3) The town is seen from the west. In the foreground is a ship at anchor which is too large to enter the small port with its breakwater. In the port are a few smaller ships. Near the shore are the notorious caves. The town is entirely ruined and is accurately depicted as lying on a jutting cliff. On the top stand two square towers, the only remnants of the Crusader fortress; the one to the South is bigger than

the vicinity: *Itinéraire en Terre Sainte* (Heers and de Groer), 304, 306.

⁴⁵ Radzivil, op.cit., 120, travelling from Jerusalem to Jaffa. As already noted, Radzivil was prevented from visiting Qubeiba by the presence of hostile Arabs (Bedouin?).

⁴⁶ G. Zuallardo, *Il devotissimo viaggio de Gerusalemme* (Rome 1587) = Jean Zuallart, *Le Tresdevot Voyage de Jerusalem* (Antwerpen 1608). Cf. C.R. Conder, *PEFQS* (1902), 97-105.

⁴⁷ J. Cotovicus, *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum* (Antwerpen 1619).

⁴⁸ Mühlau (ed.), 'Martinus Seusenius' Reise in das heilige Land im Jahre 1602/3', *ZDPV* 26 (1903), 1-92.

the one to the North, as Seusenius noted.⁴⁹

(II) *Ramle* (Ramma) (Pl.4). Ramle is seen from the west. Its siting in the coastal plain near the Shephelah is shown correctly. Horsemen are approaching the town. To the right is a correct rendering of what is still the most notable feature in town, the square minaret of the White Mosque. The rest of the mosque was still standing at the time. To the left, i.e. to the north is a structure marked 'Lidda'. This must be the ruined church of St. George with the adjacent mosque of which only the minaret is visible.

(III) *Latrun* (Pl. 5) The road is shown passing north of the ruined Crusader castle. Pilgrims are seen travelling on the main road. Arab horsemen are about to cut them off. To the left is the 'church of the seven Maccabee brothers', transformed into a mosque. As observed in the entry on Latrun in the Gazetteer, in this period Modi'in was assumed to be near Latrun. In the distance is the well of St. Job (Bir Ayub).

(IV) *Abu Ghosh* (S. Hieremia, Pl. 6) is seen from the north-west. The road is shown curving around the old Crusader church. Pilgrims are riding past and archers are seen shooting at them. The church is depicted as it was before restoration early this century and before the construction of the modern monastery. The prospect is not entirely correct, for the village should be shown behind the church and on the slopes of the hill, which itself is fairly accurately rendered.

(V) *Motza* (Vallis Terebinthi, Pl.7), is seen from the south-east. The topography is fairly accurate, showing the point where several wadis meet: Nahal Soreq, Nahal Arzah and Nahal Loz. We see the mountain ridge which is covered by the village Colonia with the ridge where modern Motza 'Ilit is situated to its south and Mt. Navar to the north. The old Roman bridge crosses the Soreq and behind it is the little Crusader fort, its masonry accurately rendered. The spring is indicated to the right of this building ('Fons').

(VII) *Jerusalem* (Pl. 8) is seen from the south-west. In the foreground is the Sultan's Pool. In the wall to the left is the Jaffa Gate, to the right of which is shown the citadel with its minaret. Still further to the right is Mt. Zion with a mosque. In the background is the Mount of Olives.

In observing that Zuallart's engravings

⁴⁹ Op.cit., 23: 'De eine na Egipten dicker ende groter is De ander na trijpoli wat schneidiger beijde veerEckig en sonder Dach darop de turcken heure wacht holden.'

'though having little merit, became very popular'⁵⁰ Robinson missed the point that here, for the first time, a pilgrim took the trouble to register and document what he saw in the Holy Land instead of merely writing down what local guides told him. In a sense, this series of engravings mark the beginning of the modern exploration of Palestine. This is the start of a tradition which culminated in the splendid engravings published by Wilson in his *Picturesque Palestine*.

Seventeenth Century Travellers

Interesting Ottoman documents on various subjects, including travelling in Palestine, are accessible in a study by U. Heyd.⁵¹ The first of the seventeenth-century travellers we shall deal with is Martinus Seusenius (1602/3), already mentioned. In spite of the lack of conveniences and the dangers that he describes, travelling had obviously become a little easier by this time. He was no longer kept forcibly in the caves in Jaffa, but was free to travel inland immediately. A cotton merchant advised him and his companions that it was unsafe to stay in Jaffa and therefore they left in the evening. Seusenius very accurately sums up how much he was made to pay during his trip. Between Jerusalem and Rama they were halted five times, three times in the mountains, once at Latrun and once before Ramle.⁵² The middlemen, guides and drovers also demanded or extorted various sums. Seusenius also comments that the land between Jaffa and Ramle was fertile, yet the region was virtually uninhabited because pirates made the area unsafe. Around Ramle he found more inhabitants, although he says of the town itself that 'it seems to have been a lovely city once, but now it is very much destroyed.'⁵³ He gives an extensive description of the old hostel in town.⁵⁴

Seusenius comments on the infertility of the land in the mountains and finds the road stony and uneven, allowing transport only by camels, horses, mules and asses, but not by any sort of wheeled

traffic.⁵⁵ In Jerusalem they were received courteously by the abbot, who told them that many people had died from the plague.

Another good observer was George Sandys (1610)⁵⁶ who reports, for instance, on the Jewish custom of transporting the bodies of the dead to Jaffa for burial in Jerusalem.⁵⁷ He notes that the only merchandise exported from Jaffa 'to Christendom' is cotton, shipped by some Frenchmen living in Ramle. These merchants would thus seem to have established themselves there since Seusenius' journey in 1602/3. There are the usual stories about extortion of considerable sums by Arabs, although one 'Sheck of the Arabs' cheerfully accepted 'a peece of sugar, and a paire of shooes which he earnestly enquired for.'⁵⁸ Sandys had the unusual experience of being abandoned by his guides and losing his way in the mountains. He ended up at Nabi Samwil. From there he made his way back along the usual route, mentioning the same sites as other travellers of the period. A few observations of more particular interest are cited in the Gazetteer.

The account of Pietro della Valle shows that the route through Qubeiba, which he calls Cubeibi, was still occasionally followed by travellers.⁵⁹

Quaresmius (1616-25) is valuable for his information on churches and monasteries and contains interesting quotations from the work of Bonifacius a Ragusio which is inaccessible to us.⁶⁰ A number of sites, merely named in previous accounts, are described in some detail. Thus, after referring to Latrun with its castle he goes on (citing Bonifacius):

⁵⁵ P.26: 'Dar man alleine mit Camelen peerden Muijlen en Esels rijden ende mit geinem wagen faren can.'

⁵⁶ George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun Anno Domini 1610* (London 1615).

⁵⁷ Op.cit., 148.

⁵⁸ Op.cit., p.153.

⁵⁹ *Viaggi de Pietro della Valle*, i (Rome 1650), 492-8. There is little of interest in his verbose description.

⁶⁰ Quaresimus, *Historica Theologia et Moralis Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio*, ed. A.P. Cypriano de Tarvisio, 2 vols. (Venice 1880); *F. Francisci Quaresmii, Elucidatio Terrae Sanctae*, ed. and trans. by S. de Sandoli (Jerusalem 1989). Bonifacius a Ragusio, *Liber de perenni Cultu Terrae Sanctae* (Venice 1573) was not to be found in any of the libraries that we visited. Edward Robinson was also unable to find it anywhere.

⁵⁰ Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, iii (1841), Appendix I, p. 15.

⁵¹ U. Heyd, *Ottoman Documents on Palestine 1552-1615* (1960), 90-101 (on Bedouin attacks); 102-116 (on garrisoned road stations built to protect travellers and merchants).

⁵² Op.cit., 52.

⁵³ Op.cit., 24. Between Yazur and Ramle they saw 'eine olde muijre van einern herlicken gebouw' with an inscription (Sarafend?).

⁵⁴ p.25.

'To the left, a stone's throw away, is a place and a church named after the Maccabees because they were born and buried there after their victory. On the same spot pilgrims going to Jerusalem often rest, because there are many trees and fig trees, next to a well with fresh water.'

Next he cites Bonifacius' description of Bir Ayub, expressing doubts as to the veracity of the claims that Job had lived there and dug the well himself. At Abu Ghosh he mentions the remains of the church, the monastery, the spring and beautiful olive trees. He cites Bonifacius' erroneous claim that the monastery existed till 1489 when it was allegedly sacked by Arab bandits.⁶¹ In the 'Valley of the Terebinths' he noticed the spring. 'There are also the enormous remains of buildings and ruined dwellings which show that there were large buildings there. Bonifacius writes that there was a large monastery and an elegant church on the spot.'⁶² He then followed the 'road of the disciples' past Nabi Samwil, a detour made frequently in this period. He describes Beit Tulma ('Hulme'), as the site between Jerusalem and Emmaus where Jesus met the disciples and Kh. al Louza ('Baalasa'):⁶³ a building 'ruined and inhabited by a few people, with cisterns to the left of the road next to Ephraim, named Baalasar.' He was told that this was the spot where Absalom killed Amnon.

In the work of Quaresmius some attention is paid to smaller sites along the road, not noticed by earlier travellers who merely summed up the standard places that were pointed out to them by their guides. The work of E. Roger (1646) contains observant descriptions of individual sites.⁶⁴ He is also critical about the information given to him by his guides, casting doubt upon the claim made by all the Orientals that Job built the well named after him, Bir Aiyub, of which he gives a description.⁶⁵ The interest in the country, its people and smaller sites is more

pronounced still in the work of J. Doubdan (1651-2).⁶⁶ This may have been partly the result of the fact that the journey was more comfortable, but it was also a matter of attitude, as expressed in one of the subtitles of the work: 'L'estat de la ville de Ierusalem, tant ancienne que moderne: & de ce qui s'y est passé de plus notable depuis sa fondation iusques à present.' This indicates a spirit of scholarship and an interest in historical geography lacking in previous centuries. Like others before him Doubdan was hospitably received by one of the French cotton merchants, based in Ramle, who shipped their wares from Jaffa. He found Jaffa a depressed place. Outside Jaffa he saw 'a nice hermitage of a Derwish with its garden and mosque and, a little further, the place of the town of Gets, birth place of the giant Goliath.'⁶⁷ The dwelling of the Derwish possibly gave its name to the 'suburb of the Derwish' which developed there in the nineteenth century.⁶⁸ 'Gets' between Jaffa and Yazur was pointed out to him as being biblical Gat, which is of course far from Jaffa, but it is quite possible that this was the site named in Byzantine sources Geth, Geththa or Gitta.⁶⁹ This is of interest, for we have not come across any more recent references to this place name. The next village, however, 'Bet-de-Get' (Beit Dagan) he considered to be Beth Dagon of the books of Joshua and the Maccabees, which is good guess work.

Otherwise Doubdan's book contains the usual complaints about the danger posed by highwaymen, the rapacity of the guides, the uncomfortable sojourn in Ramle and so on. It should be added that in this period travel at night became customary, as a result of which travellers could not see much, but this did not diminish the new spirit of criticism. Doubdan usually attempts to maintain a critical attitude towards the proposed identification of sites shown to him with places mentioned in Scripture. Thus he gives considerable thought as to whether Latrun really could have been

⁶¹ Cf. Gazetteer, s.v. Abu Ghosh.

⁶² Quaresmius, op. cit., p. 15.

⁶³ Quaresmius, op. cit., p. 541.

⁶⁴ E. Roger, *La Terre Sainte* (Paris 1646), p. 155. See below and the Gazetteer, s.v. Abu Ghosh, Nabi Samwil.

⁶⁵ 'un Puy tout rehaussée de pierre de taille, à rez de terre, l'eau n'estant basse que de huit pieds, l'abreuve de tout le bestial de la contree.'

⁶⁶ J. Doubdan, *Le voyage de la Terre-Sainte* (Paris 1657).

⁶⁷ Doubdan, op. cit., 53. Roger, op. cit., 25: '...un beau Puy, qui se tire par une machine que font iouer des boeufs. In n'y a qu'une Mosquée gardée par un Deruiche ou Santon Ture.' He says Geth is four leagues to the South.

⁶⁸ Cf. Kark, *Jaffa - A City in Evolution* (Heb., 1984).
⁶⁹ and the reproduction of Sandel's map on p. 56: 'Saknet Abu Derwish' on the map of the SWP.

⁶⁹ See Gazetteer, s.v. Gitta.

'The Castle of the Good Thief.'⁷⁰ He suggests it may have been the spot where Baldwin I dispatched robbers who hid in caves.⁷¹

Upon entering the mountains he observes that the 'road was fairly strait, uneven, paved with rough pebbles.' He finds the roads in the mountains bad.⁷² At Abu Ghosh Doubdan expresses his doubts as to the identification of the village with biblical Anathoth. He comments on the identification of Modi'in with both Zovah and Latrun. Having crossed the bridge at Motza he again notes that the road was crudely paved.

Later, Doubdan gives a fairly extensive description of the 'road of the disciples' (the road from Motza - Beit Tulma to Qubeiba) and summarizes the literary sources on Emmaus/Nicopolis which he believed to be Qubeiba.⁷³

The account of de Thevenot (1655-9), which is otherwise quite interesting is however, less useful to us than the account of Doubdan.⁷⁴

The last traveller of the seventeenth century to be considered here is Cornelis de Bruyn (Le Brun, 1672-83).⁷⁵ The particular merit of his book lies in the excellent engravings, far better than those made by Zuallart almost a century before. They include views of Jaffa from the West and the North,⁷⁶ Ramle

(three plates),⁷⁷ the Church of St. George at Lydda, and a general view of the mountains. It is interesting to see that Jaffa had by now developed into a small village; there are a few houses and a mosque near the port. The citadel is still occupied by the remains of the Crusader castle which seem to be more substantial than the written accounts would lead us to believe.⁷⁸ De Bruyn found a Dutch merchant established at Ramle,⁷⁹ who, together with the three or four French merchants exported oil, soap and cotton. De Bruyn records that Ramle had about three thousand inhabitants. He travelled along the usual route and mentions the usual sites.⁸⁰

Travellers in the Eighteenth Century

The first work we shall consider is that of two Dutch travellers, van Egmond and Heyman (1700-1723).⁸¹ They observe that Strabo is mistaken in saying that Jerusalem can be seen from Jaffa. 'At present this place rather resembles a village than a town; most of its inhabitants are Arabians and live in extreme poverty, except those concerned in the soap and cotton manufactures.'⁸² They explain the customs of the time and detail the formalities which were in force. By now there was a local governor who could give a travel permit, so that there was no longer any need to send to Ramle for one. In Jaffa they stayed in the convent of the Greeks on the shore which 'seems to have been a part of the arsenal for the galleys.' They also record an Armenian convent.

⁷⁰ Doubdan, op.cit., 57 f. We have seen above how Quaresmius and Roger cast doubt on the identification of Bir Ayub.

⁷¹ Cited above. Doubdan refers to William of Tyre X 8. The primary source is Fulcher of Chartres ii 4, 2-4.

⁷² Op.cit., 59. His remarks about the road being paved here is of interest since we have no other indication that the road through the valley between Sha'ar Hagay (Bab el-Wad) and Abu Ghosh was paved in antiquity.

⁷³ See also Gazetteer, s.v. Motza (Beit Tulma), Kh. Louza, Ein Beit Suriq.

⁷⁴ De Thevenot, *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant* (Paris 1665), 361-4; English translation: *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant* (London 1686), 181 f.

⁷⁵ de Bruyn, *Reyzen door de vermaarde Deelen van Klein Asia, de Eylanden &c* (Delft 1698); French translation: *Voyage au Levant &c* (Paris 1714), which seems to be a translation from an Italian version.

⁷⁶ Op. cit. (the Dutch edition), Ch. 46, p.245.

⁷⁷ Pp. 246 f.

⁷⁸ Chapter xlv, pp.248 ff.

⁷⁹ P. 251.

⁸⁰ But several of them twice as if they were two sites. For instance, he mentions St. Jeremia (Abu Ghosh) and then continues: 'Thans komt men aan het Dorp, Karitleneb [i.e. Qaryat al-'Inab = Abu Ghosh], alwaar heel goed water is. Drie uur van daar op de top van een hoge berg het vervallen kasteel Soud [Zovah] ... Wat verder, op een hoogte, of Heuvel, ter rechter zyde, legd het Dorp Subie, aanmerkelijk wegens de meenigvuldigheid zijner wijngaarden. This seems to be Zovah again, but the reference to a bridge would fit Qaluniya. However, he also mentions 'Kaloye, mede op een berg, digt aan den weg gelegen.'

⁸¹ J.E. van Egmond and J.E. Heyman, *Reizen door een gedeelte van Europa ... Syria, Palaestina, Aegypten, den Berg Sinai* (Leiden 1757-58); English: *Travels through part of Europe, Asia Minor, the Archipelago, &c.*, 2 vols. (London 1759).

⁸² van Egmond and Heyman, 297 (English ed.).

The two Dutchmen travelled to Ramle 'attended only by a party of twelve troopers, there being little danger on this road.'⁸³ Ramle looked to them more like a large village than a city. There was now a French vice consul 'which is but a title used as a defence against the oppressions of the Turks.' The French merchants 'carry on a large trade in cotton, exporting annually five and twenty hundred bales. The Ramah soap is likewise in greater repute than that of Jerusalem. I was told, that a great deal of it is sent to Europe, and especially to France, as a very profitable commodity.' They were told that the White Mosque was actually a church built by the Empress Helena in memory of the forty martyrs killed in Armenia. On close inspection they thought it might be a Crusader church.⁸⁴ The authors were apparently aware that many churches had been transformed into mosques. In this case, however, the building was built as a mosque from the beginning. At Ramle they had to wait for several days because a conflict between the local population and the Turkish authorities made travelling to Jerusalem impossible.⁸⁵ For the remainder of the journey (Latrun - Abu Ghosh - Motza) they tell nothing of interest.

When Richard Pococke (1737-40) arrived at Jaffa there was a Latin convent which received European pilgrims, said to have been the house of Simon the Tanner.⁸⁶ He found an active trade in soap and cotton, which was shipped from Jaffa to Acre, as in earlier times.⁸⁷ There was a small garrison 'but they are of little use in the country against the Arabs...' He joined a caravan to Jerusalem, staying in the Latin convent at Ramle. He gives an interesting account of a visit to the tent of his guide.⁸⁸ Pococke's references to various places around Jerusalem are cited in the *Gazetteer*. He returned by way of Qubeiba, and mentions various places that we cannot identify (Der-kaleb, Papuray, Der-obsir, Keresy, Feal).

In this period we begin to hear of the notorious Abu Ghosh family who demanded tolls from

travellers. In 1764 R. Haim Joseph David Azulay, who had been born in Jerusalem, was shocked at being held up by the Sheikh with two hundred fifty wicked men.⁸⁹ Jewish travellers, of course, would not find lodging in the Latin convent at Jaffa. R. Jacob bar David Zant therefore built a hostel for them where they could stay up to three days.⁹⁰ Several Jewish travellers of this period complain about the sum demanded from them upon disembarkation at Jaffa.⁹¹

One of the most lucid travellers of the period was Carsten Niebuhr, but unfortunately he spent very little time in Palestine and Jerusalem (in 1766) and he has therefore very little to say about our subject.⁹² However, we do learn from him, as from van Egmond and Heyman, that the difficulties of travelling as a pilgrim were not only due to the Turkish authorities and the local population. It would appear that at this period access to Jerusalem by pilgrims was controlled by the Franciscans whose practice was to write to the father guardian in Jerusalem in each case to ask for permission. A considerable lump sum was then demanded to cover costs. 'If we went without, the consequence would be excommunication', according to Egmond and Heyman. Niebuhr describes the consequences in different terms: 'If I had made enemies of the European monks they could easily have turned me over to the Turkish government in Jerusalem

⁸³ Op.cit., 299.

⁸⁴ Op.cit., 301.

⁸⁵ Op.cit., 301-3, with extensive discussion of Arab banditry.

⁸⁶ Richard Pococke, *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries*, i-iii (London 1743-48), vol. i, 2.

⁸⁷ See S.D. Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders* (1973), 46; 95.

⁸⁸ Pp. 5 f.

⁸⁹ A. Ya'ari (ed.), *Travels in the Land of Israel* (1976, Heb.), 377. The traveller tells that at Kephart Beitur a caravan had been made to pay a thousand Löwenthaler which resulted in the death of one of the travellers, 'not from any act of violence, but from sorrow.' It is not clear which village is meant. It could be the genuine Beitur (Bittir) which lies on the Roman road from Jerusalem to Beit Guvrin, but it must be noted that Beit Horon is also called Betar or Beter in some sources, e.g. Theodericus, *de locis sanctis*, iii 38, ed. Bulst, p.42: 'Iuxta Sophim Bethoron, que nunc Beter vocatur.' That, of course, derives from the name of the Arab village.

⁹⁰ R. Simhah from Zalzee in op.cit., 393.

⁹¹ Loc.cit.; R. Moshe the Jerusalemite (1769), *ibid.*, 429, claims Jews avoid Jaffa for this reason, but this apparently was not always the case: see for instance the account of Benjamin from Jerusalem, the Karaite (1785/6), ap. Eisenstein, op.cit., p.215; Ya'ari, op.cit., 467, 475.

⁹² Carsten Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umliegenden Ländern*, 3 vols. (Copenhagen 1774-8, Hamburg 1837 [Bd. 3]). There are various editions in several languages as well as the earlier *Beschreibung von Arabien* (Copenhagen 1772).

or to the Arabs so that I would be plundered and thrown in prison.' The alternative was to pay the Turkish authorities for a permit to enter the country as a merchant. Niebuhr tells at length the unhappy journey of a man who attempted to travel from Jaffa to Jerusalem while ignoring the Franciscans.⁹³ After lengthy wanderings he died on the road from Aleppo to Damascus.

Niebuhr considers the stories about the cruelty of the local Arabs greatly exaggerated. He says that the various villages along the road demanded a modest amount from the travellers. If they pay this they are not molested. The Franciscans, however, refuse to pay this small sum, 'and since the peasants cannot take anything from the monks except their habit, they show their anger by beating them or throwing stones when they pass through their territory.'⁹⁴

The last traveller of the eighteenth century to be mentioned is Volney (1783-5), a lively author with a pleasant style, whose work is full of useful information.⁹⁵ There is a general essay on the state of the coastal plain of Palestine in his days that is quite valuable, but he does not describe the journey or the routes to Jerusalem.⁹⁶ He notes the fertility of the land and says that it produced relatively large quantities of sesame, pistachio and beans, also cotton, barley and wheat, but less of the last crop because it provoked the avarice of the Turkish commanders. Generally he found this area one of the most devastated of Syria because it was accessible to cavalry and near the desert, as a result of which it was overrun by Bedouin, who made the roads unsafe between Gaza and Acre. They could have possessed it all if they were united, in Volney's opinion, but instead 'they perpetuate their impotence by their anarchy and their poverty by brigandage.'⁹⁷ He notes that the governor (aga) of Jaffa had thirty troopers 'hardly sufficient to guard two bad harbours and to keep away the Arabs.' 'As a sea-port and fortified town Jaffa is nothing, but it has the potential of developing into one of the most interesting places on the coast.'⁹⁸

Volney tells that there was a cotton market at

Lydda, once a week. It is interesting to note that there is still to this day a weekly market at Lydda which specializes in fabrics, held every Tuesday. When Volney asked the Aga of Gaza, established at Ramle, why he did not repair at least his own room, he received the answer: 'And if I am replaced, next year, who will reimburse me my expenses?' This attitude may give us some hint of the reasons behind the neglect of the roads at this period. In the vicinity of Ramle, too, he found many superb but neglected olive trees. It was inhabited by hardly two hundred families, far fewer than the 3000 that de Bruyn found there in the late seventeenth century. He mentions the cotton trade, soap production and a brand new windmill, constructed by the Aga, the only one of its kind Volney saw in Syria and Egypt.

Travellers in the Nineteenth Century

The nineteenth century saw the first stage of systematic exploration of Palestine. The country which had been one of the most neglected parts of the Ottoman empire now became a focus of interest for all the major powers of the age. Napoleon's eastern campaign in 1799 marked the beginning of a new era in the exploration of the region. Palestine now attracted the attention of both France and Britain, as a result of which the number of visitors increased substantially. Not only pilgrims but also secular travellers and scholars now visited the country and many of them published accounts of their journey.⁹⁹ In the course of the century visiting Palestine became a matter of routine, to such an extent that a guidebook was published by Baedeker.¹⁰⁰ At this time, however, lodgings were to be had only at Ramle and Bab el Wad (Sha'ar Hagay).¹⁰¹

For Napoleon Jerusalem was not strategically important. When he reached Ramle from the South he

⁹³ Op.cit., 39-41.

⁹⁴ Op.cit., 43-5.

⁹⁵ C.-F. Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Égypte, pendant les années 1783, 1784, et 1785* (Paris 1787).

⁹⁶ Op.cit., ii, chapter 31, pp.302 ff.

⁹⁷ Volney, 203.

⁹⁸ Volney, 305.

⁹⁹ Y. Ben-Arieh, *The Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century* (1979); id., *Cathedra* 40(1986), 159-88 (Heb.); N. Schur, *The Book of Travellers to the Holy Land: The 19th Century* (1988, Heb.); R. Kark, *The Land that Became Israel: Studies in Historical Geography* (1989).

¹⁰⁰ Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria* (1876). The section on Jerusalem and its surroundings has been reprinted (Jerusalem 1973).

¹⁰¹ In Ramle there were several hospices. At Bab el Wad the Baedeker mentions 'on the right the "Restaurant des Moines de Judée" (refreshments, and bed if necessary; Jewish host).' The ruins of the building have survived, so far.

decided to march to Jaffa and thence straight to Acre, ignoring Jerusalem. This fits the pattern we have described in the introduction to this part of the book. Jerusalem was irrelevant to those who aimed at controlling the wider area. Jacotin's famous 'Map of Palestine' which was prepared during the campaign only surveyed areas directly related to Napoleon's route, and the section east of Lydda is thus worthless.¹⁰² However, Jerusalem was and remained the main focus of interest for most travellers and pilgrims.

The literature of the exploration of Palestine in the nineteenth century is a subject in its own right and cannot be dealt with in the present study. We do not attempt to give an exhaustive account of the exploration of the country, but we have provided full references elsewhere in this book to the works of the major figures, Edward Robinson, Guérin, Clermont-Ganneau and to the Survey of Western Palestine. Others who have contributed information on the roads from Jaffa to Jerusalem or the sites along them have been mentioned where this is relevant, but we have not attempted to read *all* the nineteenth-century sources.¹⁰³ We shall, however, cite a number of sources which are of special interest, particularly when they write about the journey from Jaffa to Jerusalem in earlier periods.

Several accounts from the first half of the century are very informative: These include U. Seetzen (1806-7),¹⁰⁴ W.R. Wilson (1819-20)¹⁰⁵, R. Madden¹⁰⁶,

and A. Prokesch¹⁰⁷. However, the best-known visitor to Jerusalem in those years was the French author Chateaubriand, whose account combines both information and literary elegance.¹⁰⁸

In 1831 the Egyptian general Ibrahim Pasha, the son of Muhammad Ali, invaded Palestine and the country became an Egyptian province for almost a decade. Ibrahim Pasha tried to impose law and order with only partial success, as may be seen from the account of another French author, Alphonse de Lamartine, who visited the country in 1832.¹⁰⁹ Lamartine advanced with his companions from Ramle to Jerusalem as if it were a military campaign.¹¹⁰ At this period the Abu Ghosh family controlled the road to Jerusalem, and Lamartine gives an extensive description of his encounter with the sheikh.¹¹¹

In the summer of 1834 a rebellion broke out in Jerusalem which Ibrahim Pasha decided to suppress in person. Marching from Ramle to Jerusalem with 9,000 soldiers, he was ambushed in the mountains west of the city. Neophytos of Cyprus gives a vivid account of the dangers threatening a regular army when it is attacked in the mountains by guerrilla fighters.¹¹²

'He marched along quickly not expecting any opposition. The fellaheen, however, watched his movements. They withdrew from the siege of Jerusalem, and gathering from all sides, they took up positions along the road and lay in ambush for him at the most difficult places to pass on the way. They allowed the Pasha to pass into the mountain valleys, and where the road was very precipitous they rolled down huge boulders from the top of the

¹⁰² M. Jacotin, *Carte topographique de l'Égypte et des plusieurs parties des pays limitrophes pendant l'expédition de l'Armée Française*, Feuille 44 (Paris 1826). Cf. Y. Karmon, *IEJ* 10 (1960), 155-73; 244-53.

¹⁰³ Röhricht, *Bibliotheca Geographica Palaestinae von 333 bis 1878* (1890), notes that about two thousand authors wrote about their travels in Palestine between 1800 and 1878. Ben-Arieh, *op.cit.*, 15, concludes that these together published at least five thousand items on Palestine. In another reference to Röhricht's bibliography Ben-Arieh, *op.cit.*, 118, observes that the number of known works on the subject produced in the forty years from 1838 to 1878 is about the same as in the fifteen centuries before Edward Robinson wrote his work.

¹⁰⁴ U.J. Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina, Phönicien, die Transjordan-Länder, Arabia Petraea und Unter-Aegypten*, (1854), Band ii, 64-71.

¹⁰⁵ W.R. Wilson, *Travels in the Holy Land, Egypt, etc.*, 2 vols. (London 1822), vol. i, 184-9.

¹⁰⁶ R.R. Madden, *Travels in Turkey, Egypt, Nubia and Palestine in the Years 1824-7* (London 1829), 318-22.

¹⁰⁷ A. Prokesch, *Reise ins heilige Land im Jahre 1829* (Wien 1831), 37-42.

¹⁰⁸ F.A. de Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* (ed. G. Faugeron, Paris 1964), 259-67; Cf. F. Bassan, *Chateaubriand et la Terre-Sainte* (1959), 55 ff.

¹⁰⁹ A. de Lamartine, *Souvenirs, impressions, pensées et paysages pendant un voyage en Orient (1832-1833)*, 2 vols. (Paris 1835), esp. vol. ii, 102-124.

¹¹⁰ *Op.cit.*, 109.

¹¹¹ *Op.cit.*, 112-116.

¹¹² Trans. by S.N. Spyridon, *JPOS* 18(1938), 97 f.

mountains, blocking the road to the horsemen and animals. Having hemmed in the army, they peppered it with shot from front and rear. The Pasha stood aghast at such an unexpected crowd and their disastrous tactics. Never before was he on such a dangerous road, as he himself admitted. Two days and two nights were spent covering a distance which normally should have taken five hours, during which time the troops suffered severely from thirst and want of sleep. Having lost 1,500 men, he at last, on Sunday morning at sunrise, sighted Jerusalem.'

In the years 1840 and 1841 the great powers intervened in the conflict between Turkey and Egypt, and Turkish rule over Palestine was restored. After a brief period of uncertainty the Ottomans restored their authority by introducing a more centralized administrative system on the Turkish model, with a closer approximation to western standards. This had some impact on the state of the roads and transport. Further improvement occurred in 1846: the leading members of the Abu Ghosh family were sent into exile, which had a beneficial effect.¹¹³

The distinguished scholar Edward Robinson visited Palestine twice, in 1838 and 1852. He provides interesting information about his journey to Jerusalem on his first visit, noting that:

'Just beyond Jimzu, the great road [from Lydda to Jerusalem] divides into two branches; one passing on directly and ascending the mountain by Beit 'Ur; the other diverging more to the South, and leading up through Wady Suleimân. The two unite again above, at or near el-Jîb.'¹¹⁴

The mention of Gimzo shows that he took the road past Barfiliya, described among the Secondary Roads in Part II. The description also confirms our impression from the maps of van de Velde and the *SWP* that there was a road through Wadi Suleiman at the time. Since the use of it is not attested in earlier periods we have not indicated it on our own maps. Robinson, however, took the Beit Horon road. His description of Upper and Lower Beit Horon is cited in the *Gazetteer*, (s.v. Beit Horon), but it is worth quoting here some of his observations on the road itself (see fig.

8):

'The way winds up along the extremity of a sort of promontory, jutting out between two deep vallies [*sic*] as they issue from the mountain; one of them being that which we had just crossed. The ascent is very rocky and rough; but the rock has been cut away in many places, and the path formed into steps; showing that this is an ancient road.'¹¹⁵

Following a discussion of the literary sources relating to this road Robinson concludes:

'From all this it appears that in ancient times, as at the present day, the great road of communication and heavy transport between Jerusalem and the sea-coast, was by the pass of Beth-horon. Whether the way through Wady Suleimân, the second valley south of Beit 'Ur, which is only a branch of the same road, was then in use, we are nowhere informed; but such was not improbably the case. At present we understood this to be the easier route. Of old, as now, the direct road from Jerusalem to Yâfa by Kuryet el-'Enab and Wady Aly [i.e. the Abu Ghosh road] was probably used only by travellers without heavy baggage. That it anciently existed, can hardly be doubted; although I find no direct notice of it.'¹¹⁶ We heard of no other pass up the mountain between the Wadys Suleimân and Aly.'

Robinson then observes that Pococke travelled another road, from Qubeiba to the West, but he did not see this road himself. He concludes:

'From the time of Jerome, nothing more appears of Beth-horon until the present century. The crusaders seem not to have recognised the name, or at least do not mention it. Brocardus and Marinus Sanutus indeed speak of the lower town; but apparently only with reference to scriptural authority, and not as eye or ear-witnesses. The long line of pilgrim travellers since the crusades, have almost uniformly taken the direct route between Ramleh and Jerusalem, and have heard nothing of Beth-horon.'

¹¹³ Report of the Russian consul at Jaffa, Konstantin Basili, *Syria e Palestina* (Odessa 1862). We consulted the Hebrew translation (Jerusalem 1983), 243; for the situation in the two preceding decades, 58; 67; 106; 235.

¹¹⁴ Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, ii, 249.

¹¹⁵ *Op.cit.*, 251 f.

¹¹⁶ Cf. our own observations above and in the final part. Robinson is right in principle, but he missed various literary references to the Abu Ghosh road.

mountains, blocking the road to the horsemen and animals. Having hemmed in the army, they peppered it with shot from front and rear. The Pasha stood aghast at such an unexpected crowd and their disastrous tactics. Never before was he on such a dangerous road, as he himself admitted. Two days and two nights were spent covering a distance which normally should have taken five hours, during which time the troops suffered severely from thirst and want of sleep. Having lost 1,500 men, he at last, on Sunday morning at sunrise, sighted Jerusalem.'

8):

'The way winds up along the extremity of a sort of promontory, jutting out between two deep vallies [*sic*] as they issue from the mountain; one of them being that which we had just crossed. The ascent is very rocky and rough; but the rock has been cut away in many places, and the path formed into steps; showing that this is an ancient road.'¹¹⁵

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In the years 1840 and 1841 the great powers intervened in the conflict between Turkey and Egypt, and Turkish rule over Palestine was restored. After a brief period of uncertainty the Ottomans restored their authority by introducing a more centralized administrative system on the Turkish model, with a closer approximation to western standards. This had some impact on the state of the roads and transport. Further improvement occurred in 1846: the leading members of the Abu Ghosh family were sent into exile, which had a beneficial effect.¹¹³

The distinguished scholar Edward Robinson visited Palestine twice, in 1838 and 1852. He provides interesting information about his journey to Jerusalem on his first visit, noting that:

'Just beyond Jimzu, the great road [from Lydda to Jerusalem] divides into two branches; one passing on directly and ascending the mountain by Beit 'Ur; the other diverging more to the South, and leading up through Wady Suleimân. The two unite again above, at or near el-Jib.'¹¹⁴

The mention of Gimzo shows that he took the road past Barfiliya, described among the Secondary Roads in Part II. The description also confirms our impression from the maps of van de Velde and the *SWP* that there was a road through Wadi Suleiman at the time. Since the use of it is not attested in earlier periods we have not indicated it on our own maps. Robinson, however, took the Beit Horon road. His description of Upper and Lower Beit Horon is cited in the *Gazetteer*, (s.v. Beit Horon), but it is worth quoting here some of his observations on the road itself (see fig.

¹¹³ Report of the Russian consul at Jaffa, Konstantin Basili, *Syria e Palestina* (Odessa 1862). We consulted the Hebrew translation (Jerusalem 1983), 243; for the situation in the two preceding decades, 58; 67; 106; 235.

¹¹⁴ Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, ii, 249.

¹¹⁵ *Op.cit.*, 251 f.

¹¹⁶ Cf. our own observations above and in the final part. Robinson is right in principle, but he missed various literary references to the Abu Ghosh road.

On his second visit in 1852 Robinson travelled from Saris via Abu Ghosh to Jerusalem.¹¹⁷ Once again, his comments on various sites are referred to in the Gazetteer. However, some of his observations on the road itself are worth citing here.

'The road is bad; and the whole region rocky, desolate, and dreary. The badness of the road arises mainly from the great number of loose stones, which have been suffered to accumulate in the path. Were these removed, the road would be a good one for the country; just as the missionaries residing in summer at 'Abeih and Bhamdûn have caused the stones to be removed every year from the roads between those places and Beirût, and have thus reduced the distance in time by a whole hour. The former American consular agent at Yâfa, the elder Murad, once caused this road to be thus cleared of stones, and made it all the way comparatively good. But such public-spirited individuals are rare; the government does nothing at all; and the road is now again as bad as ever.'

Robinson discusses how the Holy Ark could have been brought up to Kiriath-jearim (Abu Ghosh) from Beth Shemesh, concluding that it must have been carried up by way of Sâris (Shoresh). He comments on the descent from Qastel to Motza which was 'steep and long. Two thirds of the way down there was a small fountain by the way side, which had been carefully built up for the traveller, but not for his horse.' He spent the night in the village of Qulonîa.

'We were much exhausted; for the way had been long and wearisome. I have travelled in my day many dreary roads; but none more uninteresting and desolate than this, the great avenue to the Holy City.'

Most travellers in those days took the road through Abu Ghosh, but he warmly recommends the ascent via Beit Horon.

The activities of E. Robinson and E. Smith were the chief source of information for the first modern map based on surveys of the entire country which was published by H. Kiepert (1840).¹¹⁸ The next

good map was published by van de Velde (1858).¹¹⁹ Both maps are important for our study, because the main roads indicated were in many cases also used in the Middle Ages and even earlier.

van de Velde also gives precise descriptions of the main itineraries in Palestine. These include two from Jaffa to Jerusalem - one via Lydda and Beit Horon and the other via Ramle and Latrun. We cite these in full because the book is not easily accessible.¹²⁰

By Ludd and Beit-Ur¹²¹

From Yafa to fountain 'Ain Sebil Abû Nabûlh.
25

hence to Yazûr (to the left)	50
„ „ Beit Dejan	1 5
„ „ Safriyeh (to the left)	30
„ „ Ludd	40
„ „ Jimzu	1
„ „ Um Rush (ruin), ascent	2 10
„ „ Beit Ur et-tahta, ascent.	1
„ „ Beit Ur el-fôka, steep ascent.	1
„ „ el-Jib, ascent	1 50
„ „ Beit-Hanîna	45
„ „ Jerusalem (Damascus Gate)	1 30

Total distance from Yafa to Jerusalem..12 h.45

The road from el-Jîb by Beit Hanîna to Jerusalem is the shortest, but not the easiest. The highway passes on the N. side of the hill of el-Jîb, and winds round the rocky heights E. of Bîr Nebâla, joining the Nabûlûs road between the hill Tuleil el-Fûl and Shâfât. The distance from el-Jîb to Jerusalem by this latter route is about 2 h. 40, making thus in all from Yâfa to Jerusalem 13 h 10.

The road from Yâfa to Ludd and even for about 45' farther S.E. traverses the fertile plain. Jimzu lies on an eminence and makes quite a show at a distance. From this place a road branches off to Wady Suleiman, ascending it towards Jerusalem. It joins the great road again a few minutes N.W. of el-Jîb, after passing Berfiliya, Deir M'ain, Beit Nûba, Khurbata and

¹¹⁷ Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, iii, 156-9.

¹¹⁸ *Map of Palestine, Constructed and Drawn by H. Kiepert*, Scale 1:400,000 (Berlin 1840); cf. Kiepert's Appendix: 'Mémorial of the Maps Accompanying this Work' in E. Robinson and E. Smith, *Biblical Researches in Palestine* iii (1840), 29-55.

¹¹⁹ *Map of the Holy Land*, C.W.M. van de Velde, scale 1:315,000 (Gotha 1858).

¹²⁰ C.W.M. van de Velde, *Memoir to Accompany the Map of the Holy Land* (Gotha 1858), 241 f.

¹²¹ This route includes the link between Barfiliya and Kafr Rut, described as a secondary road in Part II.

et-Tirch.¹²²

The two Beit-Urs are united by a steep and rough ascent, over a sort of promontory, jutting out between two deep valleys. The rock here has been cut away in many places, and the path formed into steps, showing that this is an ancient road. At nearly midway, on the first offset or step of the ascent, are foundations of large stones, the remains perhaps of a castle, which once guarded the pass.¹²³

By Ramleh and el-Latrûn

From Ramleh to Yazûr	1 h. 15
hence to Surafend	1 40
„ „ Ramleh	40
„ „ el-Biriyeh (ruin on the right)	1
„ „ el-Kubab	45
„ „ el-Latrûn (opposite 'Amwas)	55
„ „ Deir Ayûb (5' to the left)	35
„ „ Saris (5' to the right)	1 20
„ „ Kuriet el-Enab	50
„ „ opposite Kustul	45
„ „ opp. Kulonieh (5' to the left)	30
„ „ Kefr el-Bistan	27
„ „ Wely Shekh Beder	33
„ „ Jerusalem (Yafa Gate)	30

Total distance from Yafa to Jerusalem.....11 h.45

At el-Kubâb commence the first low hills. But, when approaching Latrûn, their size increases; and soon after the narrow Wady 'Aly is entered. The opening of this valley is called Bâb (the gate) Wady 'Aly [see Pl. 16]. The ascent to Saris and more so yet the road between that place and Kuriet el-Enab is exceedingly rough and stony. At about 20' beyond Kuriet el-Enab (also called Abû Ghaush or Ghosh from it having been long the residence of the robber-chief of that name) Beit Nakûbeh is passed on the left hand side upon a hill above the road. After passing Kustul the road forms a steep and long descent into Wady Beit Hanîna, the traditionary [*sic*] "Valley of the Terebinths". Two thirds of the way down is a small fountain on the S. side of the road called Bîr 'Arbar.¹²⁴ The waterbed of the valley is crossed by a modern

bridge with pointed arches, near which stands the ruin of a quadrangular building of great antiquity [see our Pls. 7 and 82]. The path ascends immediately a narrow rocky side-valley, which leads to the high undulating table-land N.W. of Jerusalem. Intervening rocky swells, however, shut out the view of the city as yet, and not before within 20' distance its walls and domes and minarets, and the Mount of Olives rising above them become visible. The hills, on which Jerusalem is built, have a general declination towards the East, and hence the high wall on the N.W. side of the town hides a great part of the city.

Among the striking objects in sight from this point may be mentioned the distant mountains of Moab.

Thus on his way to Beit Horon van de Velde followed a somewhat different route from the obvious (Roman) road which, as we have indicated, led from Lydda past Midiya to Lower Beit Horon. He took a route through Gimzo, a little to the South. The SWP map shows a road through Gimzo, but this continues past Barfiliya to Beit Liqya. The road through Wadi Suleiman (Selman/Salman) which he mentions is indicated on the SWP map as 'ancient', but we did not see remains of an ancient road there. Like Robinson, van de Velde observes that the rocks of the Beit Horon ascent were deliberately cut away in many places. Finally, he notes that the bridge at Kulonieh (Motza) had pointed arches, which would show that it had been repaired in post-Roman times. It should be observed, however, that the engraving in *Picturesque Palestine* (Pl. 23) shows a round arch, some two decades after van de Velde saw it.¹²⁵

All travellers agree that the journey from Ramle to Jerusalem was tiring and difficult. There was no wheeled transport at the time. Robert Buchanan (1857) reports:¹²⁶

'There is nothing of the nature of a regularly made road here, or, indeed, anywhere in Syria. In the hill country, as we shall find out by-and-by, the bridle paths along which the traveller has to make his way, are often of the most break-neck character that can well be conceived. I have crossed the high Alps three or four times, but the worst mountain track I

¹²² This is a confusion of two routes. From Barfiliya it makes no sense to travel both to Beit Nuba and through Wadi Suleiman.

¹²³ van de Velde refers here to Robinson in a footnote. He probably saw the remains of the Byzantine church at er-Ras; see Gazetteer, s.v. Beit Ur et-Tahta.

¹²⁴ This may have been the point called 'Ain el Fôka' on the map of the SWP.

¹²⁵ Cf. the bridge over the River Harod; Isaac and Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea*, i 43-54. The foundations of a large Roman bridge still carry a later, smaller bridge across the river.

¹²⁶ R. Buchanan, *Notes of a Clerical Furlough spent chiefly in the Holy Land* (London 1859), 93.

have met with in Switzerland is better than many of the thoroughfares in central Palestine. As indicative of the state of the roads in this wretchedly neglected and misgoverned country, the fact is tolerably suggestive and significant that there is no such thing as a wheel carriage of any sort to be found in it from one end to the other. Even a wheel barrow is a convenience altogether unknown.¹²⁷

In the same year the novelist Herman Melville visited the country.¹²⁷ His account is laconic, pessimistic and interspersed with anti-semitic remarks. He records: 'The road from Jaffa to Jerusalem in parts very wide & full of separate divergent foot-paths, worn by the multitude of pilgrims of divergent faiths.'¹²⁸ There were robbers in the vicinity of Lydda and Melville travelled there with an escort of some 30 men, all armed, noting that 'People travel in bands.'¹²⁹ He mentions a meeting between Sir Moses Montefiore and missionaries from the Church of Scotland, June 10th 1839, when the subject of the roads was brought up. In the words of the mission's report:

'The Jews [in Saphet and Tiberias] ... were in a very wretched condition ... When Dr Keith suggested that they might be employed in making roads thru the land, as materials were abundant, and that it might be the beginning of the fulfillment of the prophecy "Prepare ye the way of the peoples; cast up the highway, gather out the stones" [Isa. lxii. 10] Sir Moses acknowledged the benefit that would attend the making of roads, but feared that they would not be permitted.'¹³⁰

In 1859 William Dixon still found the Valley of Ayalon infested by bandits, partly local peasants and partly Bedouin. Apparently the Ottoman government made attempts to get the area under control:

'This part of the great plain has an evil repute which a good many travellers affirm that it has richly won. More than one hamlet in the neighbourhood has been lately burnt by the

Turks: who have scorched many families of peasants from the land; in a righteous but inadequate return for their many and atrocious crimes.'¹³¹

It must be said, however, that other travellers in these years do not mention any danger of banditry in this region.¹³² In 1860 eighteen watchtowers were erected at irregular intervals along the Jaffa - Jerusalem road (Pl. 76 shows one of the three that still exist).¹³³ Guérin, who travelled there in the sixties, notes that each tower was occupied by one or two bashibuzuks.¹³⁴ The guardsmen were soon drafted away, however, and road security no longer appears to have been a problem.¹³⁵ The journey, however, was still miserable, as expressed by Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain) (1867):¹³⁶

'For about four hours we traveled down-hill constantly [from Jerusalem to Jaffa]. We followed a narrow bridle-path which traversed the beds of the mountain gorges, and when we could we got out of the way of the long trains of laden camels and asses, and when we could not we suffered the misery of

¹³¹ W.H. Dixon, *The Holy Land*, i (London 1865), 60; also: 62; 92.

¹³² E.g. R. Buchanan (1857), *Notes of a Clerical Furlough spent chiefly in the Holy Land* (London 1859), 107. For the period of attempted reforms, from 1840 till 1861, M. Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform in Syria and Palestine* (1968).

¹³³ The SWP Map (1880), sheets xiii, xvi and xviii show seventeen towers; cf. Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria* (1876), 133 ff.; R. Kark, *Jaffa - A City in Evolution* (1984, Heb.), map on p. 198. Three of these towers are extant: at G.R. 1325.1575 (painted white and disfigured by advertisements), at Latrun, 1485.1387, and at Sha'ar Hagay, 1524.1359.

¹³⁴ Guérin, *Judée*, i (1868), 59.

¹³⁵ Baedeker, p.132: 'No danger of any kind need be apprehended'; J. Kean, *Among the Holy Places* (London 1892), 10.

¹³⁶ Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad* (1911), i, 354. This book was written as a work of satire, and not all of its descriptions can be taken on face value. However, there seems no reason to doubt the veracity of this particular account of the road, especially as it corresponds in so many respects with others which we cite in this chapter.

¹²⁷ H. Melville, *Journal of a Visit to Europe and the Levant, October 11, 1856 - May 6, 1857* (1955).

¹²⁸ Op.cit., 154.

¹²⁹ Op.cit., 128.

¹³⁰ Op.cit., 154 f. A.A. Bonar and R.M. M'Cheyne, *Narrative of a Mission of Enquiry to the Jews from the Church of Scotland in 1839* (Philadelphia 1845), 143.

being mashed up against perpendicular walls of rock and having our legs bruised by the passing freight ... One horse had a heavy fall on the slippery rocks, and the others had narrow escapes. However, this was as good a road as we had found in Palestine, and possibly even the best, and so there was not much grumbling.'

This description reminds us of the more succinct reference to the Beit Horon road in the Talmud, cited above.¹³⁷ It is clear that there was an increasing demand for a proper road to Jerusalem which would allow the passage of wheeled traffic and suggestions were made for the construction of a paved road or even a railway between Jaffa and Jerusalem.¹³⁸ In 1865, for instance, we see the publication of a plan for a major road linking the Jerusalem, the Dead Sea and Damascus with the coast.¹³⁹ However, there was also resistance against such plans by people who felt that modern amenities would diminish the religious aura of Jerusalem and reduce the wonder experienced by exhausted travellers as they reached the town.¹⁴⁰ Nevertheless, in the late 1860's, the Ottoman authorities built a carriage road from Jaffa to Jerusalem which was officially inaugurated in 1868.¹⁴¹

Among the reasons for the implementation of this project were the state visits made at this time by several European rulers or their heirs-apparent.¹⁴² Thus in 1862 the Prince of Wales (the future King Edward III) made his way from Jaffa to Jerusalem before the road was paved.¹⁴³ The Austrian Emperor

Franz-Josef, however, came with his entourage in 1869 after the construction of the new road when they could make the journey in carriages.¹⁴⁴

Baedeker's guidebook, published in 1876, notes that the *Omnibus* from Jaffa to Jerusalem runs daily each way after having been discontinued in 1868 on account of the bad state of the road. For riders 'no danger of any kind need be apprehended.' Apart from the usual road, through Ramle, Bab el Wad and Abu Ghosh the book mentions three other routes:

- 1) An unusual route from Ramleh through Annabeh, Selbit (Sha'albim) to Beit Nuba and from there past Burej to Qubeiba. The first part of this road is discussed under 'Secondary Roads' in Part II, the second in Appendix II to Part II.
- 2) Gimzo - Barfiliya - Beit Liqya - Qubeiba, discussed in Chapter II.
- 3) The Beit Horon road.

Later, the Jaffa - Jerusalem road was improved several times. The Reverend James Kean describes road repairs in 1887, east of Gezer:¹⁴⁵

'It appears that instead of levying a rate, the more practical method of requisitioning hands is resorted to [for road-building]. This village, consequently, is required to supply so much labour, and it does it mainly through the females: a whole string of girls, bearing on their heads straw baskets of the size and shape of wash-hand basins, fetch the necessary broken stones. These carriers seem to do the work with a will: they laugh and talk and are apparently quite happy. ... As for the few men employed on the job, they have to do all their part of the work with only one implement, a one-legged pick, broad at the point. With this they lift earth or stones, making it serve as shovel as well as pick. It is the solitary tool they possess. And yet the road presents the appearance of having had wheelbarrows and all the other appliances of the West at work on it.'

An ancient photograph, reproduced here as Pl. 75 shows the procedure. In the 80's an American opened a hotel at Latrun, the 'Hotel of the Tombs of the

¹³⁷ BT Sanhedrin 32b.

¹³⁸ Cf. R. Kark in: Kark (ed.), *The Land that Became Israel* (1989), 57-76.

¹³⁹ F. Zimpel, F., *Strassen-Verbindung des Mittelländischen mit dem Todten Meere und Damascus, über Jerusalem* (1865).

¹⁴⁰ Thus, for instance, Victor Guérin, *Judée* i (1868), 23 f.

¹⁴¹ Kark, op.cit., 58; also: S. Avitzur, *The Jaffa-Jerusalem Road, A Hundred Years* (Tel Aviv 1969/70, Heb.).

¹⁴² S. Halevi, in: *Ze'ev Vilnay Jubilee Volume* i (1984), 105-114 (Heb.); N. Schur, *The Book of Travellers to Eretz Israel in the Nineteenth Century* (1988), 135 ff. (Heb.).

¹⁴³ The Prince of Wales was accompanied by the scholar A.P. Stanley and the photographer E. Bedford; cf. A.P. Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine* (1871), esp. 207

ff.

¹⁴⁴ Kark, *Jaffa*, 196.

¹⁴⁵ J. Kean, *Among the Holy Places* (1892), 14. See also the description of road-making in Galilee in the same period by H.A. Harper, *Illustrated Letters to my Children from the Holy Land* (1885), 50-2.

Maccabees'.¹⁴⁶

Two years later large-scale improvements were made to several stretches of the road in the hill country and the mountains, near Latrun, Abu Ghosh, and Kulonieh (Motza).¹⁴⁷ As a result the road could be described as 'a good highway, macadamized after the Western fashion, and equal to most of the ordinary Western roads'.¹⁴⁸ After a decade substantial repairs were carried out again to prepare for the best known official visit to the Holy Land of the period, that made by the German Emperor Wilhelm II (1898).¹⁴⁹ A few years earlier, in 1892, the Jaffa-Jerusalem railway had been inaugurated, a project realized by the 'Société Ottomane des Chemins de Fer de la Palestine'.¹⁵⁰

The most important series of maps produced in the nineteenth century are those of the *Palestine Exploration Fund*, based on detailed surveys carried out under the direction of C.R. Conder and H.H. Kitchener.¹⁵¹ A feature particularly useful for our studies is the fact that remains of Roman roads are explicitly marked as such.

A number of photographs, reproduced here as Plates 9-11, 15-17, illustrate travelling between Jaffa and Jerusalem in this period.

¹⁴⁶ For a photograph of 1887: F. and E. Thévoz, *La Palestine Illustrée* (Lausanne 1888), i 4, no.31, showing the hotel, the khan and the road.

¹⁴⁷ C. Schick, *PEFQSt* 1889, 8 f.

¹⁴⁸ Kean, *Among the Holy Places*, 9.

¹⁴⁹ C. Schick, *PEFQSt* 1899, 116-8; C. Mühlman (ed.), *Das deutsche Kaiserpaar im Heiligen Lande im Herbst 1898* (1899), 107-114; 313-7.

¹⁵⁰ C. Schick, *PEFQSt* 1893, 20-3; K. Gruenwald in M. Friedman et al. (eds.), *Chapters in the History of the Jewish Settlement in Jerusalem*, ii (1976), 255-65 (Heb.); P. Pick in: E. Schiller (ed.), *Ze'ev Vilnay Jubilee Volume*, i (1984), 169-78 (Heb.).

¹⁵¹ *Map of Western Palestine* by C.R. Conder and H.H. Kitchener, scale 1 inch to 1 mile (= 1:63,360), in 26 sheets (London 1880). The sheets relevant to the present study are XII, XIV, XVI, XVII. Cf. I.W.J. Hopkins, *Imago Mundi* 22(1968), 30-36; *Atlas of Israel* (1970), Map I/5 with discussion by J. Elster; J. Schattner, *The Maps of Palestine and their History* (1951, Heb.), Chapter V.

Roads to Jerusalem During The First World War

Finally, the picture of the general condition of the road network before modern times would not be complete without a brief discussion of the conquest of Jerusalem during the First World War. Here German military documentation is still useful, as it includes aerial photographs, some of which show sites and stretches of the roads between Jaffa and Jerusalem,¹⁵² as well as topographical maps¹⁵³ and detailed information on the state of the road-network in 1917.¹⁵⁴

Unlike the French troops under Napoleon, the British army, under the command of Allenby, moved up to Jerusalem. For the British government the holy city was a target of primary importance, for they intended to take control over all of Palestine and, following Christian tradition, to establish the seat of government in Jerusalem. The British troops and their allies used all the available roads between Jaffa and Jerusalem during their attacks on Jerusalem and the mountain range. In November 1917 three divisions of the XXI Corps advanced towards Jerusalem along the three roads available at the time:¹⁵⁵

a) The 75th Division took the Emmaus - Abu Ghosh road, the only metalled road in the country.

b) The 52nd Division took the Lydda-Jerusalem road via Beit Liqva and Biddu, described in Part II. It was found to be 'of fair quality in the plain, but in the hills degenerated into little more than a bridle-path'.¹⁵⁶ Part

¹⁵² G. Dalman, *Hundert deutsche Fliegerbilder aus Palästina* (1925), figs. 39 (area of Emmaus); 44 (Ramle); 67 and 68 (Jaffa and vicinity); id., *Jerusalem und sein Gelände* (1930), figs. 1 (north-western approaches to Jerusalem); 20 (area of Abu Ghosh); 21 (area of el-Jib).

¹⁵³ *Karte von Palästina*. Reichsamt für Landesaufnahme (Berlin 1918), scale 1:50,000 in 39 sheets; the region between Jaffa and Jerusalem is covered by sheets Nos. 58, 59, 68, 69. A few 1:25,000 maps were made by the Germans in the same period, and these are far more accurate, but they do not cover the area under discussion in this book. Cf. D.H.K. Amiram, *EI* 2(1953), 33-40 (Heb.).

¹⁵⁴ *Kurze militärgeographische Beschreibung von Palästina*, Kartographische Abteilung der Kgl. Preussischen Landesaufnahme (1917), 64-92.

¹⁵⁵ *History of the Great War. Military Operations in Egypt and Palestine*, I, compiled by C. Falls and A.F. Becke (London 1930), 189 ff.

¹⁵⁶ *Op.cit.*, 188.

of these troops were sent from Beit Liqya through Wadi Suleiman to Beit Duqqu. From there they do not seem to have made any decisive progress.

c) The Yeomanry Mounted Division advanced along the 'abominable road' of Beit Horon. 'Nearly all wheeled transport and the Leicester Battery had to be sent back to Ramle, the Hong Kong Mountain Battery being attached to the division instead of the horse artillery.'¹⁵⁷ The description of their movements gives a vivid impression of conditions which, as we have seen, applied in antiquity as well:

'These troops were thus called upon to advance across one of the roughest and bleakest areas of the Judaeian Hills. The 8th Brigade passed through Beit 'Ur et Tahta, but was soon afterwards held up in the Wadi es Sunt, which runs through a deep valley north-east of the village,¹⁵⁸ and spent the night there halted in the rain. The 22nd Mounted Brigade also made slow progress, partly owing to the time taken in crowning the precipitous heights on either side of its line of march, but still more owing to the nature of the track. The column had to move in single file, and was nearly six miles long. Little opposition from the enemy was met with, but every time a horse foundered as a result of lack of water and of fatigue during the previous week, every time a camel escaped his miseries by deliberately (as it appeared) dying in his tracks, a halt had to be made while the carcass was dragged off the path.'¹⁵⁹

Eventually the troops of the XXI Corps were replaced by units of the XX Corps and, during preparations for the final offensive towards the Samarian mountain range, the roads of the area were substantially improved.

'At least ten days of hard work were needed on roads and water supply before the offensive could take place ... The 60th Division was mainly responsible for the Jaffa road, on which natives hired from a contractor were employed, and also developed the water supply at Qalonye.¹⁶⁰ The 74th Division remade the track from

Qaryet el 'Inab to Biddu, three battalions working for several nights under the engineers. This track, which had been impassable for wheeled traffic when first the 75th Division moved up it in November, was by the 26th December completely though roughly metalled. The almost indistinguishable bridle-path from Biddu running past Nabi Samweil to Beit Hannina was also made fit to carry wheels. Most important of all, the tracks required by the Left Attack to bring up ammunition for the big part it had to play in the offensive were vastly improved by the 10th Division, which had had much experience of such work in Macedonia. These tracks ran from various points on the Lydda-Jerusalem road up the parallel valleys and were the 10th Division's only supply routes. The road-making on this flank quite transformed the situation, for it enabled a force of all arms with wheeled transport to be maintained in country through which hitherto pack transport had moved only with great difficulty.'¹⁶¹

The decisive advance took place on 21-22 November when Nabi Samwil was captured by troops who reached this hill-top site from Abu Ghosh through Biddu. The troops coming up from Beit Liqya through Beit 'Inan joined those at Biddu when the battle for Nabi Samwil was already in progress, approaching slowly because the road was so bad. So, while every existing track was used, in the end the decisive movement took place along the Imwas - Abu Ghosh - Biddu road.

The authors of this part of the *History of the Great War* observe that 'the roads in the hills, even before the rain fell, were worse than had appeared from the reports of agents, and the Palestine Exploration Fund map was all too flattering to them.'¹⁶² This statement has implications for the quality of British military intelligence in the region, before the war. It shows to what extent the British troops depended on the *SWP* map, which was almost forty years old at the time. On the other hand, it should perhaps not surprise us that the perspective of surveyors who travelled slowly on horse-back or with mules was different from that of the major army which invaded the country in 1917.

The other point to be observed is that the Turkish army failed to halt the British forces as they ascended from the Shephelah to the plateau, an

¹⁵⁷ *Op.cit.*, 189.

¹⁵⁸ This is indicated on modern maps as Wadi Jaryut, one of the tributaries of Nahal Modi'in.

¹⁵⁹ *Op.cit.*, 192.

¹⁶⁰ *q.v. Gazetteer*, s.v. Motza.

¹⁶¹ *Op.cit.*, 276 f.

¹⁶² *Op.cit.*, 193.

opportunity exploited by the Jews in antiquity with so much success on several occasions, as described above. Other armies made their way unopposed to the plateau, those of Pompey, Titus and the Crusaders in 1099, but on those occasions there was no opposing field army. When the British troops advanced beyond Bab el Wad 'The enemy was in no great strength, but small parties dug in upon the hills had to be dislodged. The Indian troops, highly skilled in operations of this type, completely outmanoeuvred the Turks, turning every successive position occupied them with great speed.'¹⁶³

After the First World War a modern road-network was gradually developed.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Op. cit., 190 f.

¹⁶⁴ For the development of the road-network after the First World War, M. Ettinger, *Verkehrswesen und Verkehrspolitik in Palästina* (1936); S. Reichman, *Jerusalem Studies in Geography* 2 (1971), 55-90; S. Reichman and S. Sharir in A. Shmueli et al. (eds.), *Judea and Samaria* i (1977), 117-124 (Heb.); *Atlas of Israel* (1970), map XIV/1: 'Road and Rail Communication.'

DESCRIPTION OF THE ROADS

Preliminary Remarks

This part contains a systematic description of the course of various roads from Jaffa to Jerusalem, from west to east, focussing on the roads themselves. Information on individual sites, on the other hand, is presented alphabetically in the Gazetteer in Part III in order to avoid cluttering the text with unnecessary and confusing references. Part II does not contain cross references to sites discussed in the Gazetteer. The reader is also referred to the Index which contains variant names for all sites and to the following maps: the general map at the end of the book (fig. 44), the key map (fig. 3) and the regional maps: figs. 4-6, 8-12, 15-18).

INTRODUCTION

When Jerusalem became the Jewish capital after the time of King Solomon (tenth century B.C.), communication with Jaffa and the coastal plain became highly important.¹ The importance of these communications increased as the city grew and the surrounding countryside became more densely settled, first in Biblical times (tenth to sixth century B.C.) and later in the Second Temple period (538 BC to AD 70).²

¹ The best general history of Jerusalem is still J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the Old Testament* (1952). See also J. Gray, *A History of Jerusalem* (1969); J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem as Jesus knew it. Archaeology as Evidence* (1978); A. Oppenheimer et al. (eds), *Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period: Abraham Schalit Memorial Volume* (1980, Heb.). For recent discoveries see K. M. Kenyon, *Digging Up Jerusalem* (1974); Y. Yadin (ed.), *Jerusalem Revealed* (1975); N. Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem* (1983); Y. Shiloh, *Excavations at the City of David, I, 1978 - 1982* (1984); A. D. Tushingham, *Excavations in Jerusalem 1961 - 1967*, i (1985); H.J. Franken & M.L. Steiner, *Excavations in Jerusalem 1961-7*, 2 (1990); *NEAEHL*, 698-804. For observations on the location of Jerusalem see also above, Part I.

² Archaeological evidence seems to indicate that Jerusalem already expanded in Biblical times; see M. Broshi, *IEJ* 24(1974), 21 - 26; H. Geva, *IEJ* 29(1979), 84 - 91; G. Barkay, *Northern and Western Jerusalem in the end of the Iron Age* (Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Tel Aviv University, 1985, in Hebrew), 478 - 504. See, however, A.D. Tushingham, *Levant* 19(1987), 137-143. The demographic growth in Judaea in Biblical times and again in later periods is well attested by the data collected during the survey undertaken

which enhanced the significance of those links. In the Roman period (AD 70 - 330) Jerusalem became the headquarters of *Legio X Fretensis* and a Roman citizen colony,³ while Jaffa and, later, Lydda and Emmaus received city status and became nodal points in the road-network in their own right (see below). This naturally influenced patterns of movement in the province. In Byzantine times (AD 330 - 640) Jerusalem became the focus of pilgrimage for the whole Christian world and demographic growth in Judaea reached an unprecedented level.⁴ The same must have been true for traffic. Later, the population and number of settlements in the Judaeian countryside gradually declined,⁵ but at various times Jerusalem repeatedly served as objective for armies, tradesmen and pilgrims, notably in the Crusader period (See Part I).

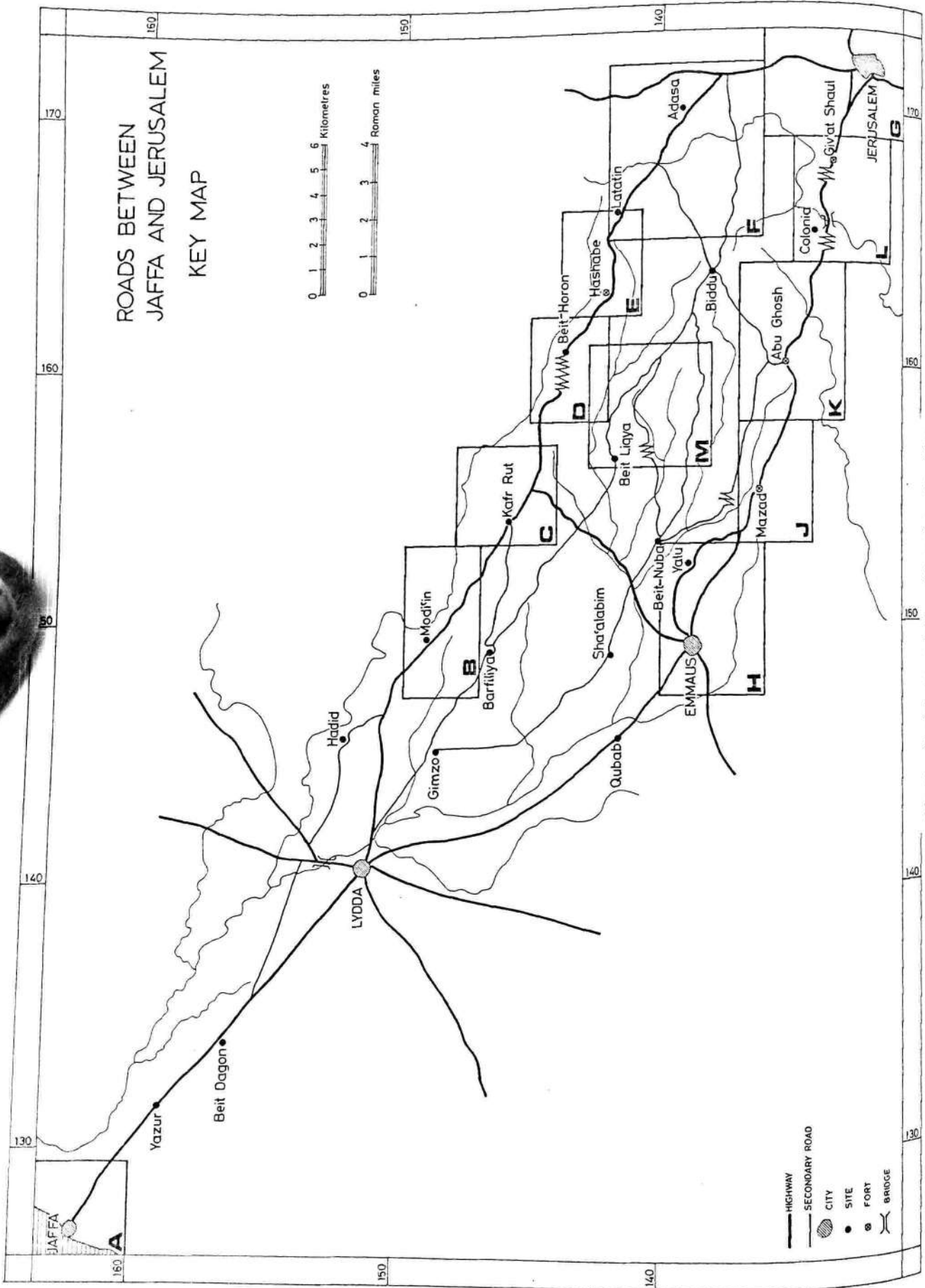
The varying requirements of traffic in the course of the centuries could not have been satisfied by one road only. A system of various routes came to be used which evolved into a fully developed road-network, in the Roman and Byzantine periods. This network spread over the area stretching from the Mediterranean coast in the west to the watershed of the Judean mountains in the east and from Nahal Modi'in and Nahal Natuf in the north to Nahal Kesalon and

immediately after the 1967 war, see M. Kochavi (ed.), *Judaea, Samaria and the Golan, Archaeological Survey, 1967 - 1968* (1972, Heb.), 20 - 24.











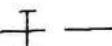







³ For Jerusalem as a Roman colony and legionary base: Isaac, *The Limits of Empire* (Oxford 1990), 323-5, 353f., 427f.

⁴ The size of the population of Judaea has been variously estimated: A. Byatt, *PEQ* 105(1973), 51 - 60; J. Wilkinson, *PEQ* 106(1974), 33 - 51; M. Broshi, *BASOR* 236(1980), 1 - 10; Y. Shiloh, *BASOR* 239(1980), 25 - 35. For recent discussion: M. Broshi, in A. Oppenheimer et al. (eds.), *Man and Land in Eretz-Israel in Antiquity* (1986), 49 - 56 (Heb., English summary on pp. vi - vii); C. Dauphin, *Eretz-Israel* 19(1987), 2* - 9*. On Holy Land Pilgrimage in Byzantine times: J. Wilkinson, *PEQ* 108(1976), 75 - 101; id., *Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades* (1977); H. Donner, *Pilgerfahrt ins heilige Land* (1979) and see now E. D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire, A.D. 312 - 460* (1982); P. Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient. Histoire et géographie. Des origines à la conquête arabe* (Paris, 1985).

⁵ M. Sharon in M. Sharon (ed.), *Notes and Studies on the History of the Holy Land Under Islamic Rule* (1976), 9 - 32 (Heb.); Y. Fraenkel, *Cathedra* 11(1979), 86 - 108 (Heb.).



KEY TO DETAILED MAPS A-M

	ANCIENT HIGHWAY		MODERN VILLAGE
	SECONDARY ROAD		UNDERGROUND HIDEOUT
	MODERN ROAD		WATER SOURCE
	AQUEDUCT		CITY WALL
	BRIDGE		TOMB
	SECTION		CEMETERY
	MILESTATION IN SITU		TRIG POINT
	ASCENT		WADI
	ANCIENT SITE		MARSH

Nahal Gezer in the south.

1

THE NATURE OF THE TERRAIN⁶

The area between Jaffa and Jerusalem may be divided into six distinct regions, each of them being part of a north - south geomorphological strip which stretches along the length of Western Judaea (see the topographical section, fig. 2).⁷ Each region has its own geographical characteristics marked by individual topographical features. These features greatly influenced, and in many cases even dictated, the alignment of the roads as well as the method of construction, the system of metalling, and the dimensions.⁸ It may be helpful, therefore, to offer a short introduction summing up the topographical characteristics of the region following its traditional division as expressed, for instance, in the Talmud:

In Judah mountain, Shephelah, and valley land. R. Yohanan said: 'In that region are mountain, Shephelah, and plain. From Beit

⁶ The best illustration of the nature of the terrain may be found on older maps and aerial photographs. Some of those will be found in the present volume and many others in B.Z. Kedar, *Looking Twice at the Land of Israel: Aerial Photographs of 1917-18 and 1987-91* (1991, Heb.), to which reference will be made in this chapter and in the Gazetteer.

⁷ The best descriptive study of the historical and general geography of the Holy Land is still that of G. A. Smith, *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (25th ed., 1931, repr. 1966). See pp. 112 ff. for the coastal plain; 143 ff. for the Shephelah, and pp. 195 ff. for the western slopes of the Judean mountains. For a survey of the regional topography of the country: *Palestine and Transjordan* (Geographical Handbook Series, B.R. 514, Naval Intelligence Division, Great Britain, 1943), 12 ff. More recent studies: Y. Karmon, *Israel. A Regional Geography* (1971); E. Orni and E. Efrat, *Geography of Israel* (third ed. 1971), 35 ff. and 53 ff.; D. Nir, *Géomorphologie d'Israel* (1975), 33 ff. and 89 ff. Maps: *Atlas of Israel* (1970), sections ii/1 (Geomorphology); ii/3 (soil); iii/1 and 3 (Geology); v/1 and 2 (Hydrology); new (third) edition of *Atlas of Israel* (1985), maps nos. 9 - 15.

⁸ Y. Karmon, 'Topographical Influences on Judean Road', in *Judah and Jerusalem. (Proceedings of) the Twelfth Archaeological Convention* (1957), 144 - 150 (Heb. English summary: p. viii).

Horon to Emmaus mountain, from Emmaus to Lydda Shephelah, from Lydda to the sea plain.⁹

1. The Coastal Plain

The coastal plain is almost entirely level and has a width of some 20 km. from the sea-shore to the foothills of the Shephelah near Hadid and Gimzo. It is an alluvial plain with sandy soil of recent deposit, fertile, well-watered and effectively drained by the seasonal Nahal Ayalon, a tributary of the perennial Yarqon river to the north. This part of the coastal plain is potentially rich and productive and, when favourable political and economic conditions allowed, it was intensively cultivated and densely populated. A vivid description of the region as it was before modern development is given by George Adam Smith. 'The Maritime Plain', he wrote some ninety years ago, 'possesses a quiet but rich beauty. If the contours are gentle the colours are strong and varied. Along almost the whole seaboard runs a strip of links and downs, sometimes of drifting sand, sometimes of grass and sand together. Outside this border of broken gold is the blue sea, with its fringe of foam. Landward the soil is a chocolate brown, with breaks and gullies, now bare to their dirty white shingle and stagnant puddles, and now full of rich green reeds and rushes telling of ample water beneath. Over corn and moorland a million of flowers are scattered ... Such a plain, rising through the heat by dim slopes to the persistent range of blue hills beyond, presents today a prospect of nothing but fruitfulness and peace.'⁹

A few low hills rise above the plain. One of these comprises the remains of ancient Jaffa (see Gazetteer, fig. 4; Pl. 1-3, 10, 37), projecting into the sea and forming a small bay partially protected from the west by a series of off-shore rocks. This is the port of ancient Jaffa, one of the few natural harbours on the coast of Israel.¹⁰ Jaffa may be conveniently approached from the east, but to the north and south of the town there is a broad belt of sand-dunes that form an obstacle to access from the plain to the shore as is particularly well shown by the old German air-

⁹ G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography*, 113.

¹⁰ For the coast of Israel and its ancient harbours: F. M. Abel, 'Le littoral palestinien et ses ports', *RB* 11(1914), 556 - 590; H. Frost, 'Ancient Harbours and Anchorages in the Eastern Mediterranean', in *Underwater Archaeology: A Nascent Discipline* (1972), 95 - 114; A. Raban, 'The Ancient Harbours of Israel in Biblical Times', A. Raban (ed.), *Harbour Archaeology* (1985), 11 - 44. For older and recent aerial photographs of Jaffa and vicinity: Kedar, *AP*, 86 f.; 96-9.

photograph reproduced as Pl.1.

The level terrain of the coastal plain afforded a relatively straight road-alignment. Deviations from the direct course were few and slight and served to skirt a hog's back or a patch of unstable ground, to avoid a stream, or to cross it at a convenient place. The pattern is well known from Roman roads preserved in several lowland areas of the Roman Empire.¹¹ This must also have been the character of the road from Jaffa to Lydda. This has not been preserved, but for comparison one may look at the Jaffa - Ramle road, which has been used from mediaeval until modern times. Its route is virtually straight and its alignment differs only slightly from that of the existing Jaffa - Lydda road.¹²

2. The Shephelah

The Shephelah stretches from Hadid and Gimzu in the west to Lower Beit Horon and the Valley of Ayalon in the east. It is a region of low, gently undulating hills some 15 km. wide. As described by George Adam Smith 'the formation is of limestone or chalk, and very soft - therefore irregular and almost featureless, with a few prominent outposts upon the plain. In the cross valleys there are perennial, or almost perennial, streams, with broad pebbly beds; the soil is alluvial and red, with great corn-fields. But on the slopes and glens of each hilly maze between the cross valleys the soil is a grey white; there are no perennial streams, and few springs, but many reservoirs of rain-water. The cornfields straggle for want of level space, yet the olive-groves are finer than on either the plain below or the range above. Inhabited villages are frequent; the ruins of abandoned ones more so.'¹³

Severe erosion has considerably changed the surface of the region during the course of the centuries. Originally the hills were covered with a substantial layer of top-soil, but this has been washed away into the valleys. As a result of the erosion of the hills and sedimentation in the valleys the relative difference in height has been reduced, levelling the terrain somewhat. In the Roman period, therefore, valleys were deeper and gradients steeper, all of which must affect any attempt at reconstructing and explaining the alignment of the road-network and the ancient

settlement pattern.¹⁴

In the north there is a continuous chain of low hills which run along the whole region, from Lower Beit Horon in the south-east to Gimzu in the north-west. This low and continuous ridge forms the watershed between two catchment areas: a narrow one, which drains towards the north into Nahal Natuf and its tributary Nahal Modi'in; and a much larger catchment area, which drains towards the south into several tributaries of Nahal Ayalon. North of the ridge the river valleys are rather short, narrow and twisting, and running northwards; they were seldom used as communication lines. The ridge itself, however, is well suited for east - west traffic and this watershed was indeed used throughout history by one of the two highways which crossed the area: the Beit Horon road.

South of the ridge the river valleys are wider, less twisted and longer and their general orientation is east-west. Here, the roads run along the valleys, usually along one of the slopes near the foothills.¹⁵ The Ayalon valley is the largest in the area, encompassing the whole southern flank of the Shephelah region. Through it ran the second highway which crossed the region, the one connecting Lydda with Emmaus.

3. The Valley of Ayalon

The Valley of Ayalon is 3 - 4 km. wide and stretches from Emmaus to Lower Beit Horon separating the Shephelah from the mountain region. It is almost entirely flat and penetrates deep into the hilly region from south-west to north-east. A striking illustration appears in *Picturesque Palestine*, here reproduced as Pl.13 (see also Pl.28). Although several tributaries which descend from the mountains feed into Nahal Ayalon, the latter drains the entire valley adequately and there are no marshes. The soil is rich and fertile and in ancient times it served as the agricultural hinterland of the city of Emmaus.

The section of the highway which connected Emmaus with the Beit Horon road ran along the valley. It was joined by several of the interior roads of western Judaea. Because of its central position between the Shephelah and the high mountains, the valley often

¹¹ R. Chevallier, *Les voies romaines* (1972), 128; the phenomenon is well attested in the lowlands of Britain: I. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain* (third ed. 1973), 18 f.

¹² See *SWP Map*, sheet xiii.

¹³ G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography*, 148.

¹⁴ See P.L.O. Guy, *IEJ* 4(1954), 77 - 87.

¹⁵ This type of alignment was common in the whole Shephelah, down to the Beersheba valley; it is encountered in the Beit Guvrin area as well: I. Roll and Y. Dagan, 'Roman Roads Around Beth Guvrin' in D. Urman and E. Stern (eds.), *Man and Environment in the Southern Shephelah. Studies in Regional Geography and History* (1988, Heb.), 175-179.

served as the main approach to Jerusalem (see Part I). It also marked the first main stage for traffic from the capital westward. 'The Valley of Aiyalon,' writes George Adam Smith, 'is a broad fertile plain gently sloping up to the foot of the Central Range, the steep wall of which seems to forbid further passage. But three gorges break through, and, with sloping ridges between them run up past the two Bethorons on to the plateau at Gibeon, a few flat miles north of Jerusalem. This has always been the easiest passage from the coast to the capital of Judaea - the most natural channel for the overflow of Israel westwards. ... Throughout history we see hosts swarming up this avenue, or swept down in flight.'¹⁶

4. The Western Escarpment

The transition from the low hilly Shephelah is sudden and steep. The difference in altitude is 300 metres or more over a span of less than 3 kilometres. It is an escarpment between Lower and Upper Beit Horon in the north and Deir Ayub and Qasr in the south. There were only a few places where an ascent of this escarpment could be made. This required large-scale construction. There are two types of routes which roads could follow in this area: (a) along a mountain spur and up to high ground; (b) through a gorge until the watershed of an interior east-west ridge is reached.¹⁷ As we shall see, the two Roman highways in the area, the Beit Horon road and the Abu Ghosh road climb towards the escarpment along a spur, while the secondary roads are routed through a gorge.

The Western Escarpment, 'the land of the defiles' as it has been called, is the main barrier in the whole east-west communication system of Judaea. In the words of George Adam Smith: 'This barrier ... is penetrated by defiles, none more broad than those of Bethhoron, of Wady 'Aly along which the high-road to Jerusalem travels and of Wady es-Surar up which the railway runs. Few are straight, most sharply curve. The sides are steep, and often precipitous, frequently with no path between save the torrent bed, in rapids of loose shingle or level steps of the strata, which at the mouth of the defile are often tilted almost perpendicularly into easily defended obstacles of passage. The sun beats down upon the limestone; springs are few, though sometimes generous; a thick bush fringes the brows, and caves abound and tumbled rocks. Everything conspires to give the few inhabitants means of defence against large armies. It is a country of

ambushes, entanglements, surprises, where armies have no room to fight, and the defenders can remain hidden; where the essentials for war are nimbleness and the sure foot, power of scramble and of rush.'¹⁸

5. The Mountain Region

The mountain region of western Judaea, which is about 12 km. wide, is dissected all along by narrow, seasonal streams or wadis with narrow, steep and twisting beds. Their watercourses are usually full of fallen boulders, and the impact of the winter floods is highly destructive. Any traveller along a river-bed not only chooses a longer route and a more difficult terrain, but also risks constant observation from above and surprise by enemies who control the ridges. Consequently, during the Roman period, alignment of roads through wadi-beds was avoided as much as possible; it occurred only when there was no alternative, for a distance as short as possible and until an appropriate spur was reached.¹⁹

However, the ridges between the streams are more suitable for traffic lines. Their general orientation is east-west. The watershed provides a fairly straight line and several ridges do in fact cross most or all of the breadth of the area. The longest ridge is the northern one; it crosses the entire width of western Judaea and along it ran the Beit Horon highway. Further south are the ridges of Beit 'Inan, Hitan al-War and Beit Thul along which ran the east-west secondary roads. In the south there is the spur of Neve Ilan which served the western section of the Abu Ghosh highway.

The south-eastern part of the region forms an exception. Here the land is drained and dissected by Nahal Soreq and some of its tributaries and its general course is north-south. It hinders a direct approach towards Jerusalem. The northernmost ridge in the area, that of Beit Horon, is least affected by the Soreq system and consequently it provides the best natural approach to the capital. But further to the south the terrain becomes more difficult and the Abu Ghosh road has a very serious obstacle to overcome in the Soreq gorge.

The main geographical dividing line in the area is the ridge which runs from Abu Ghosh north-eastward to Biddu and Al Jib. This ridge forms the watershed between the catchment area of Nahal Ayalon which stretches towards the west and north, and that of Nahal Soreq which stretches towards the east and

¹⁶ Smith, 149; cf. 149 - 154 and 172 - 5.

¹⁷ This has also been observed in the similar terrain of western Samaria, see I. Roll and E. Ayalon, *PEQ* 118(1986), 113 - 134; esp. 128 - 129.

¹⁸ Smith, 195.

¹⁹ These points have rightly been emphasized by Y. Karmon, *Israel. A Regional Geography* (1971); they are also relevant to western Samaria.

The Roads

of the general character of the Judaeian mountains: 'The greater part of the Judaeian plateau consists of stony moorland, on which rough scrub and thorns, reinforced by a few dwarf oaks, contend with multitudes of boulders, and the limestone, as if impatient of the pretence of the soil, breaks out in bare scalps and prominences. There are patches of cultivation, but though the grain springs bravely from them, they seem more beds of shingle than of soil. ... the prevailing impression of Judaea is of stone - the torrent beds, the paths that are no better, the heaps and heaps of stones gathered from the fields, the fields as stony still, the moors strewn with boulders, the scalps and ribs of the hills. In the more desolate parts, which otherwise were covered with scrub, this impression is increased by ruins of cultivation - cairns, terrace walls, and vineyard towers.'²⁰

6. The Judaeian Plateau

The plateau is a narrow strip of rocky ground, with isolated peaks and is sharply dissected on both sides by deepening wadis. It is only a few kilometres wide and forms part of the country's main north-south watershed. It has always been used as a main artery for north-south traffic.²¹ Because of the difficulties created by the upper Nahal Soreq and its tributaries, none of the roads to Jerusalem from the west approached the city directly, except the Abu Ghosh highway. All the other western roads first reached the watershed traffic line and only then entered the capital from the north.

We have listed the roads between Jaffa and Jerusalem as follows, in the order in which they are to be described below. The presence of milestones is taken as the criterion for identifying an ancient road as a public Roman highway.

MAIN ROADS

A. The Jaffa - Lydda Road

This is the western section of the network. From Lydda two branches made for Jerusalem along different routes, namely the Beit Horon road and the Lydda - Emmaus - Jerusalem road.

B. The Beit Horon Road

This was the northern branch which ran

eastward from Lydda and reached Jerusalem without passing through any major settlement.

C. The Lydda - Emmaus Road

This was the western section of the southern branch.

D. The Emmaus - Beit Horon Road

This connected the southern (C,E) with the northern (B) branch.

E. The Emmaus - Jerusalem Road

This formed the eastern section of the southern branch.

SECONDARY ROADS

We have explored several ancient roads of secondary, but more than local importance. These are not marked by milestones, but show various other characteristics of ancient road-making. These will be described in this chapter after the report on the five main roads.

2

The Description of the Roads

A. The Jaffa - Lydda Road

As noted in Part I, the Jaffa - Lydda road is mentioned in the Itinerary attributed to Antoninus Placentinus as a section of the road from Jerusalem westwards to Jaffa and Caesarea.²² Theodosius in *De Situ Terrae Sanctae* gives the correct distance between Jaffa and Lydda as 12 Roman miles.²³ Other ancient sources also refer to the road (see Part I). However, no remains of the Roman road itself have been found. There are several reasons for the absence of such remains: (a) Accumulated sedimentation tends to bury

²⁰ Smith, *Historical Geography*, 206 - 8.

²¹ For the northern road to Jerusalem: G. Dalman, *PJb* 21(1925), 58 - 89. The region east of the road has been surveyed recently: S. Gibson and G. Edelstein, *Levant* 17 (1985), 139 - 55.

²² C. Milani, *Itinerarium Antonini Placentini. Un viaggio in Terra Santa del 560 - 570 d. C.* (1977), 170 - 3.

²³ Theodosius, *De Situ Terrae Sanctae*, 4 (ed. Geyer, *CCSL* 175, p. 116); cf. Y. Tsafir, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 40 (1986), 134.

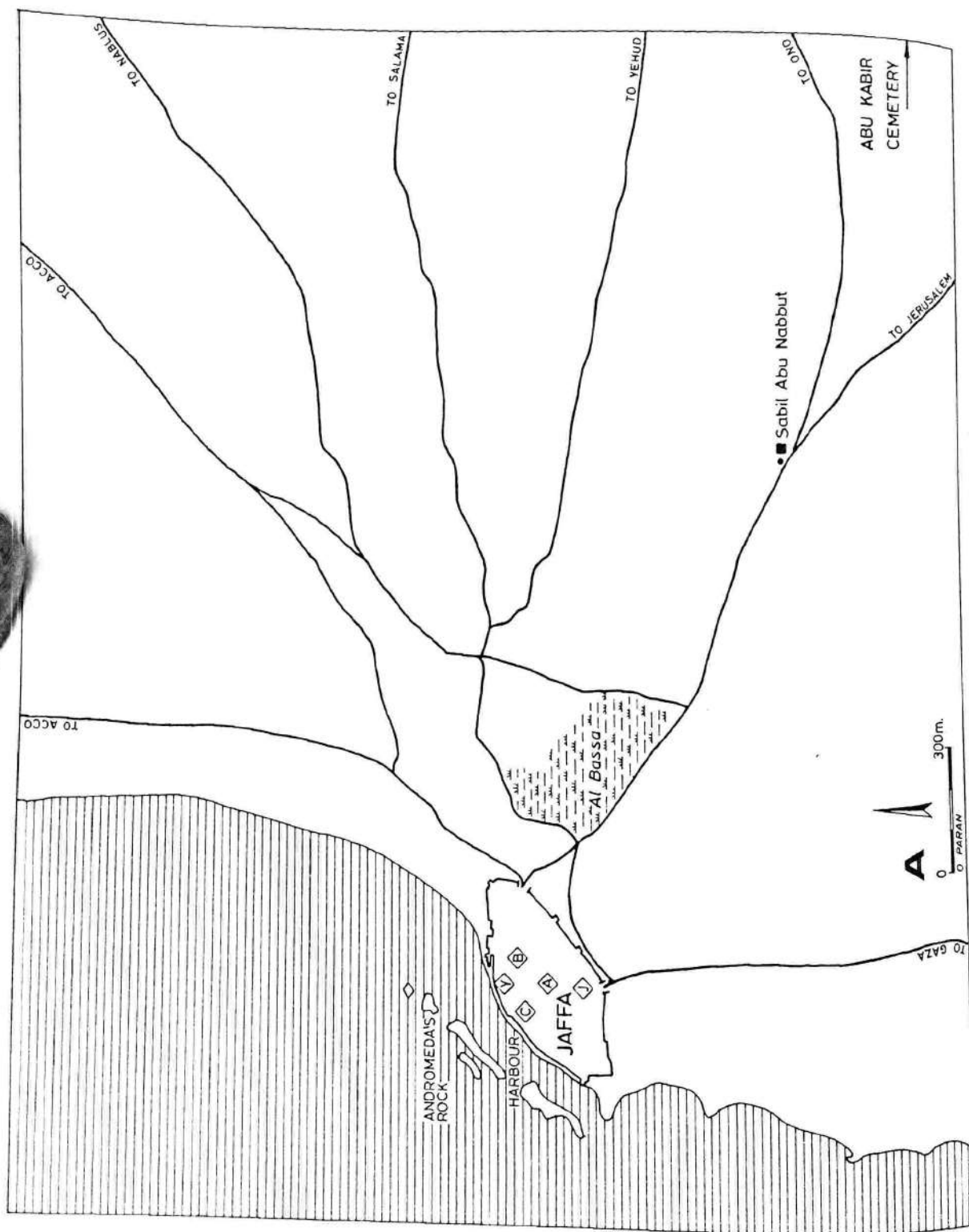


Fig. 4. Roads between Jaffa and Jerusalem. A. Jaffa.

archaeological remains in the coastal plain.²⁴ (b) Good building material is rare in the area so that there is extensive re-use of neglected structures such as roads and milestones in the post-Roman periods.²⁵ (c) Mediaeval, more recent, and even modern roads tend to follow the alignment of ancient roads and this leads to the destruction or loss of the ancient remains. Modern alignments, however, sometimes help in reconstructing the original alignment of a Roman road when it can be assumed that an existing later road represents the course of a Roman predecessor which has disappeared. This seems to be the case with the Jaffa - Lydda road.

The boundaries of Jaffa in Roman times cannot be defined, nor is the location of the exit towards Jerusalem known at present. In the nineteenth century the road left town at the north-eastern corner, through a monumental gate rebuilt in that century by the Turkish governor Abu Nabûl.²⁶ The 'Jerusalem Gate' of the mediaeval town was probably in the same area.²⁷ This seems to have been the traditional site of the east gate of the city and may therefore go back to earlier, even Roman times.²⁸

From the town gate the nineteenth-century road followed a south-easterly direction, presumably keeping to the course of the old Roman road (fig. 4, Pl. 1, 37). It skirted the low and marshy grounds of *Bassat - Yafah*, now the site of the Bloomfield football stadium, keeping to its south and, after 1.3 km., reached the *Sebil Abu Nabul*, named after its builder

(Pl. 11).²⁹ The *Sebil* is a 'monumental fountain covered with three large, and four small domes in green; it was adorned with sculptured and painted flowers, and inscribed with verses engraved in golden letters on a background of white marble.'³⁰ It still stands on the spot which has a perennial water source and must have been used by travellers in earlier times as well. The road then skirts the Jewish cemetery from the Roman and Byzantine periods at Abu Kabir, and proceeds to Yazur with its crusader castle (see Gazetteer). Here another *Sebil* has been preserved, now in use as a synagogue and partly disfigured by modern restorations.

The entire stretch of nineteenth-century road is now covered with asphalt. It is represented by the Olei Zion Street, then by the Yitzhak Ben-Tzvi Road down to the Holon crossroads and thereafter by the Tel Aviv - Ramle road.

At Yazur traces of successive older pavements have been observed in a foundation trench cut at the northern edge of the modern road, a decade and a half ago (G.R. 1316.1591). In the southern section of this excavation four successive stages could be distinguished:³²

(a) An earlier asphalt metalling of the modern highway.

(b) A metalled road from the early years of the British Mandate.

(c) A track made of several layers of beaten earth, probably representing the nineteenth-century road.

²⁴ Guy, *IEJ* 4 (1954), 77 - 87.

²⁵ Note, for instance, the milestone cut into smaller blocks for secondary use which was found at Kh. el-Qasr on the Emmaus - Jerusalem road (below, catalogue of milestones).

²⁶ S. Tolkowsky, *The Gateway to Palestine*, 155; R. Kark, *Jaffa 1799 - 1917*, 42 and fig. on p. 43. There are many illustrations of Jaffa, seen from the East, e.g. the fine lithograph by D. Roberts, *The Holy Land from Drawings Made on the Spot* i (1842), 58; S. Manning, *Those Holy Fields. Palestine Illustrated by Pen and Pencil* (1874), facing p. 18. The earliest illustration made on the spot is that of Jean Zuallart, *Il devotissimo viaggio de Gerusalemme* (Rome 1587), p. 106, reproduced here (Pl. 3). Aerial photographs taken in 1917-18 and in recent years: Kedar, *AP*, 86 f.; 96-9.

²⁷ F.-M. Abel, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 20(1946), 11 and map on p. 7.

²⁸ Note the northern and western gates of Jerusalem which still are on the same spot as their Roman predecessors (see below).

²⁹ For the nineteenth-century road see e.g. the maps of G. Pink in W. Wittman, *Travels in Turkey, Asia-Minor, Syria and Across the Desert into Egypt during the Years 1799, 1800 and 1801* (1803) facing p. 396; T. Sandel, *ZDPV* 3 (1880), facing p. 44; see also the aerial photographs made by German pilots in the First World War and reproduced by Tolkowsky, fig. 26 and Kark, p. 268; G. Dalman, *Hundert Deutsche Fliegerbilder aus Palästina* (1925), Nos. 67 f.

³⁰ Tolkowsky, 155 and fig. 17; Kark, p. 13 (fig.); Kedar, *AP*, 89.

³¹ C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, ii (1896), 3-5 and 130 ff.; S. Klein, *Sefer Ha-Yishuv*, i (1939), 80 - 88; *CII* ii, nos. 892 - 960.

³² We are grateful to Mr. Yariv Shapira, keeper of the local museum, for this information.

(d) A paved road, covered with a compacted layer of crushed sandstone ('Kurkar'), mixed with ribbed red sherds. Kerbstones support the edge of the road.

The earliest layer (d) resembles the paving of the Jaffa - Apollonia - Caesarea road uncovered near Tel Qasile which dates from the Byzantine period.³³

Three hundred metres south of the crusader fort of Yazur the nineteenth-century road forks: while the main branch continues straight to Ramle the other bears off to Lydda. The latter, which presumably follows the course of the Roman road, is marked on the SWP map, sheet xiii.³⁴ It runs over slightly elevated ground, south of and parallel to two consecutive tributaries of Nahal Ayalon (now called Nahal Azor and Nahal Shapirim). It continues north of Beit Dajjan and south of Saphiriya, reaching Lydda from the north-west along a track which is still extant from Ahiezer. It follows an almost straight alignment, apart from two slight turns. These are found where streams had to be crossed at the most convenient spot - one of them south-east of Beit Dajan, the other south-east of Saphiriya.

The road to Lydda is marked more accurately on the 1:20,000 map published by the British Mandatary Government.³⁵ On both sides of the road a system of parallel field-tracks may be recognized which mostly form right angles with the road. Their alignment is clearly determined by the road and it is possible that they represent an ancient system of land division.³⁶

B. The Beit Horon Road

Lydda - Modi'in

³³ E. Ayalon, *Israel - People and Land* 4(1986-7), 9 - 12; I. Roll and E. Ayalon, *ibid.*, 150 - 152 (both Heb. with English summaries).

³⁴ Cf. SWP, vol. ii, 263: 'The ancient road from Jaffa to Jerusalem leads through Lydda, but shows no signs of antiquity in the plain, being simply a broad beaten track.'

³⁵ Sheet 13-15, 'Beit Dajan', printed in 1943 and based on surveys carried out in 1929.

³⁶ Compare our observations in the Jezreel Valley. Here maps of the previous century also show a network of dirt tracks at right angles to the Roman road: B. Isaac and I. Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea*, i, *The Legio - Scythopolis Road* (1982), 106 and fig. 6.

The precise course of the road as it enters Lydda from the north-west and leaves it for Jerusalem is unknown. However, some indication may be provided by the Madaba Map.³⁷ On this map 'Lod' otherwise Lydea which is also Diospolis' is displayed as an unwalled town. Various architectural features are shown, including a colonnaded street, running apparently from north-west to south-east. This could well be the *decumanus maximus* which would then represent the continuation of the Jaffa - Jerusalem road through the city. Since no systematic excavations have been undertaken as yet at Lydda,³⁸ no remains of the colonnade have been found. However, it is possible that the present Sokolov and Hehalutz streets represent the line of the ancient street. They follow the same direction and clearly form a link between the nineteenth-century road from Jaffa to Lydda and the track to Modi'in, both of which represent the line of the Roman road to Jerusalem (cf. Pl.25).³⁹

The distance between Lydda and Modi'in and Kafr Rut as measured along this road is 16.5 km., which is 11 Roman miles. The entire length of it is marked on the SWP map, first as a path, then as 'Roman road'.⁴⁰ It is also marked a path on the two maps from World War I which we studied,⁴¹ and, far more accurately, on the 1:20,000 British map, first as a track, then as a path.⁴² The information provided by

³⁷ M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map* (1954), nos. 61 f. and Pl. 7.

³⁸ Minor trial digs have been carried out at the northern edge of the ancient mound in the early 1950's. These produced finds from the Neolithic period down to the Early Bronze Age, cf. *EAEHL* iii (1977), 753 - 4, s.v. Lod (J. Kaplan). In 1981 Roman tombs were found in the south-eastern outskirts of the city: see below.

³⁹ Aerial photographs from 1918 and 1990 showing Lod and vicinity: Kedar, *AP*, 80 f.

⁴⁰ Sheets xiii, xiv and xvii. It is worth noting that the surveyors of the SWP preferred to identify the western part of the relevant road (from Lydda to Modi'in) with another track which ran further to the south along the bed of Nahal Gimzo. This, however, is clearly a wadi-road, and its route and manner of construction are typical of the Ottoman period. For discussion of this road, see below.

⁴¹ 1:50,000 German Survey Map (1918), sheets 58 Jaffa, 59 Kalkilje and 68 Ramle; 1:40,000 British Army Map (1917), sheets C2 Jaffa, C3 Fejja and B3 (Ramleh).

⁴² Sheets 14/15 Lydda, 14/14 El Qubab and 15/14 Beit Sira.

these maps allows a fairly good idea of the alignment of the Roman highway, although no remains have survived (figs. 5 and 6).

The road crosses Nahal Ayalon soon after leaving Lydda eastwards (G.R. 1417.1510), just beyond the confluence of the tributaries Nahal Gimzo and Nahal Gezer with Nahal Ayalon. Thus the ridge of Modi'in is reached from Lydda by crossing only one watercourse. From this point Nahal Ayalon carries great quantities of water in the rainy season. To ensure all-weather traffic across the stream it had to be bridged. This was also the case with the Lydda - Antipatris road which crosses the same stream some 2 km. further northwards, on the spot of the mediaeval bridge known today as Jisr Jindas.⁴³ No remains of a Roman bridge have been noticed east of Lydda.

After crossing Nahal Ayalon the road continues in a straight line eastwards, across the modern Moshav Ben Shemen, until it reaches a southern spur of the Modi'in ridge. The ascent starts along the westernmost spur, at G.R. 1437.1508, east of the modern Tel-Aviv - Jerusalem highway and north of Kh. ed-Dhuheiriye. The road then continues eastward until it reaches the main ridge at a point north of Deir Abu Salama (or Selameh, G.R. 1462.1509). Near the northern edge of this site a field wall running east-west could be seen until quite recently.⁴⁴ It probably represents the line of the Roman road. Nowadays, however, this entire area, from Hadid in the north to Gimzo in the south, is covered with the pine trees of the Herzl Forest and no ancient remains survive.

The Modi'in ridge forms a chain of undulating hills, the height of which increases gradually from 160 to 310 m. above sea-level over a distance of c. 10 km. It follows a general NW - SE course and is drained by the parallel valleys of Nahal Natuf to the north and Nahal Gimzo to the south. The Roman road follows the watershed, avoiding the hill-tops and keeping as much as possible to the saddles in between. This entire section of the ancient road, from Deir Abu Selameh to Kafr Rut, is now covered by the asphalt of the modern road past Modi'in.

However, north of the Modi'in ridge, some 500 m. NE of Deir Abu Selameh (G.R. 1463.1512), an 80 m. long stretch of old metalling is still visible. It consists of large and medium-sized stones. One line of

were part of the Roman road. It seems that it belongs to a branch of the Beit Horon road which passed through Hadid and led to Jaffa, avoiding Lydda. No evidence was found which might help date remnants of paving. It may be noted, however, that Hadid (Gazetteer, s.v. el-Haditha) was a site of importance in the Hellenistic and Hasmonaean periods while Lydda developed into a significant town only in the first century AD. A road such as observed here would suit the former period better than the latter.

From Deir Abu Selameh the Roman road continues over the Modi'in ridge, skirting a low hill to the north and another, on which lies Kh. Harmush, to the south, while keeping as level a course as possible. Passing to the north of another four hills it reaches Modi'in after about 3 km.

Modi'in comprises a cluster of sites spread out along both sides the road or intersected by it (map: fig. 5). South of the Roman road are the sites of Mevo Modi'in, Horvat Hatarsi and a group of Roman tombs, popularly but incorrectly called 'The Tombs of the Maccabees.' To the north are Sheikh el Gharbawi, Kh. el-Hammam and, a little farther away, across Nahal Modi'in, the village of Midiya with neighbouring er-Ras. Finally there is the site of Kh. Midiya which is intersected by the ancient road. Here the modern road diverges from the ancient one, curving to the south over a distance of several hundred metres. Even so no remains of the Roman road have been preserved because it is entirely covered here by the ruins of Kh. Midiya. The alignment of the ancient route, however, is marked accurately as a track on the 1:10,000 village map of Midieh, based on surveys carried out in the early 1930's, i.e. is before the construction of the modern asphalt road.⁴⁵

Modi'in - Beit Horon

After leaving Modi'in the Roman road

⁴³ C. Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* i (1888), 262 - 279. Four courses of square masonry uncovered deep beneath the central arch in 1937 could well belong to the Roman bridge; see Guy, *IEJ* 4(1954), p. 81.

⁴⁴ It is clearly visible on the very detailed 1:10,000 topocadastral map of the Survey of Israel, Sheet 145-150 (1965).

⁴⁵ This was seen and measured in June of 1984. In the vicinity more remains were noted in both directions, in less good condition. From these it is clear that this was a road extending from the Modi'in ridge to Hadid.

⁴⁶ Topocadastral village map of El-Midiya, surveyed in 1931 and published in 1932 by the British Survey of Palestine.

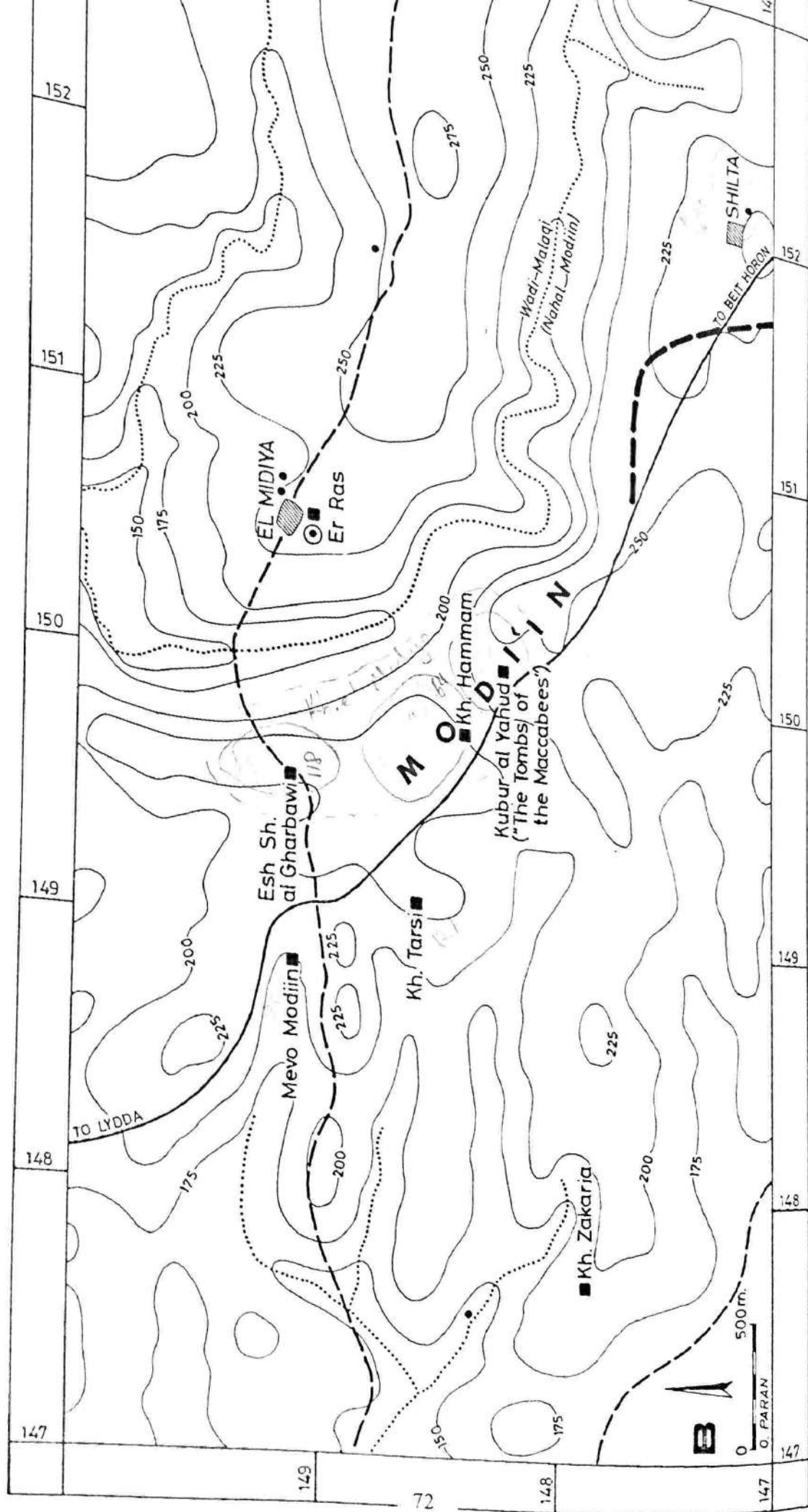


Fig. 5. Roads between Jaffa and Jerusalem, B: Modiin.

Kh. Kafr Rut. It then reaches the ancient site of Kh. Kafr Rut. The entire stretch of road from Modi'in onwards is marked as 'Roman road' on the SWP map, but we only saw remains of it in the east near Kh. Kafr Rut (G.R. 1540.1459). These include a low embankment about 100 m. long and 7 m. broad stretching westwards from the northern confines of Kh. Huriya, visible on our air photograph (Pl. 41). The edge of the road is supported by a line of large kerbstones on the south and a stepped retaining wall to the north. The interior width is 4.80 m. and a number of flat paving stones were seen *in situ*.⁴⁷

From Kh. ed-Daliya a secondary road was seen making for the north. Part of it, about 12 m. long, is particularly well built, being supported by a high embankment which itself is sustained by a solid retaining wall, about two metres high. Further to the north, east of Kh. Kureikur (G.R. 1538.1474), remains were seen of a line of kerbstones on one side and a low retaining wall on the other, 4.60 m. apart. No remains of metalling have been preserved here. At Kh. Bad 'Isa the main road reaches another secondary east-west road. The latter runs north of Nahal Modi'in, parallel to the Roman road, and reaches er-Ras. It climbs to the top of the hill by small zigzags, on terraces which are bordered by rock cuttings on one side and retaining walls on the other.⁴⁸ These two roads would seem to belong to an extensive network of secondary roads which served the local population in the area.

The area of Kh. Kafr Rut (fig. 6), like that of Modi'in, in fact comprises several ancient sites, namely Kh. Kafr Rut proper and Kh. Halayil el-Muhammad south of the Roman road, Kh. ed-Daliya and Kh. Huriya north of it, and the two sites of Kh. Kureikur further north. For these sites see the relevant entries in the Gazetteer.

Some 300 m. SE of Kh. Kafr Rut, at the modern Kefar Ruth crossroads (G.R. 1544.1454) the roads of various periods diverge. The modern road first turns southwards and then eastwards through Wadi el-Muruj. The Ottoman road turns north for a little distance and then doubles back eastwards along Wadi

straight towards the south-east on a modest ridge between the two wadis. This length of the road, over a distance of 1,600 m., has not been used since the Middle Ages and as a result the remains of the ancient road have been preserved in fine condition.

The first hundred metres of this length of road have been partly damaged by recent cultivation. Further on, however, the Roman road can be observed in a remarkably good state of preservation. To the north a single line of very large kerbstones, some of them as long as one m., hold the surface metalling in place; to the south there is a double line. The surface metalling consists of large stones about 60 x 40 cm., carefully arranged. In some places the road surface consists of levelled bedrock only. The axis of the road is somewhat elevated and it is about 5 m. wide measured between the kerbstones; the total width, kerbstones included, is 7.30 m. at its maximum.

Section (fig. 7; Pl. 59, 60)

At a distance of 200 m. east of the Kefar Ruth crossroads (G.R. 1546.1454) a section was cut at a spot where all layers of the road were extant.⁵⁰ The bedrock, which lies close to the surface, forms the foundation of the road. On the rock lies a layer of 10 cm. of fine earth and pockets of small stones. This supports the paving which consists of large rough stones carefully arranged. The gaps between these are filled with pebbles. The northern kerb consists of a single line of large stones, up to one m. long, which also serves as a retaining wall for the road. The southern kerb originally consisted of a single line of medium-sized stones, about 50 cm. long. At some stage this kerb was repaired with new stones and the surface paving with smaller stones. As a result the interior width of the road was 6.7 m. A third stage is represented by a low wall along the southern edge of the road, 1.4 m. wide, consisting of two rows of large stones with a fill of smaller stones. Along the northern edge of the road a single line of very large rough stones was laid on the surface.

Essentially the road here is built up of two layers, the road-bed and the surface metalling. There

⁴⁷ Seen on 28-9-1980 and 6-7-1984. The western continuation of these remains has recently been covered over by a track from the modern settlement of Kefar Ruth.

⁴⁸ Surveyed on 11-12-1987 with Y. Tepper and Y. Shahar and their colleagues.

⁴⁹ This is clearly visible on the SWP Map, Sheet xvii. The road runs along 'Wadi el Kibleh' which is now known as Wadi el-Shakair.

⁵⁰ The work was carried out by I. Roll and E. Ayalon as part of their road survey in Western Samaria with the participation of students of the Department of Classics of Tel Aviv University and of the Avshalom Institute, Tel Aviv. See Roll and Ayalon, *PEQ* 118 (1986), 113-34, esp. 127.

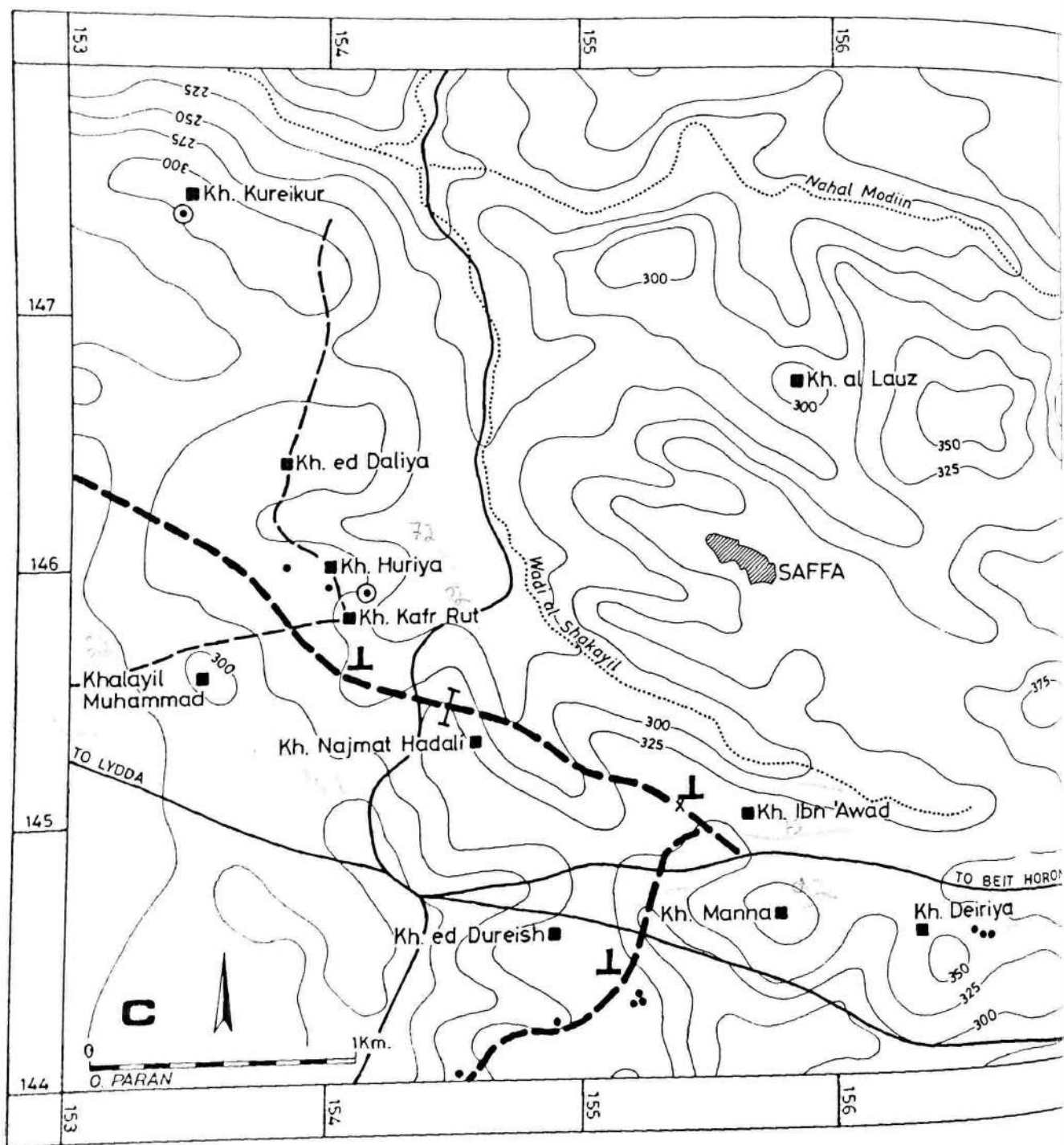


Fig. 6. Roads between Jaffa and Jerusalem, C: Kafr Rut.

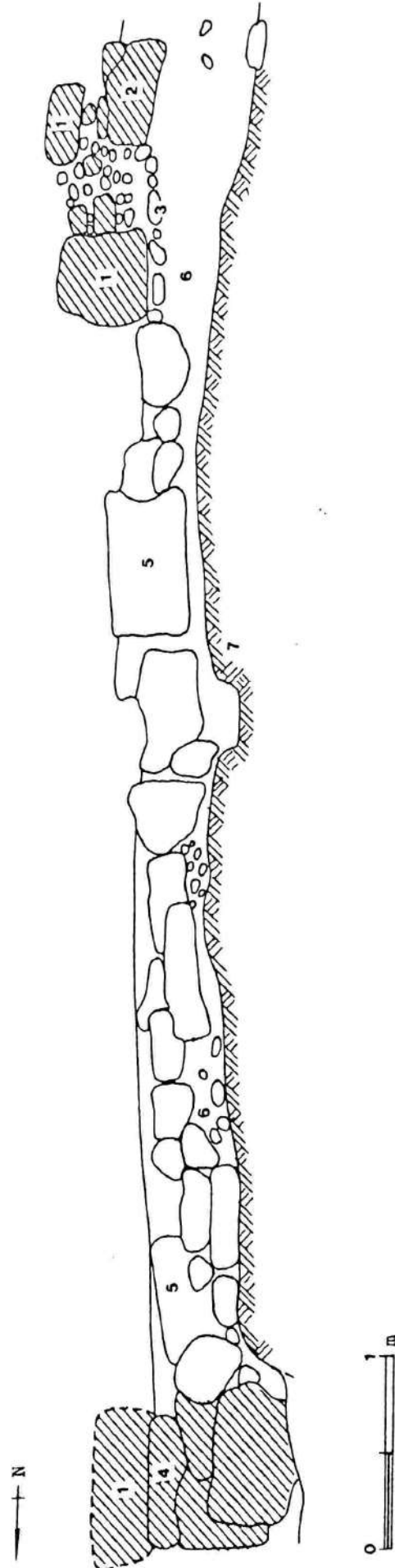


Fig. 7 Section through Beit-Horon road, west of Lower Beit-Horon.

are several parallels for such a structure in this country:

- (1) The Scythopolis - Legio road in the north, (three trenches).⁵¹
- (2 and 3) The Neapolis - Lydda and Gophna - Antipatris roads, both in western Samaria.⁵²
- (4) The Jerusalem - Eleutheropolis road in the south.⁵³

It would seem therefore, that this was a very common system of road building in Judaea, as in other provinces.⁵⁴

We may now continue our description of the road. Beyond the site of Najmat el Hadali the terrain slopes downwards towards the north. The road is therefore terraced and supported by two sturdy walls: (1) A low wall, double the width of the kerbstones encountered further west. This served to support the soil uphill, south of the road. (2) A stepped retaining wall which supported the terrace. Both walls are built of large rough stones with a fill of smaller ones. They are permeable to rain water, which would reduce the damage caused to the road by the heavy winter rains. This is a technique familiar from the agricultural terraces found in the Judean mountains.⁵⁵ On both sides of the road there are field walls whose pattern is determined by the alignment of the road.

The road continues to the north of the low hill of Najmat el Hadali, turns slightly southward over a low saddle and passes to the south of the next hill. The remains here consist of occasional lengths of paving made from large stone slabs or substantial patches of levelled bedrock, and two lines of kerbstones on both sides of the road. Besides the field walls already mentioned remains of agricultural installations are visible on both sides of the road, mostly the receiving vats of wine and oil presses.

South of the hill, at G.R. 1553.1451, a fragment of an anepigraphic pillar has been found, which may be part of a milestone.⁵⁶ It would have

marked the 18th mile from Jerusalem. Alt says that he saw two milestones west of Lower Beit Horon 'on the southern slopes of the Wadi el Kibli, south-west of Safia, i.e. just before Kafr Rut'.⁵⁷ Alt's description suggests an area west of the modern Kefar Ruth crossroads, i.e. some 1,300 to 1,400 m. west of the previous milestone. These would then have marked the 19th milestone from Jerusalem. We have searched thoroughly for these stones but were unsuccessful.

Beyond the 18th milestone and the ancient junction with the Nicopolis road (see below) eastwards, modern cultivation has again encroached more and more on the ancient remains. It is visible, however, on our air photograph Pl.42, taken at 1558.1446, looking east. Beyond this point and east of Kh. el-Awad the ancient road is again covered by modern metalling which has obliterated the remains of Roman paving. However, this length of road can be seen very clearly on the German air photograph, reproduced here as no. 34. It shows approximately one km. of the road. The upper left corner of the photo is G.R. 1558.1447. The ancient road is almost entirely covered by the modern Beit Horon road for almost 13 km. until Kh. el-Latatin.⁵⁸ Remains of the ancient road have been preserved only in a few places where the modern alignment diverges from the older route.

The road makes for Lower Beit Horon over a low ridge which stretches from west to east south of Wadi el Shakail, a tributary of Nahal Modi'in, and north of Wadi el Hadad, a tributary of Nahal Ayalon (fig.6). The ancient site of Lower Beit Horon is located on the easternmost hill of this ridge and has been swallowed up entirely by the modern village of Beit Ur et Tahta. The modern road curves around the northern edge of the village and then doubles back sharply, making for the south-east. The ancient road, however, followed an almost straight alignment along the southern edge of the village, without turns. No remains of the Roman road have been preserved in the area of the village, but its course is obvious from the British map of the village which was prepared before

⁵¹ B. Isaac and I. Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea*, i (1982), 40 f.; 121 with figs. 4 and 5.

⁵² Roll and Ayalon, *PEQ* 118 (1986), 125 - 7.

⁵³ I. Roll, *The Jerusalem Cathedra* 3 (1983), 149.

⁵⁴ See R. Chevallier, *Les voies romaines* (1972), 89f.

⁵⁵ Z. Ron, *IEJ* 16 (1966), 33 - 49; esp. 34.

⁵⁶ It was found in secondary use in a field wall, north of the road. Measurements: height: 0.75 m.; upper diam. 0.46 m. x 0.40 m.; lower diam. 0.60 m..

⁵⁷ A. Alt, *PJb* 28(1932), 18; in note 5 he adds: 'Zwei Säulenbruchstücke ohne Sockel und ohne Inschriften, 170 und 148 cm. lang.'

⁵⁸ The Roman road is marked as such on the *SWP* map, sheet xvii, the modern metalled road is indicated in detail along the same alignment on the 1:20,000 British maps of the mandatory period, sheets Beit Sira (15/14) and Ramallah (16/14). The road with the topography is shown clearly on two series of aerial photographs made by the RAF: Nos. 6014 - 6020 of the series P.S. 7 (29 December, 1944) and nos. 5001 - 5007 of the series P.S. 9 (3 January, 1945).

the building of the modern road.⁵⁹ Two fragments of pillars have been seen in Beit Ur et Tahta, one at the western edge of the old centre of the village (G.R. 1581.1447), the other in secondary use at the eastern edge.⁶⁰ These may have been milestones and would then have indicated the 16th mile from Jerusalem.

The Ascent of Beit Horon (fig.8)

The ascent of Beit Horon starts at a saddle east of the hill of Beit Ur et Tahta. The road climbs to Upper Beit Horon along a spur which lies between wadi Jaryut, the local name for Nahal Modi'in, and Wadi Dabdub, a tributary of Wadi Salman. The length of the ascent is 2.800 m. and it covers a difference in altitude of 230 m. (from 360 to 590 m. above sea level). This represents a steep but steady climb and the gradient is even and uniform.

Edward Robinson was the first modern scholar to recognize 'that in ancient times, as at the present day, the great road of communication and heavy transport between Jerusalem and the sea-coast, was by the pass of Beit-horon.'⁶¹ He could still note that 'the rock has been cut away in many places, and the path formed into steps.' The construction of the modern road has obliterated most of these remains and, at present, traces of the Roman road have been preserved only in two places.

The first of these is located one kilometre south-east of Lower Beit Horon, 800 m. east of the saddle, at G.R. 1590.1440 (Plates 43, 62). Here the modern road makes a sharp double bend, rounding a shoulder, first to the south, then back to the east, while the Roman road continues straight to the south-east. As a result a segment of the Roman road has been rather well preserved over 210 m.⁶² The road here climbs steadily from north-west to south-east. The following

remains were seen in 1985 (from NW to SE):

- (1) A trench cut deeply into the bedrock, 8.30 m. long and 3.30 m. broad. All remains of the original fill and paving have been washed away.
- (2) After a gap of 5.20 m. the northern edge of the cut appears again over a length of 9.30 m.
- (3) Both edges of the trench are then seen again over a distance of 51.50 m. The southern edge is straight, the northern one is stepped in several places.
- (4) An impressive stretch of 22.70 m. consists of a straight cutting in the rock, up to 1 m. deep, marking the northern edge of the road, and huge kerbstones to the south.
- (5) Over the next 23.40 m. only the northern edge of the road has been preserved in the form of a vertical cutting in the rock. North of the road other cuttings of irregular shape seem to be quarries, probably connected with the building of the Roman road.
- (6) A length of 29 m. of road consists of a northern rock-cut edge up to 1.30 m. deep, several large boulders to the south, and a series of rock-cut steps.
- (7) A stretch of 30 m. consists mostly of rock-cut steps, distributed in an irregular series, at varying distances, depending on the gradient. The northern edge of the road is represented by two cuttings in the rock which probably belong to two different phases of construction. The southern edge again consists of large rough stones for which emplacements were carefully cut in the rock.
- (8) Following a gap of 9 m., the last length measures 21.70 m. Only the northern edge of the road has been preserved, again in the form of a deep cutting in the bed rock. North of it and close to the road are the remains of a building made of ashlar (perhaps a farm house) and a rock-cut cistern. A narrow flight of steps descends from the building to the road.

Three fragments of milestones have been found along this part of the road. Two were lying in length 7 which seems to have been their original location (G.R. 1591.1439). The larger of the two (a) has a moulding at top and an illegible inscription. The third piece (c), also with a moulding at the top, was found in secondary use in the southern wall of the

⁵⁹ Map of Beit Ur el Tahta in the Ramallah sub-district, scale 1:10.000 surveyed and published in 1933.

⁶⁰ The first was seen lying on the ground, south of the modern road. Its measurements are as follows: height 0.60 m.; diam. 0.40 m. The second was placed in front of a private house and measures 1.20 (height) and 0.58 (upper diam.). The upper part has been cut away vertically and a hole has been drilled in the lower end of the section cut away.

⁶¹ E. Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, iii (1841), 61 and 59. See also Th. Oelgarte, *PJb* 14(1918), 73 - 89, esp. 76 - 9.

⁶² Seen on 31-5-1985 with Yuval Shahar and Yigael Tepper; surveyed and drawn on 6-8 June 1985.

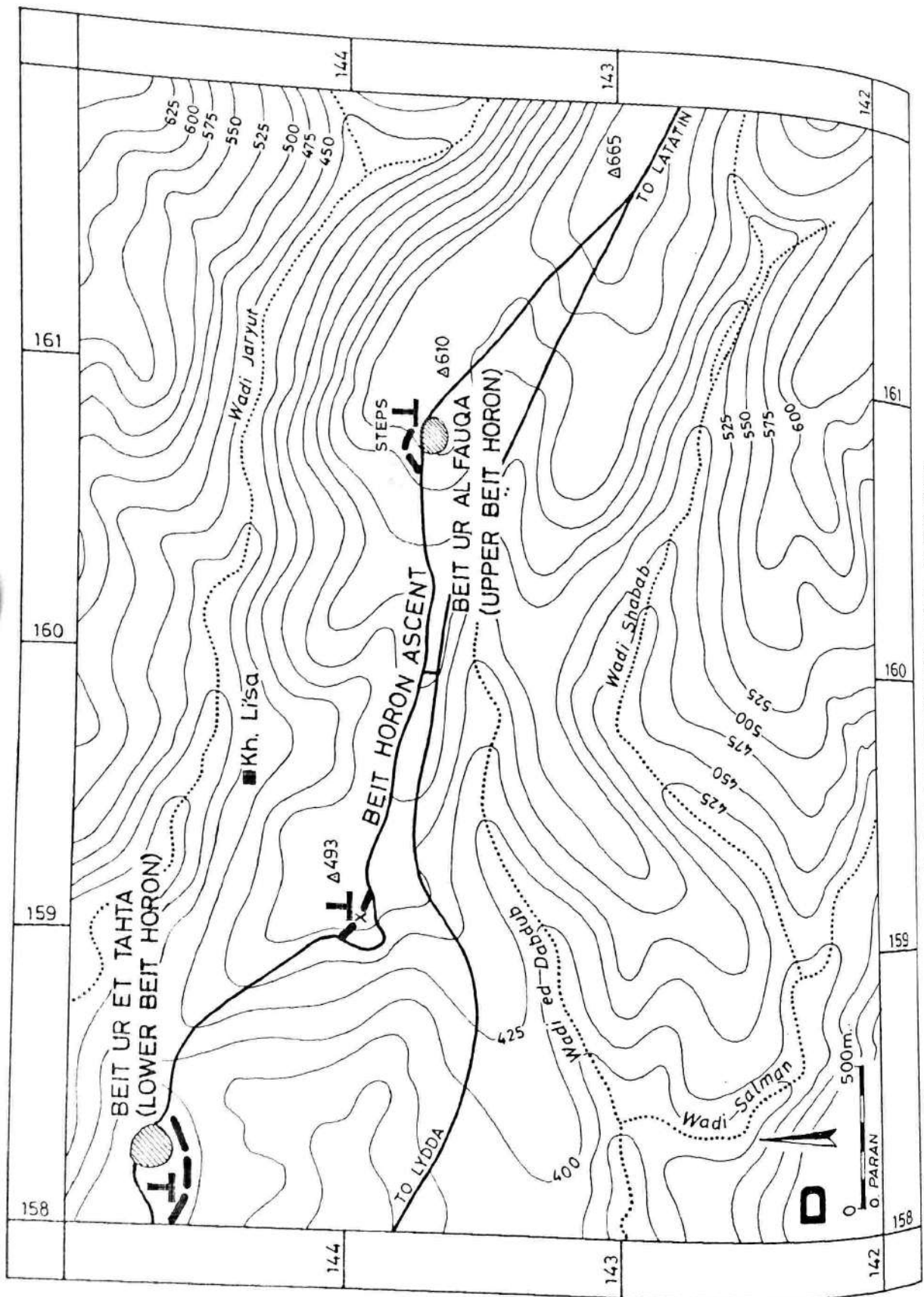


Fig. 8. Ruins of Beit Horon and Surroundings. 1:50,000 Scale.

building near length 8.⁶³

Subsequently the Roman road has been obliterated again by the modern road up to Upper Beit Horon. The alignment of the ancient road, however, is represented by the modern one. After rounding Hill 493 from the south the road makes a brief descent to a minor gully.⁶⁴ It then climbs up making a double zigzag and crosses a saddle between two low hills. Thereafter it climbs steadily, for 1,100 m. along the northern slope of the Beit Horon spur towards Upper Beit Horon. After another series of three zigzags (Pl.61) it reaches the village of Beit Ur al-Fauqa (Upper Beit Horon).

The village (Pl.14,22,64,65) spreads over two hills separated by a low saddle. The eastern hill-top, at 610 m. above sea-level, is higher than the western one, but it is the latter which offers a commanding view of the ascent and affords good control over it. On the eastern hill, which was tactically less important, no ancient remains have been seen, in contrast to the western top, with the old Muslim sanctuary of Esh Sheikh Abu Shusha. This was the site of the castle or fort which, in various historical periods, guarded the ascent.

North of the hill of Abu Shusha, at G.R. 1609.1438, the modern road diverges for about 30 m. from the ancient one. North of the modern road a narrow flight of six steps has been preserved, carefully cut into the bedrock (Pl.63).⁶⁵ These undoubtedly belonged to the Roman road. As cited above, Edward Robinson noticed rock-cut steps in many places along the ascent a century and a half ago. It seems that in Roman times this was essentially a stepped ascent. This naturally reminds us of the well-known source in

the Babylonian Talmud, cited also in Part I, which refers to:

Two camels which ascend the *ma'alot* of Beth Horon and meet each other; if they both ascend (at the same time), both will fall off; (but if they go up) one after another, both will ascend.⁶⁶

The *ma'alot* mentioned by the source are almost certainly the rock-cut steps of the Roman road to Upper Beit Horon. In the Madaba map, under the last three letters of the heading 'Bethoron', a flight of seven steps is apparently depicted against a red background.⁶⁷ These too must refer to the rock-cut steps for which this ascent was apparently well known.

Returning to the description of the Beit Horon road, P.-M. Séjourné mentions having seen a milestone at Upper Beit Horon, which he 'could not examine because it was built into a wall along the road, at the spot where, having passed around the village, it descends towards Lower Beit Horon.' If the original location of this milestone was on or near the spot where the author saw it, it would have marked the fourteenth mile from Jerusalem. There is no further record of it extant.

Beit Horon - Jerusalem

After leaving Upper Beit Horon towards the south-east the road makes a slight descent to a saddle linking the eastern hill of the village with Hill 665. The road then passes south of the hill and proceeds over the crest of the ridge (fig. 9). At Rujum Abu Hashabe (G.R. 1632.1419, see Gazetteer s.v.) the modern road swings in a curving course to the south leaving untouched 36 m. of the Roman road between it and the Roman tower. There are three separate stretches of the northern edge of the road, cut deep, up to 0.56 m., into the bedrock, measuring respectively 7.80 m., 6.10 m. and 6.20 m. (from west to east, Pl.66). Part of the southern edge has been preserved across from the eastern section of these three, which gives us the original width of the road as 2.20 m. No remains of any foundation layer, surfacing or kerbstones have been preserved. The road bed here is cut into particularly fractured, craggy rock with many fissures running perpendicularly to the line of the road. However, these symptoms of severe erosion here may be of relatively recent date, for north of the road and

⁶³ Measurements, (a): height 0.93 m., diam. 0.40 m., height of moulding 0.12 m., diam. of moulding 0.44 m.; (b): 0.32 m. high, diam. 0.44; (c): height 1.00 m., moulding high 0.10m.. These stones were seen in far better condition half a century ago. A. Alt, *PJb* 28(1932), 18, n.3 mentions 'eine Säule von 270 cm. Länge mit Sockelansatz, oberes Ende gebrochen; zwei Säulenbruchstücke von 85 und 65 cm. Länge. Keine Inschrift.' One of the pieces seems to have been noticed before, by P.-M. Séjourné, *RB* 7 (1898), 122, 'couché dans la route et nous a paru anépigraphé,' at a distance of one mile west of Upper Beit Horon.

⁶⁴ Hill 493 is so named because the height of the top is marked by a trig point as 493 m. above sea-level.

⁶⁵ Total length: 6.30 m. The measurements of the individual steps vary: 2.50 m. to 1.80 m. (width); 1.20 m. to 0.85 m. (length); 0.25 m. to 0.21 m. (height). Measured and drawn on 7-6-1985.

⁶⁶ B.T. Sanhedrin 32b.

⁶⁷ M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map* (1954), site no.56.

⁶⁸ P.-M. Séjourné, *RB* 7 (1898), 122.

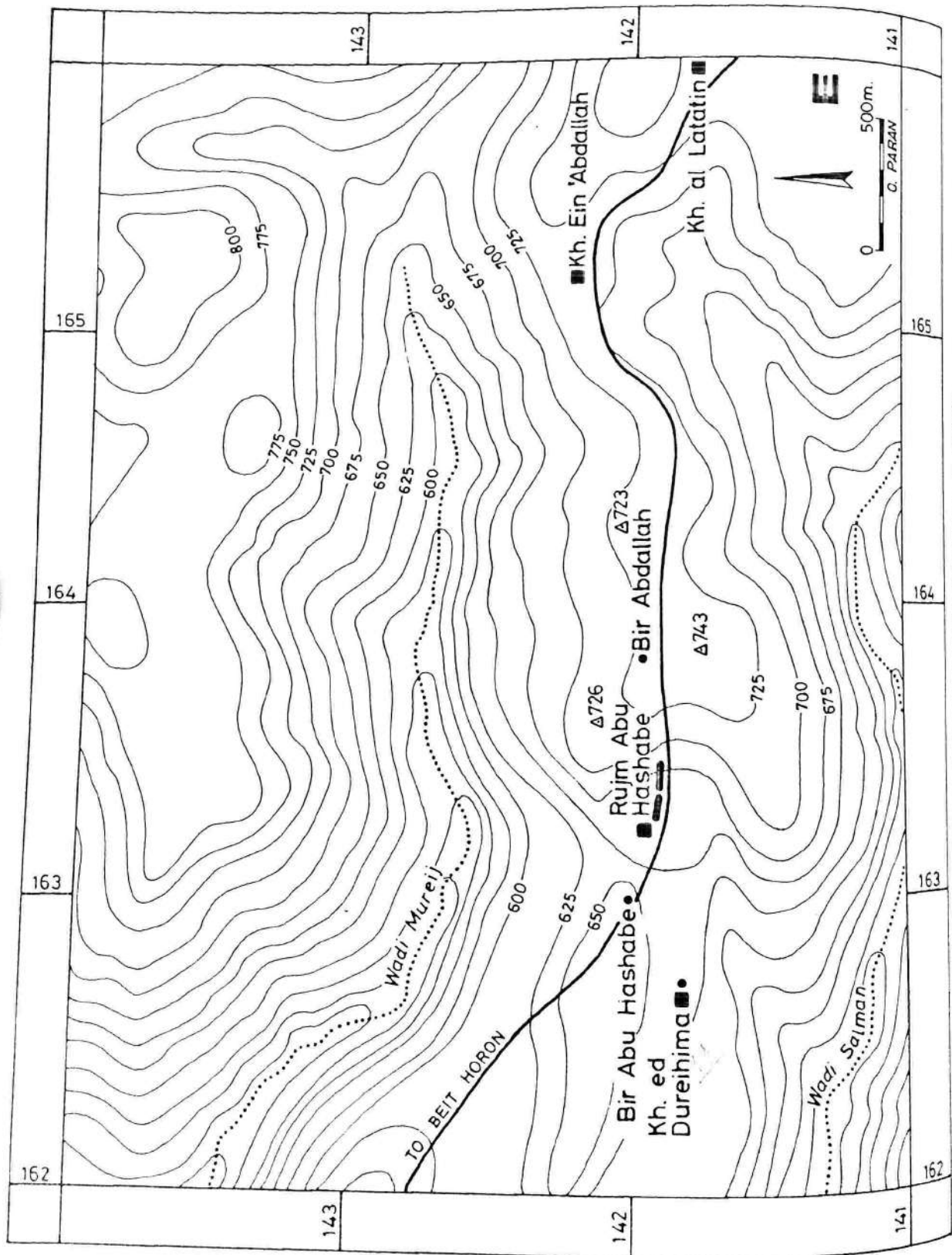


Fig. 2. Ground between Jaffa and Jerusalem. 1:10,000.

clearly related to it are remains of agricultural terraces which indicate that the area was extensively cultivated in antiquity. There is now a growing tendency among the local farmers to rebuild the terraces and cultivate the land again.

East of the Roman tower the modern road has again obliterated all remains of the ancient one as far as the modern cross-roads near Giv'at Ze'ev. The road runs eastwards over the ridge, skirting hilltops and keeping to the saddles in between, following a level course as nearly as the ground allows. Thus it passes between Hills 726 and 741 and then between the latter and Hill 723.

After passing to the south of Kh. Ein Abdallah and Kh. el Latatin it reaches the Giv'at Ze'ev crossroads (G.R. 1664.1415, fig.10; Pl. 47, 69, 70). Here the modern road forks, bearing off to the north and south, while the Roman road continues due south-east. For 2.5 km. the ancient road has not suffered from recent construction and a substantial length of it has been well preserved. The kerbstones, consisting of very large rough stones, have remained intact for the entire length. Although at both ends of this length the kerbstones are covered by modern field walls, many are still visible and leave no doubt as to the alignment of the road. On both sides of the road a system of land division can be seen, consisting of terraces and field walls which obviously conform to the line of the highway. Some of the walls have been reconstructed recently and the fields which they enclose are gradually being cultivated again.

Several other lengths of the road have been preserved:

(1) About 300 m. east of the crossroads (G.R. 1667.1414) a length of paving of 50 m. length is visible. The metalling consists of very large stone slabs carefully arranged. Some of the stones are 0.80 - 0.90 m. wide and 1.20 - 1.30 m. long. They are supported by a double row of very large kerbstones on both sides. The width of the road excluding kerbstones is 8.20 m.; including kerbstones it is up to 12 m.

(2) Two hundred metres further to the east (at G.R. 1669.1413) another length of the metalling has been preserved, 6.60 m. broad with a middle rib of raised stones, 29 m. long. The eastern end of the length with the rib is marked by a step made of large stones laid across the road. Another such step was found 17.50 m. further east. The reason for the construction of the middle rib and two steps is not clear. The terrain is level and the function of the steps must have been different from that of those found on steep gradients. The land is very muddy in winter so these may have served to strengthen and support the metalling.

(3) Subsequently the road is marked by an *agger*

between 0.50 m. and 1.50 m. high, which has been preserved along a distance of a kilometre, running through cultivated fields. Little remains of the ancient metalling, but two kerbstones of large and rough stones are visible on both sides over the entire length of the embankment. From G.R. 1676.1407, near the foot of the hill of Sha'ab Siyag the southern edge of the road is built on a stepped retaining wall, while the slope above the northern edge is buttressed by a wall of two rows of rough stones. In the field south of the road and west of Sha'ab Siyag (G.R. 1674.1409) two anepigraphic milestones were seen.⁶⁹ They must have indicated the eighth mile from Jerusalem.

South-west of Sha'ab Siyag (G.R. 1677.1405), remains of a narrow track have been preserved branching off from the Roman road to the south-west and making for Kh. 'Id. It is 2.70 m. wide (interior; 3.30 m. including kerbstones). The track is paved with small and medium sized stones. The kerbstones consist of rough stones. This is a typical example of an ancient local track which connected a village, Kh. 'Id, with a main road.

Between Sha'ab Siyag and the modern village of el-Bir the road is now used frequently by local farmers. As a result the ancient metalling has not been preserved, but almost the entire length of the *agger* is still visible here and on both sides of the road some of the kerbstones are still to be seen under the recent field walls. At el-Bir (G.R. 1683.1400) the modern road again merges with the Roman road and covers it with asphalt over a distance of 1300 m.

At G.R. 1696.1397 the modern and ancient roads diverge again, the former continuing straight to ar-Ram and the latter turning south-east to Kh. el-Hawanit (Pl.48,71). This is the last preserved length of the ancient road. It can be traced over a distance of 3.3 km., running through a valley south of the hill of (northern) Kh. Adasa and south of Djebel. The ancient alignment is marked almost everywhere, either by original kerbstones or by recent field walls on both sides (Pl.72). South of Kh. Adasa (at G.R. 1704.1387) 50 metres of metalling has been preserved. It consists

⁶⁹ On 10-2-1981. (1) Column and base preserved intact. Column, height: 1.05 m.; upper diam.: 0.35 m. x 0.47 m.; base, height: 0.50 m.; length: 0.55 m.; width: 0.39 m. The section of the column is elliptic in shape, the front and back being flattened. (2) Top of column broken off, base almost entirely destroyed. Column, height: 1.32 m.; upper diam. 0.55 m.. Less than 0.20 m. has been preserved of the base. The milestone was first noticed by G. Dalman, *PJb* 8(1912), 18. It is not mentioned by P. Thomsen. See also A. Alt, *PJb* 28 (1932), 18, n. 1; H.J. Stoebe, *ZDPV* 80 (1964), 27.

of rough slabs of about 0.50 m. x 0.70 m., carefully arranged in a pattern. The total width is 9 m., between the kerbstones it is 7 m.

At Kh. el-Hawanit the Beit Horon road joins the Neapolis-Jerusalem road which runs north-south, following the Judean watershed (fig.11). After another 6 km. it enters Jerusalem through the North Gate (see below). In the past, milestones have been noted along this part of the road from two mile-stations, the fourth and third from Jerusalem.⁷⁰ Today the southern part of the Neapolis-Jerusalem road has been entirely obliterated by the asphalt of the modern road to Nablus and by buildings on both sides of the road. No further remains of the Roman road, its milestones or installations survive. It is clear, however, that the course of the ancient road was not identical to that of the modern one. The air photographs taken in 1917/18 clearly show two lines, one representing the road in use at the time and the other an earlier road, no longer in use. It seems likely that this is the ancient road. See, for instance the photo of the road running past Tell el Ful (Pl.55): the white line was the modern road at that time. Along the road several ancient landmarks may still be seen, north of the Old City: the Tomb of Queen Helena of Adiabene, popularly known as 'Tomb of the Kings';⁷¹ the 'Garden Tomb', north of the East Jerusalem bus station, east of the ancient road.⁷² 'Herod's Monument' and the 'Camp of the Assyrians', both mentioned in ancient literary sources, have been tentatively attributed to extant structures.⁷³

⁷⁰ Mile IV: H. Vincent, *RB* 10 (1901), 98; Thomsen, *ZDPV* 40 (1917), no. 262. Mile III: Vincent, op. cit., 96-8; Thomsen, op.cit., no. 263.

⁷¹ It is mentioned in various ancient sources: Pausanias viii 16,4; Josephus, *BJ* v 2,2 (55); 3,3 (119); 4,2 (147); *Ant.* xx 4,3 (95); Eusebius, *HE* ii 12; Jerome, ep. 108. It was cleaned in 1863 by F. de Saulcy. Extensive description and analysis: M. Kon, *The Tomb of the Kings* (1947, Heb.).

⁷² It has been attributed to all possible periods and is considered by some to be the tomb of Jesus. First published by C. Schick, *PEFQS* (1874), 125; id. *PEFQS* (1892), 120-4; see further R.A.S. Macalister, *PEFQS* (1907), 229-39. Tomb of Jesus: W.S. McBirnie, *The Search for the Authentic Tomb of Jesus* (1975); rebuttal: L.H. Vincent, *RB* (1925), 1-31. A recent analysis attributes the tomb to the Iron Age with secondary use in later periods: G. Barkay in: *Jerusalem, Zev Vilnay's Jubilee Volume I* (1984), 195-203 (Heb.).

⁷³ Herod's monument: Josephus, *BJ* v 3,2 (108); ibid. 12,2 (507); first described by C. Schick, *ZDPV* 2 (1879), 102-4, Pl. III; *PEFQS* (1893), 298; cf. E.

C. The Lydda - Emmaus Road

Between Lydda and Emmaus lies a stretch of almost entirely flat countryside whose western reaches form part of the Shephelah. In the east there is a branch of the Ayalon Valley, bordered by the low hills of Annaba in the north and Gezer in the south, which leads into the Ayalon Valley proper, stretching from Qubab in the west to the western escarpment of the Judean mountains. Thus at this point the coastal plain extends inland almost to the Judean foothills.

In this kind of terrain - an almost entirely flat, extensively cultivated river valley - no remains of the Roman road have been preserved,⁷⁴ nor could we learn anything from nineteenth-century maps or from aerial photographs of the area (e.g. Pl.26).⁷⁵ Thus we can only offer a theoretical alignment taking into account the nature of the terrain and the normal patterns of Roman road-building.⁷⁶ The suggested route has the advantage of crossing Nahal Gezer only once and avoids bridging the main stream, Nahal Ayalon.

We assume that the road, after leaving Lydda, first headed due south, skirting the low but steep hills of Gimzu and Annaba. The best point to cross the shallow Nahal Gezer would have been somewhere west of the modern village of Ahisamakh (1415.1492). Continuing southwards, the road would then have made for the somewhat higher grounds of the watershed between Nahal Ayalon and Nahal Gezer. The choice of an alignment over a watershed between two shallow river-beds is a familiar pattern in Judaea.⁷⁷ After about

Netzer & S. Ben-Arieh, *IEJ* 33 (1983), 163-75; M. Broshi, *Cathedra* 55 (1990), 2-7 (Heb.). The Camp of the Assyrians: Josephus, *BJ* v 7,3 (303); *BJ* v 12,2 (504); cf. D. Ussishkin, *IEJ* 29 (1979), 137-142.

⁷⁴ The milestone now in the settlement of Sha'albim is of uncertain provenance. Reports we received of a milestone said to be in Mishmar Ayalon could not be substantiated. See the catalogue of milestones, below.

⁷⁵ Aerial photographs of the Latrun-Emmaus region: Kedar, *AP*, 106f.

⁷⁶ F. Ulrix, *Latomus* 22 (1963), 157-180; also: R.H. Reid, *The Amateur Historian* 4 (1960), 282-290.

⁷⁷ E.g. the western section of the Scythopolis-Legio road in the Jezreel Valley: Isaac and Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea*, i, 33-5.

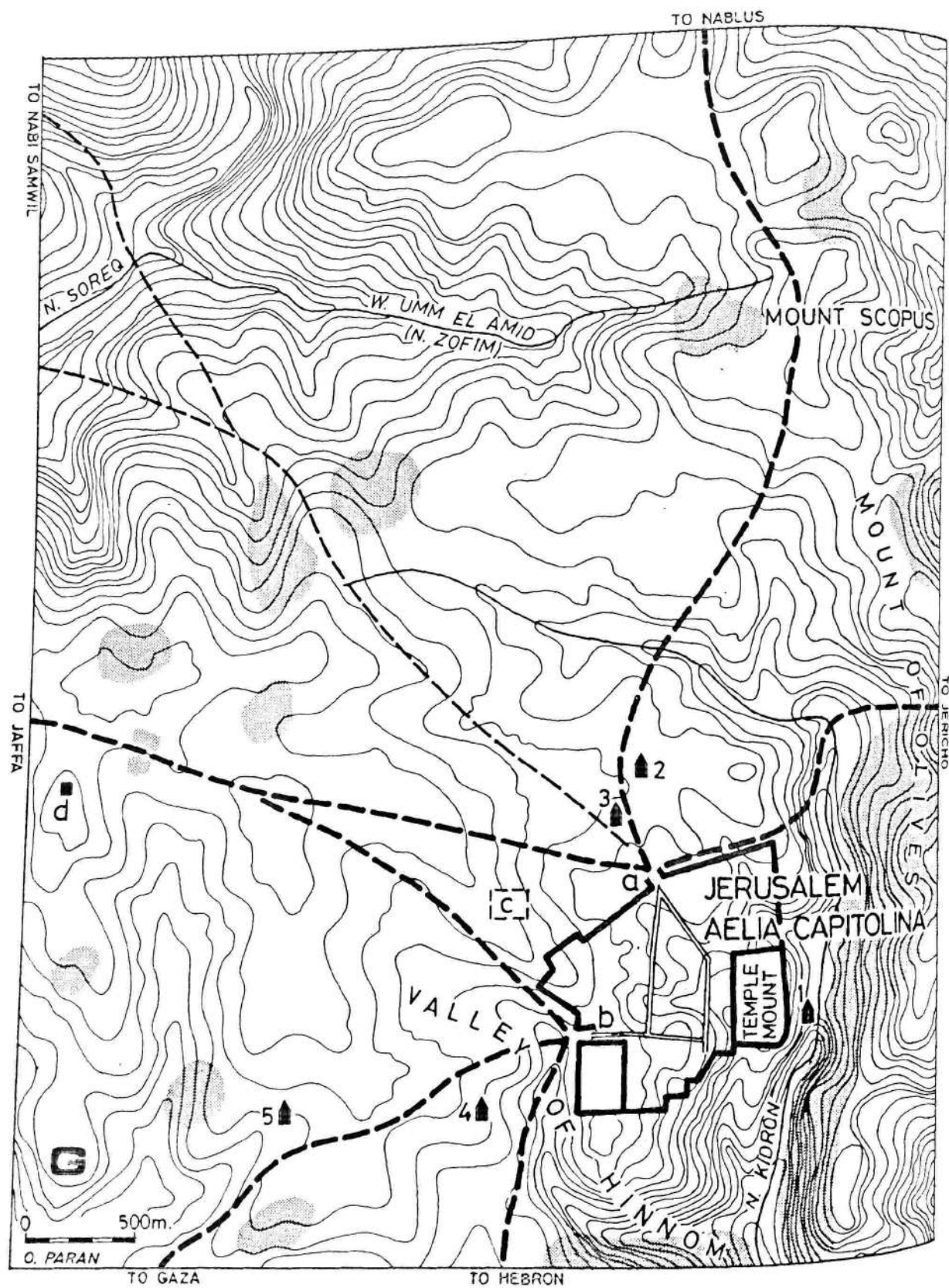


Fig. 11. Roads between Jaffa and Jerusalem. G: Jerusalem and vicinity.

The Roads

8 km. the road probably turned to the south-east, continuing for about 4 km. over the low spur of el-Qubab. Thus it would have followed an alignment similar to that of the later Ramle-Jerusalem road, possibly parallel to it, a little distance to the south.

Having reached Qubab (q.v. Gazetteer) the road would have made a descent of one km. eastwards into the Ayalon Valley, whence it would have crossed the valley, reaching Emmaus in a straight line (4 km., fig. 12). The British 1:20,000 maps (Sheet No. 14-13: Latrun) show an almost straight path from Qubab to Emmaus which could well reflect the course of the Roman road. Near Qubab we noticed an old track, bounded by kerbstones, running northwards and Arieh Tepper informs us that he has seen the continuation of this path along a low spur further to the north. This was probably a local road branching off from the Roman highway.

The total distance from Lydda to Emmaus would thus have been about 17 km. = 12 m., if miles were counted from a point inside the town. This corresponds to the length of the road as indicated by Theodosius in the sixth century.⁷⁴

D. The Emmaus - Beit Horon Road

The road from Emmaus to the Beit Horon road is very short: only 10 km., i.e. less than seven Roman miles. However, it was an official Roman highway, as indicated by milestones, serving as a link between the two main roads from Jaffa to Jerusalem, the Beit Horon road and the Abu Ghosh road. It must also have served those travellers who preferred to make their way from Emmaus to Jerusalem by the longer but easier Beit Horon road, such as St. Paula.

Only one stretch of ancient metalling has been discovered along this section of the road - to the north of Beit Sira - but the four milestations that have been identified in the field (II, IV, V, VI: below, Part IV) form a sound basis for the reconstruction of the course of the road.⁷⁶ Additional information can be found on the SWP map (Sheet XVII), which shows a track connecting Imwas with Beit Sira along the east bank of Wady Selman (Ayalon).⁷⁷ Three of the four

milestations mentioned were found roughly along the same line and we may therefore conclude that the path on the SWP map reflects the course of the Roman road, which may then be described as follows:

Leaving Emmaus the road at first runs due north. After a distance of one km. it crosses a saddle between two low hills and then makes a sharp turn to the east. Thus it avoids the steep hills between Emmaus and Yalu to the north-east. The road then ran along the east bank of the Nahal Ayalon as far as Beit Sira (Pl. 28). Three milestones were found at G.R. 1513.1407. Two inscriptions on one of those milestones give the distance from Nicopolis (Emmaus) as two miles. Nearby, a scatter of stones in a cultivated field may represent the remains of the ancient road. Several hundred metres to the east two fragments of columns were found in a pile of stones.⁷⁸ These seem to derive from milestones, probably from the second milestation mentioned above.

Nahal Ayalon then turns slightly to the north-east, followed by the Roman road. The SWP map shows the road as running along the east bank, a few hundred metres from the river bed. Thus it must have crossed at least four seasonal tributaries of the Ayalon which reach the river from the Judaeon mountains to the east.⁷⁹ However, these are very shallow when they reach the valley so that the road could easily have been built over them with simple viaducts rather than bridges.⁸⁰

About four km. north of milestation II, at G.R. 1538.1431, another milestone was found, not in situ. The inscription is unclear, but the indication of distance can be read as four miles, undoubtedly measured from Nicopolis.⁸¹ The original location must have been no more than three km. from milestation II, so that the stone appears to have been displaced.

⁷⁷ Also visible on aerial photographs: Kedar, *AP*, 108 f. The photos made in 1917 and 1990 show the Barfiliya - Beit Inan road crossing the road from Emmaus.

⁷⁸ We are grateful to E. Ayalon who noticed these stones.

⁷⁹ Nahal Kefirah, Nahal Beit Hanan (Wadi el-Qemah), Wadi Selman, and Wadi el-Hadad.

⁸⁰ For viaducts in Italy: D. Sterpos, *La route romaine en Italie* (1971), 56-70.

⁸¹ The stone was found by Zohar Bar'am, director of the educational centre at Kefar Hashmonai, to whom we are grateful for information.

⁷⁴ Theodosius, *de situ Terrae Sanctae* 4 (CCSL 175, 116); cf. Part I.

⁷⁵ Jerome's description cited in Part I.

⁷⁶ The road was surveyed in 1980 by I. Roll and E. Ayalon, *PEQ* 118(1986), 123-5.

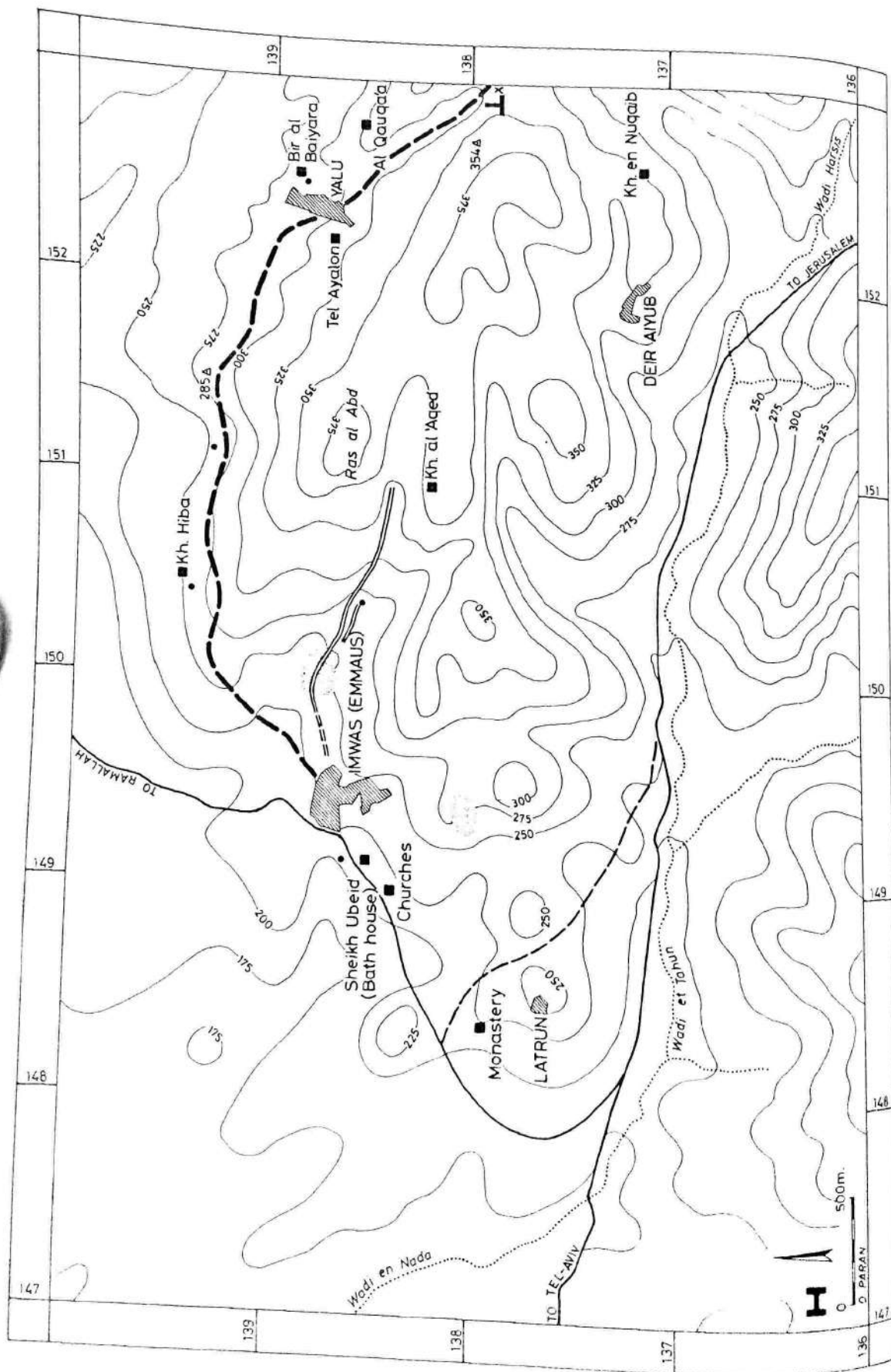


Fig. 1.2. Route between Beth and Jerusalem II. Emmaus

Below Beit Sira, five Roman miles from Emmaus, a milestone was noted by P.-M. Séjourné, but has not been seen since.⁸² At this point the Roman road left the valley and ascended a moderately sloping ridge to the east of the modern village of Beit Sira. The ancient road has been preserved relatively well here. The remains include two rows of kerbstones and stretches of a retaining wall to the west alongside a valley, with occasional remains of paving and levelled rock. At the top of the ridge (G.R. 1553.1445) the upper part of an anepigraphic milestone was found which must have marked milestation VI.⁸³ The line of the Roman road can be followed for about 800 m. northwards, as far as G.R. 1554.1450, where it joins the Beit Horon road (fig.6; Pl.74).

E. The Emmaus-Jerusalem Road

From Emmaus to Ayalon (fig.12)

The Emmaus-Jerusalem road crosses particularly difficult terrain and is the most arduous of the various routes between Jaffa and Jerusalem. Immediately east of Emmaus it climbs a series of abrupt hills, next it ascends the precipitous western escarpment, descends to Abu Ghosh, makes the sharp climb to Qastel Hill, following which it has to cross the steepest ravine of the region, Nahal Soreq, before making the final ascent to Jerusalem. During our survey we concluded that these obstacles were overcome by choosing the best alignment available. The distance between Emmaus and Jerusalem along the Roman road is 27 km. (18 Roman miles).

The road first edges around the northern slopes of the hills of Emmaus, ascends the escarpment along the gently rising spur of Qasr, and, passing Abu Ghosh and Qastel over saddles and hill sides, crosses the ravine of Nahal Soreq using the two serpentine ascents of Motza and Ma'aleh HaRoma'im ('The Ascent of the Romans') and a bridge across the river itself. Altogether it is a fine example of ancient route selection in difficult terrain.⁸⁴

The outlines of the Roman city of Emmaus/Nicopolis are still unknown. The various excavations and surveys undertaken at the site and in

the vicinity have not yet provided any concrete evidence of the extent of the built-up area or of the presence and possible line of the town wall and gates. Two ancient mosaics at Madaba and Ma'an that show the town do not help much. On the Madaba map the city is not represented as having a wall or gates, but only as a cluster of modest buildings, none of them of a public character.⁸⁵ On the mosaic from Ma'an only a church is depicted, probably the basilica excavated by Vincent and Abel in the 1920's.⁸⁶ Thus we have no indication at all of the precise spot from which the Jerusalem road left Nicopolis. Nevertheless we believe that it is clear from the remains seen further on, west and east of Kh. Hiba, that the Roman road at first made for the north-east. It should also be noted that on the SWP map (sheet xvii) the road between Emmaus and Yalu is marked as a path, while the continuation from Yalu to Abu Ghosh and further eastward is designated 'Roman road'. Two decades afterwards Germer-Durand identified the entire road from Emmaus to Abu Ghosh, including the section between Emmaus and Ayalon here described, as a Roman road.⁸⁷

The area east of Emmaus (fig.12) comprises a series of steep hills separated by twisting watercourses (wadis), difficult terrain for the lay-out of a road, as is shown beautifully by the German air photograph Pl.27, which covers the area from Bab al Wad in the lower right-hand corner to the Valley of Ayalon in the upper left-hand corner. The ancient route, therefore, avoided this region altogether and made a wide turn northwards. It is possible that it ran through the plain as far as Yalu. However, following Germer-Durand, we believe that it followed the 270 m. contour line, at mid-height along the slope of the hills. Thus the road would have followed a virtually level course until the third milestation from Nicopolis.

Between Emmaus and Yalu is the hill of Ras el-'Abd, one of the highest of the area. Westwards stretches a spur that encloses the site of Emmaus from the north and north-east. The path indicated on the SWP map mentioned above made for this spur from the south-west climbing to mid-height. Thence (at G.R. 1500.1393) it turns to the east and continues along the northern slope of Ras el-'Abd, following a level course whenever possible.

⁸² P.-M. Séjourné, *RB* 7 (1898), 123.

⁸³ Seen first by Séjourné, loc.cit. and again by A. Alt, *PJb* 28(1932), 18; 30(1934), 11, n.3; *ZDPV* 69(1953), 17, n.55; and by us in 1980.

⁸⁴ For similar roads: Roll and Ayalon, *PEQ* 118(1986), 128 f.

⁸⁵ M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map* (1954), no. 74.

⁸⁶ R. de Vaux, *RB* 47(1938), 244 f.; M. Piccirillo, *LA* 35(1985), 345 and Plan IB.

⁸⁷ J. Germer-Durand, *Échos d'Orient* 1(1897-98), 162-68, esp. 168 and the map on 165.

On the ground we could still trace this line, but with great difficulty. From the air, however, it is clearly visible (Pl.51). On the northern slope of the hill we did not see any remains of metalling, but we noticed various elements that can be attributed to the road: an almost entirely level embankment follows the 270 m. contour line from west to east over a distance of 800 m. A retaining wall supports it from the north. Towards the eastern end, at G.R. 1507.1393, a line of large stones represents the southern kerb. The disappearance of all remains of metalling may well be due to the fact that the entire slope has been put under cultivation, entailing the building of field walls and spreading of arable soil.

South of the embankment, we noted a rock-cut tomb with *arcosolium*, various remains at Kh. Hiba (Gazetteer), and Roman and Byzantine (mainly ribbed) pottery sherds spread all over the field. Two water sources, Bir el Hiba near Kh. Hiba, and Bir et-Tawil, some 700 m. east of Kh. Hiba, served the local farmers and the travellers.

From G.R. 1508.1393 all remains of the road have been obliterated by the installations of the modern 'Canada Park' over a distance of 2.5 km. However, the SWP map and Germer-Durand's sketch map give a rough indication of the continuation of the road. It proceeded eastward for another 500 m. as far as trig. point 285. There it made a slight turn to the south-east and passed the ancient village of Ayalon (Yalu, see Gazetteer, Pl.50). It probably passed north of trig. point 354. However, we did not see any remains of an ancient road here, despite the fact that the ground has not been disturbed by modern constructions.

From Ayalon to the Spur of Kh. Mazad

We reach firm ground at G.R. 1531.1379 where four fragments of anepigraphic milestones were discovered.⁸⁸ These milestones will have marked the third milestone from Emmaus, 4.5 km. from the town. North-east of this spot, further down the slope are the remains of Kh. Heit Zeidan and, further still, those of Bir Mezza (Gazetteer). The site of this milestone may be described as located on a saddle lying between trig. points 354, already mentioned, and 377 to its south-east. Hill 377 lies in the middle, between the milestone and the western end of the spur of Mazad. This hill, however, is very rugged and split by numerous crevices, and the road therefore had to skirt it. It zig-zags three times following the line of the riverbeds of three consecutive small streams. This detour of less than two km. was unavoidable.

⁸⁸ We are grateful to Mr Eli Shenhav for reporting to us his discovery of these stones.

From milestone III the road at first makes for the south, skirting hill 377 from the west. Here modern road-making has obliterated the ancient remains. It then turns eastwards near the meeting point of two wadis (G.R. 1530.1373), where there is a modern pumping station. None of the earlier maps mark a water source here, so it is not certain whether there was one in antiquity. The road then runs due east for about 400 m. and then turns south, gently climbing along a small wadi. After another 800 m. the road reaches the upper end of the wadi where it meets the west slope of the spur of Horvat Mazad (at G.R. 1534.1365).

The remains of the ancient road just described are covered by a modern track, but this is occasionally narrower than the ancient road, which is thus not covered everywhere by recent material. In 1985 we noted sections of kerbs, rock-cuttings and patches of paving.

A southern road from Emmaus to the spur of Mazad? (fig.12)

West of the spur of Mazad remains of another ancient road were seen, extending some 600 m. east-west. The remains consisted of two rows of large, rough kerbs, and rock-cuttings along the edges of the road, but no remains of paving were seen. At G.R. 1530.1367 we saw a series of shallow, irregularly-shaped steps cut out of the rock (fig. 14; Pl.77).⁸⁹

Further to the west the road descends into a wadi, the upper end of which is near milestone III. Here the road is about 4.40 m. broad and descends with a series of small zig-zags. Across the wadi we saw a broken column (a milestone?) near the remains of the road. It is not clear how the road continued westwards. It is not likely that it led straight to Emmaus via Deir Aiyub and Kh. 'Aqed, because the terrain here seems too rugged for the lay-out of a proper road.⁹⁰ The road may have proceeded south-west, skirting the hills of Emmaus from the south. If the column already mentioned was indeed a milestone, this may have been a parallel branch of the Roman road which ran along the northern bank of Nahal Nahshon (Wadi Aly),

⁸⁹ The steps were discovered by Mrs Ofrah Vidan and this part of the road first traced by Yuval Shahar, Yigal Tepper and their colleagues in 1985.

⁹⁰ We noticed a track, possibly ancient, that led from Emmaus to 'Aqed, but we have no indication that it led eastwards beyond 'Aqed, although the SWP marks it as leading to Deir Aiyub. Near 'Aqed two broken columns were seen by Yuval Shahar and Yigal Tepper in 1985, but these disappeared before we could study them and we cannot confirm whether they were milestones.

leaving Emmaus from the south. Any remains in this valley would have been obliterated by the modern Tel Anviv - Jerusalem highway.⁹¹ It is also possible that this was an ancient local or secondary road linking Nicopolis with the main highway.

The Spur of Mazad to Abu Ghosh

The spur of Mazad (fig. 13) is the continuation westwards of the Neve Ilan ridge. The two together stretch roughly from Abu Ghosh to the hills of Emmaus, and offer suitable ground for the lay-out of an ancient road. The spur of Mazad climbs gradually from 380 m. to 530 m., that is, an ascent of 150 m. over a distance of more than two kilometres. This section of the road can be seen beautifully on Pl. 29, taken in the First World War. From the lower left-hand corner to the upper right-hand corner the mediaeval and modern road can be seen as a white thread running through Nahal Nahshon (Wadi Aly). The second ridge to the north is the spur of Mazad, where the Roman road is visible, running across the watershed. This is the western escarpment and thus, in geographical terms, the parallel in the south to the ascent of Beit Horon further north. It is therefore significant that the road across the Mazad spur could be constructed without the numerous rock-hewn steps for which the Beit Horon ascent was well-known even in antiquity.

Remains of the Roman road could be seen along most of the spur until the mid-1980's, when extensive afforestation was undertaken by the National Fund. The Fund used the old road as the main thoroughfare for its project, as a result of which the ancient remains were seriously damaged in many places, while some sections were totally obliterated by a modern track.

When we surveyed the road the following remains were extant:

- (1) At the west end of the spur (G.R. 1534.1365) we saw remains of paving, consisting of medium and large sized flat stones carefully joined together. North of the road were the foundations of a square building, measuring 10 by 9.5 m., possibly a watchtower, or a

⁹¹ North and north-east of the Latrun castle remains of an old road can still be seen. This was the mediaeval road from Ramle to Sha'ar Hagay (Bab el-Wad). The road is paved with small stones and pebbles, characteristic of the Ottoman period. Further to the east, somewhere in the vicinity of Sha'ar Hagay, a row of stones was seen in the early 1950's. These are described as 'kerbstones of the Roman road which ran parallel to the modern one' (Alon 4(1953), 6, Heb.). The reference is too vague to be of any practical use. Note also the aerial photographs of the area: Kedar, *AP*. 106f.

tower of the type locally known as *shomerah*, frequently seen in Western Samaria.⁹²

- (2) About 200 m. further eastwards, at G.R. 1536.1364, the road runs on top of an embankment, 5.5 m. broad and supported by a low retaining wall from the south. South of the road 15 pieces from at least 10 different milestones were scattered over the slope. Another two pieces were seen north of the road. The stones were all anepigraphic except one (Maximinus Thrax), Mile IV, Inscr. 3. Although the distance between this spot and milestone III is 2.1 km. this must be milestone IV from Nicopolis.⁹³

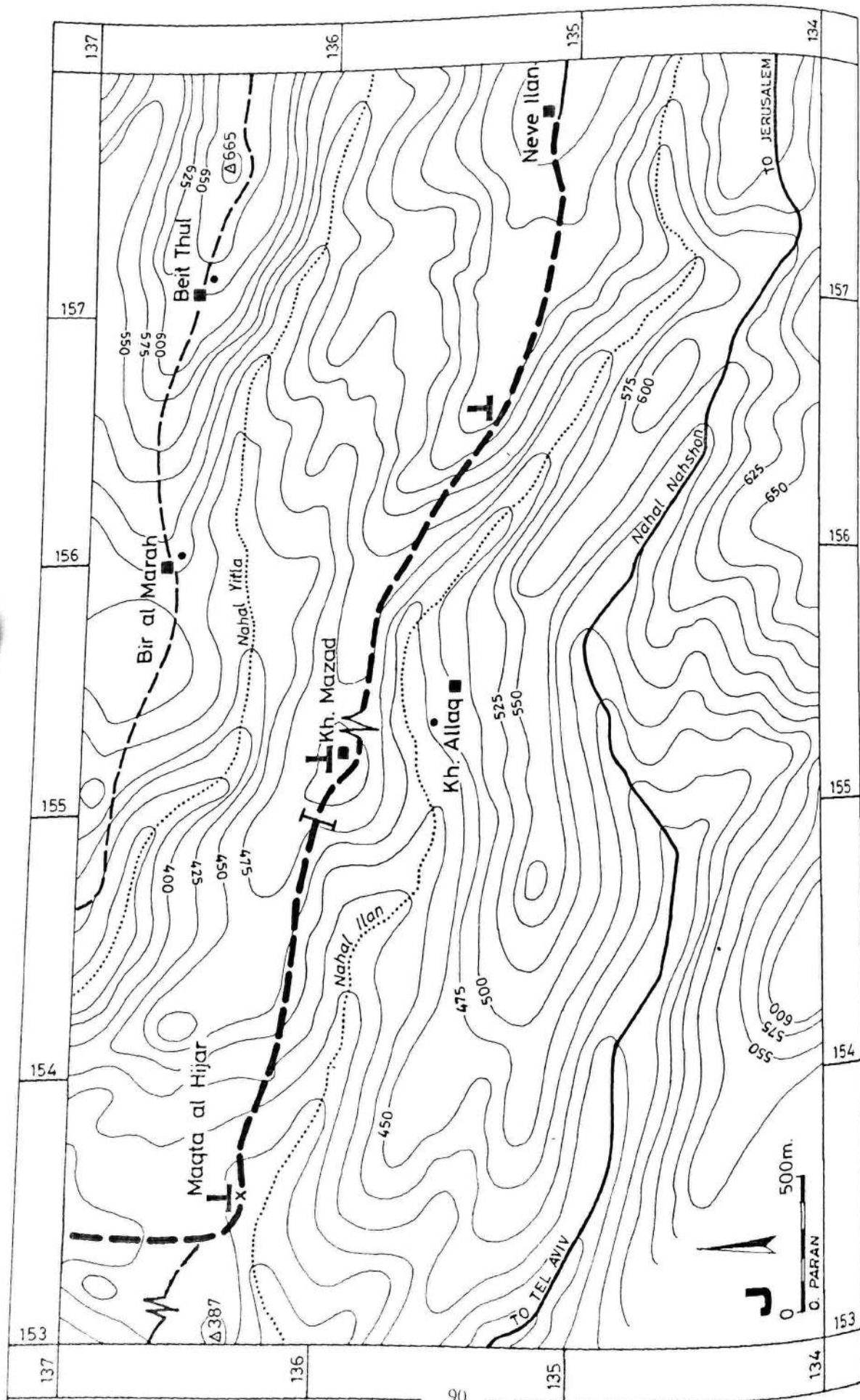
- (3) About 500 m. west of Horvat Mazad, at G.R. 1548.1361, a particularly well-preserved length of the road survived into the 1970's. The road, 4.90 m. wide, was bordered by two lines of large kerbstones. Protruding boulders were cut away and the surface of the rock was levelled so as to provide an even surface with the paving stones. We saw similar, shorter stretches of road further to the east (Pl. 80).

- (4) West of e of Mazad, at G.R. 1549.1361, a section was cut through the road (fig. 15).⁹⁴ It was clear that there were kerbs on both sides, consisting of large stones with a fill of medium-sized stones, laid on the bed-rock. The pavement was secured with a row of medium-sized stones across the road from kerb to kerb. This is not the usual method of construction of Roman roads in this region and may reflect a later reconstruction.

⁹² S. Applebaum, S. Dar and Z. Safrai, *PEQ* 110(1978), 91-100; for functions of such structures and parallels elsewhere, Isaac, *Limits of Empire*, 185 f.

⁹³ The length of the Roman mile in Judaea is about 1,625 m., which is more than the 1,482 m., usually mentioned in the modern literature (I. Roll, *The Jerusalem Cathedra* 3(1983), 152). A length of 2,100 m. has so far only been observed along one road in Judaea, the Neapolis - Lydda road, where it was measured between three consecutive milestations: I. Roll and E. Ayalon, *PEQ* 118(1986), 119. Along the Jaffa - Jerusalem roads it has not been encountered anywhere else.

⁹⁴ The work was carried out by Eli Shenhav as part of the excavations of M. Fischer at H. Mazad. We are grateful to Eli Shenhav for making available to us information regarding the dig and a plan of the section.



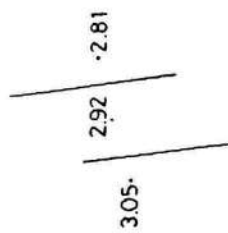
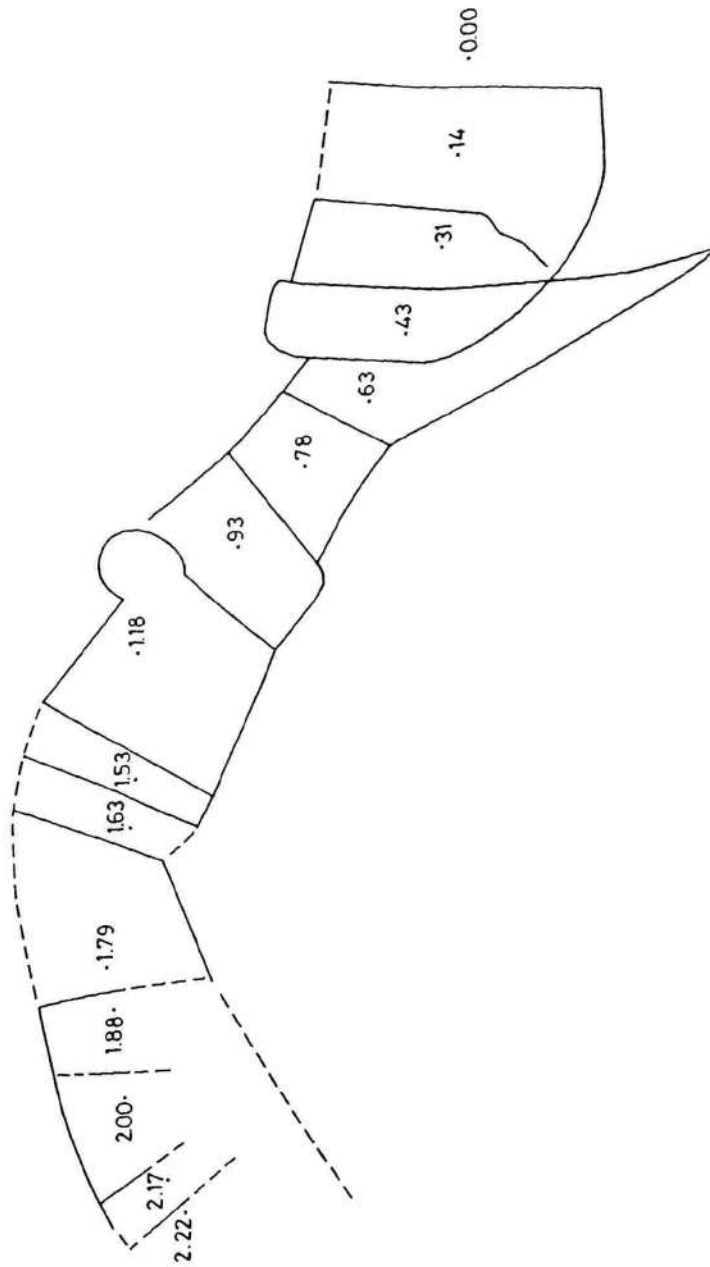


Fig 14 Road with steps east of Deir Amb

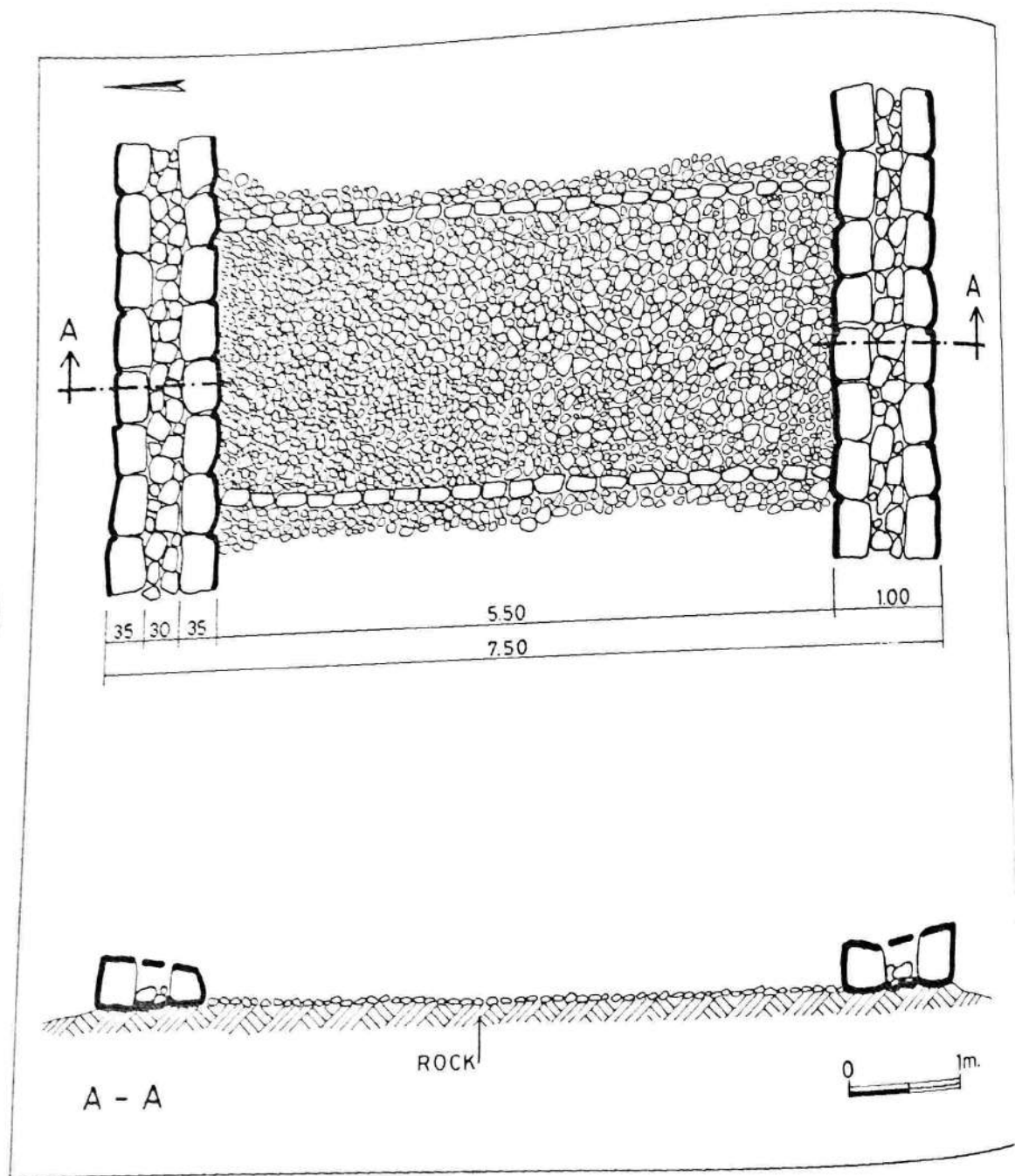


Fig 15 Section through road, west of Mazad

(5) Among the fallen stones of Kh. Mazad a fragment of a milestone was found which had been re-used in the building. It bears part of an inscription (Mile xiii, inscr. no. 2, Marcus Aurelius). It must have derived from a nearby milestation.

The spur of Mazad is separated from the ridge of Neve Ilan by a moderate saddle. The road descends to the saddle with one large and several smaller zig-zags (Pl 53, 81). On the saddle it runs in a straight line due east. This section of the road was badly damaged and in 1985 we could only distinguish remains of the retaining walls where the road turns. On the saddle it is better preserved. We observed a southern kerb, 1.30 m. wide, consisting of two rows of large stones, and a northern kerb of one row. Remains of paving, 5 m. wide, show that it consisted of large flat stones carefully joined together.

From the saddle the road climbs gently towards the southern slope of the ridge of Neve Ilan which it follows, running just below the crest. For about 1,700 m., from the saddle to G.R. 1570.1353, the modern road runs parallel to and south of the ancient road, which has therefore been preserved, although it is covered by dense vegetation. However, we could still trace the road, particularly the southern retaining wall and, occasionally, remains of paving stones and rock-cuttings at the north edge of the road. At G.R. 1569.1353 we measured an interior width of 7.65 m. At G.R. 1565.1354 an anepigraphic milestone was discovered (milestation VI).⁹⁵ Further eastwards the modern road through the settlement of Neve Ilan, now asphalted, has obliterated all traces of the ancient road.

From Neve Ilan to Kabbara, a distance of 5.5 km., the Roman road is covered by modern ones through Neve Ilan and Abu Ghosh. However, it is accurately marked on the *SWP* map (sheet XVII; see our fig. 16) and visible on a German air photograph from August 1918.⁹⁶ From Neve Ilan it continues eastwards along the northern slope of the ridge as far as its upper end. The spot where the Roman road and the mediaeval road meet is shown on Pl. 30, looking south. Thence it climbs gently to the saddle linking hill 727 and the village of Abu Ghosh with hill 756, the site of Deir el-Azhar, the latter being situated north-west of the former (see Gazetteer s.v. Abu Ghosh). From the

saddle, the site of a mandatory police-post, the modern road descends to the water source of Abu Ghosh, skirting the village on the north to continue along a level course across the slope opposite Abu Ghosh as far as hill 678 (Kabbara). The old road apparently ran east of the modern one, straight to the church, and was therefore steep and awkward.⁹⁷

From Abu Ghosh to Motza (fig. 16)

Abu Ghosh is situated precisely half-way between Emmaus/Nicopolis and Jerusalem, i.e. 9 Roman miles from both. It also lies at the junction of the Motza - Jerusalem road with the road making for el-Jib and Biddu, described below. In fact, the *SWP* map marks the latter and not the former as a Roman road. Abu Ghosh, as observed in the Gazetteer, served as a main road-station on the Emmaus - Jerusalem road and a military base. Nearby, just below Deir es-Sheikh was the ninth milestation (at G.R. 1606.1350), from which two stones were found in secondary use. One of them bears a fragmentary inscription recording the names of Marcus Aurelius (Inscription no. 1). The road between Abu Ghosh and Qastel can be seen beautifully on aerial photographs of 1918 and 1990.⁹⁸ The photograph of 1918 is given here as Pl. 24.

Near hill 678 (Kabbara) the present Tel Aviv - Jerusalem motorway keeps to a straight course through the ravine north of the hill, while the earlier modern road, constructed in the period of the British mandate south of the hill, makes two sharp turns, to the south and east respectively. The Roman road, however, climbs straight to the south-east, so that here the ancient remains have been preserved over a length of some 250 m. (Pl. 31, also visible on Pl. 24). These include a row of large kerbstones on the up-hill stretch and a low retaining wall down-hill. The surface of the road, 6 m. wide, is piled up with stones that have been removed by farmers from neighbouring fields, so the paving could not be studied. As so often, the road has been used as a base-line for the local field boundaries.

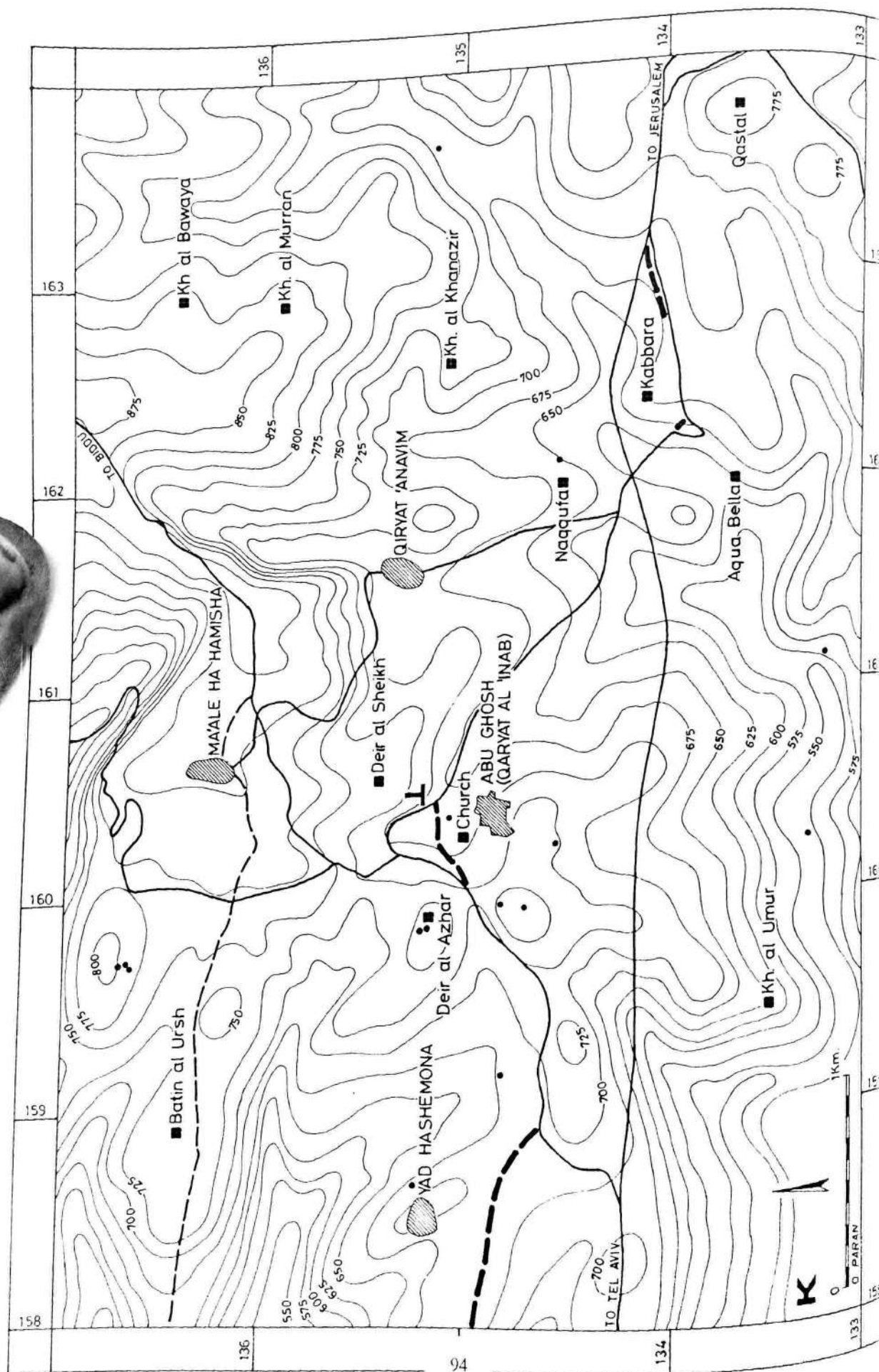
About 800 m. further to the east, at G.R. 1629.1341, the northern edge of the embankment and the retaining wall of the Roman road could still be observed. The modern road, presumably following the ancient alignment, then makes straight for the saddle.

⁹⁵ The milestone was first seen by Z. Meshel and subsequently by Eli Shenhav and we are grateful for their information. By the time we first surveyed this stretch of the road, in April 1985, the stone had disappeared.

⁹⁶ G. Dalman, *Jerusalem und sein Gelände* (1930), fig. 20.

⁹⁷ C. Schick, 'Improvement of Roads in Palestine', *PEFQS* 1889, 9: 'The second improvement is at Kuryet el-'Enab, where the ascent was always hard work and driving down it dangerous. It is in some degree longer, but with a gentle descent ...' Aerial photograph of 1918: Kedar, *AP*, 116.

⁹⁸ Kedar, *AP*, 118 f.



between hill 759 (now called Mt. Shelomzion), and Qastel. East of Qastel the road has to overcome the most difficult geographical feature between Jaffa and Jerusalem, the deep Nahal Soreq (W. Beit Hanina / Wadi Qaluniyah; see fig. 17 and the vertical air photograph of 1946, Pl.35). This cannot be avoided by any alignment south of that actually followed by the Qubeiba - Biddu road. The disadvantage of this road, however, and of the Beit Horon road, is that the escarpment is much steeper towards the north, so that whatever is gained by avoiding the Soreq is lost by a harder ascent of the escarpment. There are three elements involved in crossing the valley. Firstly, the descent has to be made from Qastel to the river. Secondly, the river, a perennial stream that flows southwards here, has to be crossed. And finally the hill of Giv'at Shaul must be climbed before Jerusalem is reached.

The ancient road makes the descent from 750 to 550 m. above sea level as conveniently as possible over a spur that extends to the east from Qastel. The remains of the road can no longer be seen because most of it lies within the modern village of Motza Ilit. It obviously skirted the steep hill of Qastel. The upper part of the spur is particularly steep, and the present-day road descends in four zigzags (G.R. 1644.1336, visible on Pl.35). These represent Ottoman road-improvement in the nineteenth century, described in Chapter I. Nineteenth-century sources still describe the road as making the descent in a straight line.⁹⁹ We cannot judge the quality of the road in Roman times, but, as noted often in Chapter I, the journey from Abu Ghosh to Jerusalem is usually described as extremely exhausting and most uncomfortable by travellers before the 1860's.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Thus both Robinson (1852) and van de Velde (1859) describe the descent as 'steep and long'. There was a fountain two thirds down the descent 'for the traveller but not for his horse'. G. Dalman, *PJb* 17(1921), 95, describes the road from Motza to Qastel, in the opposite direction: 'Beim Aufstiege an der jenseitigen Tallehne ist der alte Weg, der einst hier hinaufgeführt hat, stellenweise erkennbar. Er hat mit wenig Biegungen im Bereich von noch nicht 1.5 Kilometer eine Höhe von 175 Meter erklommen. Jetzt fährt man in gut angelegten Kehren bequem zur Höhe hinauf ... Aber einst war es anders. Wir begreifen nicht, wie irgendeine Gefährt hier hat hinauf - oder hinabgelangen können'. Dalman failed to realize that the road was simply impassable for wheeled vehicles.

¹⁰⁰ Before reaching the modern motorway the asphalt road diverges from an earlier line, paved with small stones and kerbs that are almost certainly Ottoman. It is visible on air photographs from December 1944 (R.A.F.: P.S.I., Nos. 6112-6118) and on Pl. 35.

The road crosses the river at G.R. 1658.12 a spot roughly in the centre of the triangle formed by the settlements of Upper and Lower Motza and al-Qaluniya (Pl.23). The area is well watered by several springs. Further north the valley opens up and good soil allowing cultivation. As observed in the entry on Motza in the Gazetteer, the site is also a crossroads with the secondary route along the Soreq valley. The combination of plentiful water, a crossing of the Soreq and good land make it a natural site for a settlement and a suitable place for an inn.

As noted in Part I and in the Gazetteer, the bridge at Motza is mentioned frequently by travellers from late mediaeval times onwards. It had four arches and its base may have been Roman.¹⁰¹ The nineteenth-century illustration available depicts a bridge with three arches, the lower courses of which look as if they could have been ancient.¹⁰² The modern bridge lies some 50 m. east of the site of the ancient bridge, but all remains of the latter have been carried away by the current which can be very strong in the rainy season, especially since the old bridge was built where the stream is at its narrowest.

From Motza to Jerusalem (figs.17, 11).

After crossing the stream, the motorway follows the line of the Ottoman road from the 18th century and continues north-east around Har Menuhot (the hill of Ras el-Alweh).¹⁰³ The old road, which was in use until the construction of the Ottoman road mentioned, proceeded straight eastward to the wadi of the spur of Giv'at Shaul which offers a relatively easy ascent. It passed through a narrow wadi 1,200 m. long which extends from Lower Motza eastward to the Soreq.

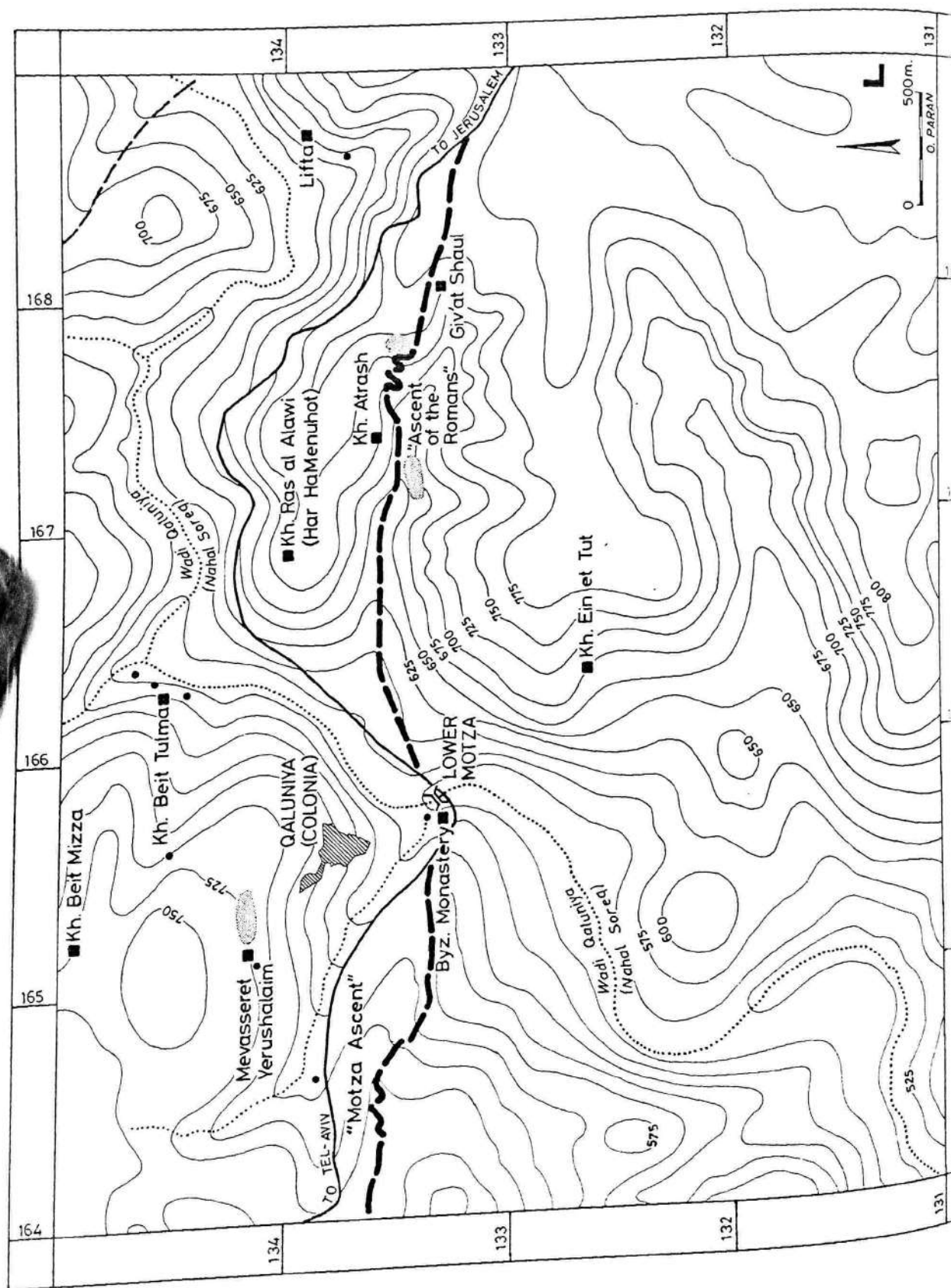
This route was used by all travellers till the end of the nineteenth century and it is therefore hard to assign remains of paving with certainty to any specific period. In the wadi we saw remains that seem to be Ottoman work: stretches of paving consisting of small stones and small or medium-sized kerbstones. However, about 300 m. west of the spur a few patches of paving made of larger flat stones have been preserved at a lower level than that of the later Ottoman (?) paving. These appear to be earlier, and may be ancient.

The road ascends the hill in a series of zigzags, climbing 100 m. (from 660 to 760 above sea level).

¹⁰¹ Thus Guérin, *Judée* i, 257 f.

¹⁰² C. Wilson, *Picturesque Palestine*, 202.

¹⁰³ Schick, *PEFQS* 1889, 8 f., mentions the construction of the road.



level) over a distance of 400 m. No ancient remains have been preserved, apart from one stretch of road, scarcely visible, which climbs the hill in a straight line. This may well suggest that at least part of the zigzag stretch was constructed in Ottoman times, as was the case between Qastel and Motza.¹⁰⁴ Pl.21 shows the road as it was in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century.

Various ancient remains have been found along this part of the road. Ancient tombs cut out of the rock are visible in the southern slope of the wadi and the northern slope of the ascent. A cut in the rock, 20 m. long, may be ancient. On the hill-side of Har Menuhot (Ras el-Alweh or Alawi), now a large cemetery, two buildings from the Roman period were excavated in the 1950's.¹⁰⁵ Near the top was the small Hellenistic / Byzantine fort of Giv'at Shaul described in the Gazetteer.

The road here enters the built-up area of modern Jerusalem and no remains of the ancient road survive. However, we have the nineteenth-century maps and early air photographs to help us in reconstructing the approaches to Jerusalem before the expansion of the modern city (Robinson, Smith and Kiepert, van de Velde, *SWP*). It is also highly likely that the nineteenth-century approaches followed the line of ancient predecessors. These were often superseded by modern streets following the same alignment. In the case of the Motza - Jerusalem road a consecutive series of modern streets, almost 5 km. long, follows the line of the nineteenth-century road to Jerusalem and there is every reason to believe that the Roman road followed roughly the same course.

From the fort of Giv'at Shaul the road is represented by the modern streets Ketav Sofer, Giv'at

Shaul, and the Weizman Boulevard.¹⁰⁶ Then it have followed Jaffa Street for 1.5 km. till Herut St. The early air photographs, however, suggest a possible alternative alignment along S. Boulevard and Agrippas St., parallel to Jaffa Street south of it. Both lines pass north of the site of C. Ram (Sheikh Badr), now occupied by the convalescent centre, Binyanei Ha'Umah. In the 1950's a legionary and fort were excavated here, an important site that unfortunately has remained unpublished. Recently further rescue excavations revealed remains of these installations. Its presence reinforces the suggestion that this was the course of a Roman road. The presence of a legionary establishment and tiliary 2.5 km. from Aelia Capitolina and the legionary headquarters, on a hill-top near point where the main road to Jaffa starts its first descent to the plain is interesting.

The approach to the old city of Jerusalem can be seen on Pl.2. At Herut Square Jaffa Street splits into two branches.¹⁰⁸ The southern branch continues towards the south-east along the line of the present Jaffa Street to the Jaffa Gate. No remains of a Roman gate have been found here, although literary sources refer to a gate on this spot, the 'Gate of the Tower' or 'Gate of David'.¹⁰⁹ In a Talmudic source it is referred to as 'the western gate that leads to Lod'.¹¹⁰ There were tombs on both sides of Jaffa Street, some of which were uncovered at the turn of the century.¹¹¹ Recently three tombs from the period of the Second Temple were uncovered about 300 m. west of Jaffa Gate (Pl.

¹⁰⁴ Zigzags appear on the *SWP* map of 1878 (Sheet XIV) and the road is described in the *SWP*, vol. iii, p.56. The ascent is mentioned, but nowhere described in any detail, in the reports of nineteenth-century travellers, for instance: R. Buchanan, *Notes of a Clerical Furlough Spent Chiefly in the Holy Land* (1859), 118: '...I rode up that winding valley beyond Kûlonia - continually rising by successive stages, to a higher and higher level among the hills, until at length it emerges upon the gray rocky table-land above.' The ascent is now officially named 'Ma'aleh Ha-Roma'im' (i.e. 'Ascent of the Romans'), cf. *Yalqut Hapirsumim*, no. 1091 (1964), 1461.

¹⁰⁵ R. Amiram, *Alon* 3(1951), 43 f. (Heb.).

¹⁰⁶ We follow the nomenclature of the city maps of Jerusalem, published by the Survey of Israel 1:12,500 (1986).

¹⁰⁷ For the brick stamp-impressions: D. Barag, *IEJ* 167 (1967), 24-67; for a brief note on the excavations: M. Avi-Yonah, *BIES* 15(1950), 19-24, 6f. (Heb.). For the recent excavations, see Gazetteer, s.v. Giv'at Shaul.

¹⁰⁸ These roads are also represented on nineteenth-century maps. The German air photographs from the end of the First World War have been published by Dalman, *Jerusalem und sein Gelände* (1930), fig. 1. R. Koeppel, *Palästina: Die Landschaft in Karten und Bildern* (1930), fig. 121.

¹⁰⁹ Theodosius, *De situ Terrae Sanctae*, c.3 (Geyer, *CCSL* 175, p.116): *porta Purgu*; Adamnanus, *De Locis Sanctis* i 3 (ed. Bieler, *ibid.*, p.185): *Porta David ad occidentalem montis Sion partem praeparatam*.

¹¹⁰ Lamentations Rabba i 31.

¹¹¹ S. Reinach, *RA* 1900, 392-6; *id.* *CRAI* 1918, 38.

1715.1315). West of these were found a Byzantine burial cave and chapel, both cut into the rock.¹¹² Closer to the Jaffa Gate remains of Byzantine paving have been excavated.¹¹³

The northern branch of the road follows the entire line of Haneviim Street to enter the city through the monumental predecessor of the Damascus Gate, a three-arched gate that has been partly excavated.¹¹⁴ Along the northern side of this road a rock-cut tomb, and an *opus reticulatum* building that may have been a mausoleum have been excavated.¹¹⁵

F. The Secondary Roads

In the region between the Beit Horon road in the north and the Lydda-Emmaus-Jerusalem road in the south, the remains of several east-west roads of ancient times may still be traced. The remains show various forms of road construction going back to several periods: in some places the rock face has been levelled, or there are single or double lines of kerbstones. In the hill country retaining walls are found and, on steep slopes, rock-cut steps. Paving consists of stone slabs of various sizes. Large boulders are placed at crossing-points of seasonal watercourses to allow safe passage for travellers and beasts of burden.

No milestones are found along these roads, which means that they are not to be classified as Roman imperial, or military roads. Nevertheless some

of them may be assigned to the Roman period on the strength of two criteria: (a) The methods of construction and lay-out are similar to those of certified Roman roads and different from those of later roads. For typical examples of secondary roads in the Shephelah, see Plates 84-86, 88-89. (b) The roads link sites that are firmly dated to the Roman and / or Byzantine periods. The literary sources do not help us in dating such roads, for they are rarely mentioned and when they are, the information conveyed is of no practical use.¹¹⁶ Secondary roads were normally used by the local population and served the needs of local traffic.¹¹⁷ As we shall see, some of these roads were also used after the Byzantine period.

In the level region of the Coastal Plain and the Valley of Ayalon no remains of secondary roads have been preserved, and we do not have any other indication of their course. In the Shephelah, however, there are stretches of secondary roads that are surprisingly well preserved. We found that these roads extended mainly along the east-west river valleys, usually along the foothills.

In the mountains there are two types of secondary roads: those which follow a watershed between two streambeds and those which run through the gorges, following the line of the streambed. We shall now give a brief description of the more important secondary roads, referring to the remains that survive, their course, and the major sites found along these roads. As already noted, the latter sometimes help in dating the use of the roads which link them. Since substantial remains of secondary roads are found in two areas, in the Shephelah in the west, and in the mountains in the east, we shall discuss them in that order as two groups.

¹¹² R. Reich et al., *Archaeological Newsletter* 96 (1991), 20f.

¹¹³ A. Meir, *Archaeological Newsletter* 99 (1993), 55-7 (Heb.).

¹¹⁴ Excavations in 1937-8: R.W. Hamilton, *QDAP* 10(1944), 1-53; in 1964-6: G.J. Wightman, *The Damascus Gate, Jerusalem Excavations* by C.-M. Bennett and J.B. Hennessy at the Damascus Gate, Jerusalem 1964-6 (Oxford, B.A.R. S. 519, 1989). Further remains were uncovered during clearing and restoration works in the mid 1980's: M. Magen, *Biblical Archaeology Review* 14/no.3 (1988), 48-56. For a plan and section of the present Damascus Gate: J.D. Crace, *PEFQS* 1914, 29-33.

¹¹⁵ For the tomb: C. Schick, *PEFQS* 1898, 81-3; for the building: E. Netzer and S. Ben-Arieh, *IEJ* 33 (1983), 163-175; also: M. Broshi, *Cathedra* 55 (1990), 3-7 (Heb.).

¹¹⁶ An exception: Varus' march through the countryside of Samaria as described by Josephus, *BJ* ii 5,1 (69-71). For discussion: S. Dar, *Landscape and Pattern: An Archaeological Survey of Samaria* (1986), vol. i, p. 141 and vol. ii, fig. 86.

¹¹⁷ There is no comprehensive study of the secondary roads in Judaea / Palaestina. See, however, Dar, *op.cit.*, Chapter V: 'The Rural Road System in Western Samaria' and Z. Safrai in B.Z. Kedar et al. (eds.), *Commerce in Palestine through the Ages* (1990), 159-180 (Heb.), on the Talmudic sources related to the secondary roads.

The Shephelah

1) Lydda - Barfiliya - Beit Liqya

This was probably the most important secondary road in the Shephelah. On sheets xiii, xiv and xvii of the SWP map it is marked as a Roman road west of Barfiliya and as an 'ancient road' east of it. Later surveyors also noted that this is an ancient road.¹¹⁶ As indicated on the SWP map, sheet xiii, the road branched off from the Beit Horon road immediately east of the Nahal Ayalon crossing. Travellers leaving Lydda thus first followed the main road to Beit Horon, using the bridge across the Ayalon river, before they turned east-south-east, in the direction of Barfiliya. The road first made for Gimzo, a distance of 5 km. No remains of this section are now extant. The site and the track past it are seen on Pl.38. East of Gimzo the road continues in the same direction, passing Barfiliya to the south and el-Burj to the north till it reaches the northern end of the Ayalon Valley, south of Beit Sira, at G.R. 1538.1432. This section of the road runs for a distance of 11 km. between the low hills of the Shephelah and follows a number of short valleys, passing from one to another across low saddles. The traveller hardly notices the increase in altitude eastwards, from c. 100 to c. 250 m. above sea-level. The entire length of this section is extant and in use as a dirt track and on a few spots early remains are still clearly visible.

Substantial remains, visible at four sites, are briefly described here:

(a) Two km. east of Gimzo, NE of trig. point 167, at G.R. 1467.1479. At this spot three distinct phases are visible. The earliest stage consists of one line of very large kerbstones on both sides of the road. They are similar to those known from dated Roman roads. The second stage of the road is represented by small kerbstones on both sides of the road within the lines of the first stage and by a surface paved with small stones, both characteristic of the Ottoman period. The third stage is the road as it is now, a dirt track without any form of construction, apart from some levelling by modern bulldozers.

(b) One kilometre further east, west of trig. point 191, at G.R. 1475.1474, the modern track has shifted, leaving the two earlier stages undamaged. Both are well preserved for a few dozen metres.

(c) A kilometre and a half east of Barfiliya, G.R. 1504.1456, several patches of metalling of small stones are again visible. This has subsided under the weight of modern wheeled traffic, presumably because the stones were not laid on a solid foundation. This would have been unnecessary at the time, because the road was not planned for the use of wheeled vehicles by the Ottoman authorities.

(d) South of trig. point 273, 1.2 km. further east at G.R. 1514.1447, a stretch of about 400 metres of the ancient road is fairly well preserved. It runs over a modest embankment and several large boulders are dispersed on both sides of the road probably derived from the Roman road. The metalling of the road itself again consists of the smallish stones that should probably be assigned to the Ottoman period.

The last section of the road before it reaches Beit Liqya through the Ayalon Valley, about 3.5 km. long, is a modern field-track and we could not discover any remains of the older phases of the road.

Summing up, we may conclude that the Lydda - Barfiliya - Beit Liqya road goes back to ancient times, notably the Roman period, when it served as an alternative route between the two major highways, the Beit Horon road and the Emmaus road. It was also used in Mediaeval times, particularly in the period of the Crusades, as may be concluded from the well-attested use of its continuation through Qubeiba (see below). In the Ottoman period it was refurbished and paved with small stones for the use of mounted travellers and pack-animals. It was of particular importance in the first half of the nineteenth century when E. Robinson describes it as 'the great camel-road to Jerusalem'.¹¹⁷ It is still mentioned as an alternative road to Jerusalem in Baedeker's guide (cited in Part I). In November 1917 it was used by Allenby's 52nd division. However, later in the nineteenth century it was effectively replaced by the Ramle - Latrun road, the main road to Jerusalem, and its importance declined. Today it has become a track, used for local traffic.

To the north we saw two local roads branching off from the Barfiliya road.

2) The Nahal Gimzo Road

This is a typical river-valley road, about 6 km. long. It branches off from the Barfiliya road at G.R. 1440.1495, that is c. 500 m. north of Kefar Daniel from where it runs due east, first along the north bank of Nahal Gimzo, and then along one of its tributaries joining the Beit Horon road near modern Me

¹¹⁶ Dept. of Antiquities, *Geographical List of the Records Files, 1918-1948* (1976), 106; Baramki in an unpublished report to the Department: 'ancient road without milestones'.

¹¹⁷ Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, iii, 56.

Modi'in. Remains of metalling consisting of small stones and small kerbstones may still be seen on many spots, along the length of the road. Since these were the only remains we saw, it seems that this is a branch of the Barfiliya road that goes back to the Ottoman road. As observed by Robinson, its purpose was to link the Barfiliya road with the Beit Horon road.

3) The Barfiliya - Kh. Kafr Rut Road¹¹⁹

This road, also about 6 km. long, branches off from the Barfiliya road at G.R. 1492.1467, a small hill north of the site of Barfiliya. First it heads due north, passing over a saddle between two low hills and then turns sharply to the east. This section of the road is no longer extant, but is marked as a path on the SWP map (sheet XVII) and on the modern 1:50,000 map (sheet 8-III, Lydda). From the next stretch down to Kh. Kafr Rut, four long stretches have been well preserved.

(a) This is a stretch of 1.2 km. from the bend north of Barfiliya, at G.R. 1494.1468, as far as the point below trig. point 267, at G.R. 1505.1464. The road gradually climbs to the east. The remains consist of two rows of large kerbstones. The road, unpaved, is 4.50 m. wide.

(b) This section is 1.1 km. long. Remains are clearly visible at G.R. 1508.1464, where a paved road of later date, running north-south, crosses it. The remains of the Barfiliya - Kh. Kafr Rut road consist of an embankment, a single row of large irregular kerbstones on the south side, and a retaining wall on the north side, formed by double rows of stones. The interior width is 3.80 and there are no remains of paving stones. The north - south road which crosses the road is paved and has small kerbstones. It is 3.60 m. wide and the interior width is 3.25 m. As observed before, this kind of construction is typical of the Ottoman period. The road probably linked the major arteries to its north and south, as observed by Robinson.¹²⁰

From the crossroads the Barfiliya - Kafr Rut road climbs steadily eastwards along the western slope of an elongated hill till it reaches trig. point 290. The remains here consist of a low *agger* and a row of large kerbs on both sides which gradually turn into double retaining walls. The overall width of the road is 5.60 m. and between the kerbstones it is 4.70 m. wide. The

road serves here as the base-line for a system of field boundaries on both sides. On top of the hill there are remains of a square tower, Umm el-Rujum, which may have served to guard the surrounding fields.¹²¹

From trig. point 290 the road makes a gradual descent along the east slope of the hill till it reaches the stream-bed north-west of el-Burj (G.R. 1518.1459) where it disappears. Here too the remains consist of a low *agger* flanked by large kerbstones with field-walls on both sides. The measurements of the road are 4.10 m. overall width, interior width 3.10 m. so the road is broader on top of the hill than along the slope. Along the north edge of the road some of the kerbstones have been placed upright like orthostats.

Further eastward, two more sections of the road have been preserved and both show a method of construction similar to that describe above under 2).

(c) A section of about 300 m. length runs east-south-east from G.R. 1525.1457, north-east of el-Burj.

(d) A longer section extends for for about a kilometre eastwards from G.R. 1530.1455, north of trig. point 311 and Halail Muhammad. The last 300 m. of the road, where it joins the Beit Horon road south of Kh. Kafr Rut, has not been preserved.

The Barfiliya - Kh. Kafr Rut road is typical of Roman roads in some respects, notably the presence of an *agger* and the use of large kerbstones. The absence of any sort of paving stones may be attributed to the fact that this is a secondary road and not a public highway. Moreover, four of the sites associated with the road were occupied in the Roman period: Barfiliya, Kh. Kafr Rut, al-Burj, and Halail Muhammad. However, the road was of particular importance in the Byzantine and Crusader periods. This is the best preserved secondary road in the Shephelah, and one of the best in the whole of Judaea and therefore well worth closer examination.

4) Kh. Kefrata - Sha'alabim

This is the only secondary road found by us in the Shephelah south of the Barfiliya road. From Kh. Kefrata it runs eastwards, along a line north of, and parallel to the modern road from Mishmar Ayalon to Sha'alabim. We noted a retaining wall built of large unworked stones supporting the road from the south. After a turn to the south-east at G.R. 1470.1428 no further remains of the road are visible. The length of the extant remains is about 800 m. Another short

¹¹⁸ Robinson, iii 57.

¹¹⁹ This is part of the route to Jerusalem described by van de Velde (see Part I) 'by Ludd and Beit Ur'.

¹²⁰ Loc.cit.

¹²¹ For discussion of such towers: S. Applebaum and S. Dar, *PEQ* 110 (1978), 91 - 100; Isaac, *Limits of Empire*, 185 f.

stretch of the retaining wall is visible south of the modern road at G.R. 1477.1426. The extant remains do not offer any indication of the date of the road.

The Roads in the Mountains
5) Beit Liqya - Qubeiba - Biddu - Jerusalem (the Qubeiba road)

See the map, fig. 18. This is the continuation of the Barfiliya road, going up to the main watershed. Thus it formed the eastern part of what seems to have been the most important secondary road which connected Diospolis (Lydda) with Aelia (Jerusalem). Remains of this road are visible at the eastern edge of the village of Beit Liqya, at 1570.1418. A length of one km. has been preserved, running north-east at first, and then curving to the south-east along the northern bank of a short dry wadi, which gradually becomes narrower. The remains include rock cuttings along the north side of the road, and a low supporting wall along the southern side. At one spot, about 100 m. north-east of the point mentioned above, a stretch of paving has been preserved, made of large, flat, unworked stones, carefully joined. This road is still being used today for local traffic. However, while the old road is 4.30 m. wide, only part of its width is now in use as a footpath for the villagers with their donkeys.

At G.R. 1578.1422 the Qubeiba road turns sharply to the right and then enters a steep gorge, not named on any map, which ascends towards the south-east.¹²² The gorge is 600 m. long, rough and narrow, but it provides the shortest and easiest link between the north-east corner of the Valley of Ayalon and the spur of Beit 'Inan. It also curves north around the impassable mount of Jebel el-Muqatam (trig. point 550), a steep hill which separates Beit Liqya from the spur of Beit 'Inan. Because of the rugged terrain, the road was built here with larger stones than usual. These also served to protect it against the force of the winter rains. The kerbstones consist of huge boulders, and the pavement of large flat slabs. Some of these are still *in situ*, while others have been washed down the river-bed. A drainage channel probably ran along the road-side.

The gorge had military importance in various periods, because it linked the Valley of Ayalon with the plateau. This is well illustrated by the pre-1967 activities of the Jordanian army, which erected an anti-tank barrier of large concrete blocks across the gorge. In fact, there was no Israeli attack along this line in 1967, but the barrier still makes the road impassable

for wheeled traffic.

Through this gorge the road climbs from Valley of Ayalon, about 380 m. above sea-level, to Beit 'Inan spur, about 510 m. above, that is 130 m. over a distance of only 600 m. This steep climb rests from the main topographical hurdle which no road from the coastal plain to Jerusalem could avoid: the western escarpment. We have seen above how the main Roman highways both approach the plateau along a spur: the Beit Horon road uses the western slope of Upper Beit Horon, and the Emmaus road runs along the spur of Mazad (el-Qasr). In contrast to these the Qubeiba road, which was a secondary road, climbs the escarpment through a gorge.

At G.R. 1585.1417 the Qubeiba road reaches the western end of the Beit 'Inan spur. From here to the western outskirts of the village of Beit 'Inan (G.R. 1600.1404), a distance of about 2.3 km., the road follows the watershed. This section was hardly used in recent decades and the remains of the ancient road have therefore been well preserved (Pl. 86). Road repairs undertaken in World War I did not drastically affect the state of preservation.

We observed the following remains of the ancient road:

(a) Kerbstones have been preserved over a length of 2 km. as far as Beit 'Inan, forming a line of large field stones on either side of the road, which sometimes becomes a double row or a low supporting wall. Sometimes large boulders have been used, depending on the requirements of the terrain. Several lengths of paving have been preserved.

(b) At the west end of this section we saw a stretch of about 100 m. of paving, made of medium-sized flat stones between two rows of large boulders.

(c) At G.R. 1587.1416, about 200 m. west of el-Judeira, the same kind of paving could be observed between two lines of large kerbstones which support modern field walls. The road here makes an s-bend where it climbs a low shoulder.

(d) About 200 m. east of Kh. el-Judeira, at G.R. 1590.1415, a good section of the ancient road has been preserved, consisting of large and medium-sized field stones placed in between stretches of level bedrock.

From the western outskirts of Beit 'Inan to the eastern edge of Biddu, a distance of 6 km., the route is in use as a modern road covered with asphalt and there are no ancient remains to be seen. The

¹²² The villagers, when asked, could not provide us with any name either.

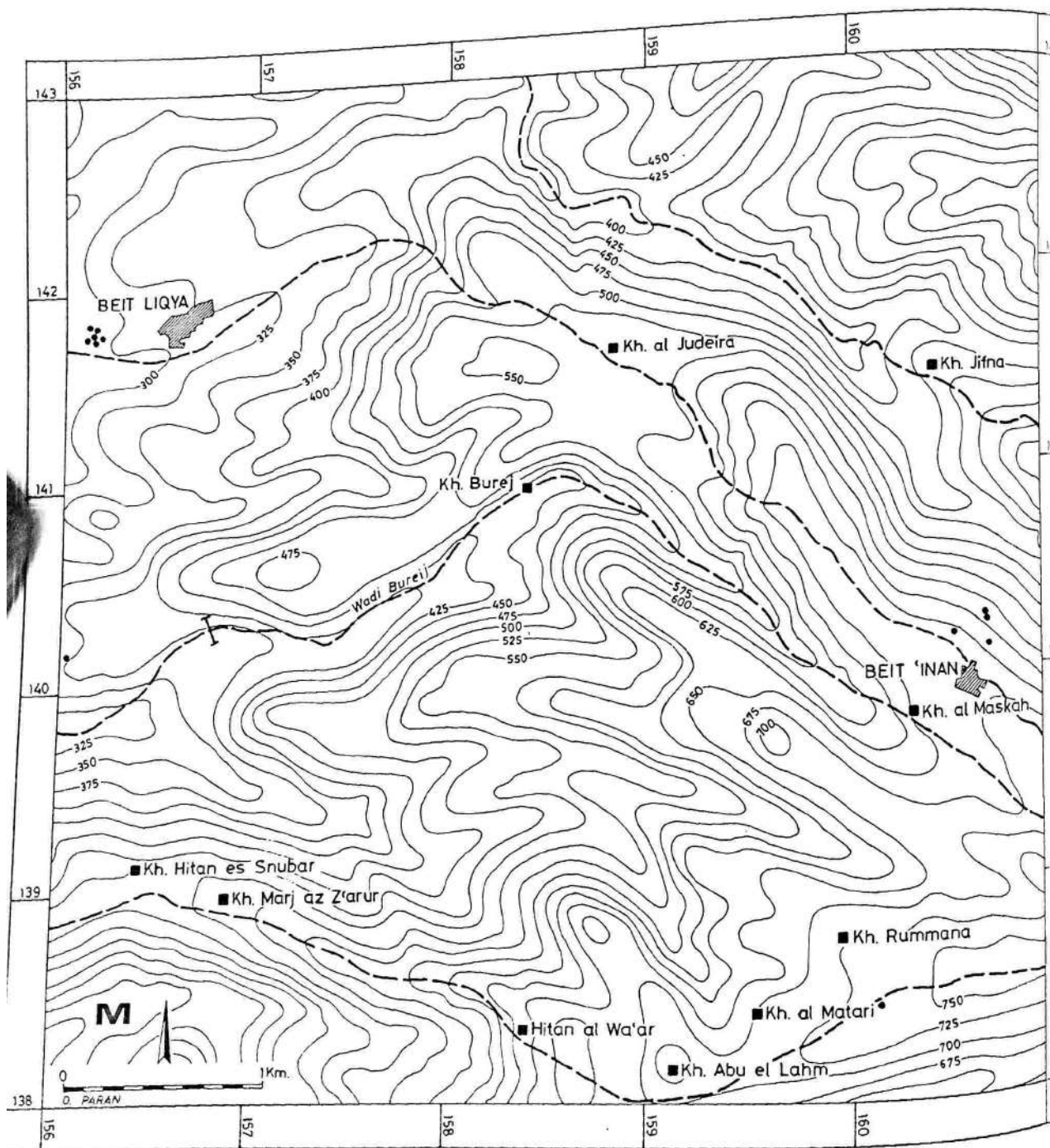


Fig. 18. Roads between Jaffa and Jerusalem, M: Beit Liqya.

follows the watershed, running along the east-west ridge of Beit 'Inan and climbing gradually to Biddu. It follows level ground where possible and avoids hilltops. To the north runs the deep and winding Wadi Salman and its tributary Wadi Abu Za'arur, to the south, the precipitous Wadi Bureij. As noted above, this sort of course is typical of the Roman roads in this region.

West of Qubeiba, at G.R. 1617.1391, the road from Bureij (see below) joins up with the Qubeiba road.

In Qubeiba itself (see Gazetteer, s.v.) excavations have uncovered a section of the road from the Crusader period which runs parallel to and north of the modern road.¹²³ The Crusader road was carefully paved with large flagstones which are still visible in the compound of the restored church. Houses and shops were found on both sides of the road. No remains of the Roman road were found in the excavations here, however.¹²⁴ Thus it is probable that the Roman road ran further to the south, along the line followed by the modern road (Pl.54). Nevertheless we note that the entire road from Beit Liqva to Biddu is marked twice on the SWP map (Sheet xvii) as a Roman Road. The SWP also records that an ancient milestone was seen at the side of the road east of Qubeiba.¹²⁵ However, this stone has not been seen by any other traveller before or since, and no other milestone has ever been found along this road. It therefore seems likely that the stone noted by the SWP team was a segment of an architectural column rather than a milestone.

The Biddu Cross-Roads

Biddu is located at the intersection point of two important ridges, namely (1) the east-west ridge of Beit 'Inan which separates the two local catchment areas of Wadi Salman and Wadi Bureij; (2) the ridge from Abu Ghosh to Biddu and al-Jib. Of these the second, which runs from the south-west to the north-east, is far more important topographically, for it serves as the watershed between two main water-basins of central Israel: Nahal Soreq in the south and the Yaron basin in the north and west. The latter includes the large catchment area of Nahal Ayalon. The Abu Ghosh - al-Jib ridge is of particular significance, for it is the only north-south ridge in the central mountain region uninterrupted by a deep wadi or river-bed.

Consequently this was the only line which facilitated north-south traffic between the low hills in the west and the plateau in the east. The SWP map (Sheet xv) marks a road from Abu Ghosh to Biddu and thence al-Jib, as Roman, but the entire length of this road has been reconstructed in modern times and we were unable to find any ancient remains.

In antiquity the Abu Ghosh - Biddu road would have formed a link between the two main roads from the coastal plain to Jerusalem. Thus it would have had a function similar to the Emmaus - Beth Horon road to the west. However, while the latter is attested as a Roman public highway by milestones there is no such evidence for the Abu Ghosh - Biddu - al-Jib road.¹²⁶ This road is not mentioned either in any of the ancient literary sources. Even so, it is clear that it would have been a useful alternative route when the Emmaus - Jerusalem highway was blocked, e.g. when rain storms interrupted traffic at the crossing of the Nahal Soreq near Colonia. In any case, Biddu formed a main crossroads for the secondary road-network in Central Judaea.¹²⁷

Biddu - Jerusalem

We should now return to the Qubeiba road and describe the last section to the east. First, however, something must be said about the topography and hydrography of the area. As already mentioned, the area east of Biddu belongs to the catchment area of Upper Nahal Soreq which flows southwards here becoming increasingly precipitous and twisted, cutting ever deeper into the rock. Every east-west road in the region must cross the Soreq somewhere and

¹²⁶ About 1.8 km. west of al-Jib, in the new settlement of Giv'on, at G.R. 1658.1395, two columns were found on either side of a stretch of old road. One pillar 1.93 m. h., 0.65 diam. (lower) and 0.62 diam. (upper). The other measures 1.81 h., 0.56 diam. (lower), 0.62 diam. (upper). No traces of inscriptions or remains of bases have been found. It is therefore not certain these were milestones and they may have been architectural features. The stretch of old road is located about one km. north of the line indicated as a Roman road on the SWP map and it is not related to any ancient road known to us. We must conclude that the road could belong to any period and the columns may not have been milestones.

¹²³ B. Bagatti, *I monumenti di Emmaus el-Qubeibeh e dei dintorni* (1947), 68 ff.

¹²⁴ Op.cit., 95f.

¹²⁵ SWP iii, 56.

¹²⁷ This is well illustrated by the map in Bagatti, *monumenti di Emmaus el-Qubeibeh* (1947), fig. (227), and better still on the topographical map in Avi-Yonah, *Sefer Yerushalayim*, i (1956), Map (Heb.)

crossing becomes more difficult the further south it is made. On the other hand, crossing the stream further north where it is easier, means a longer detour on the road to Jerusalem. Consequently several different secondary roads approaching Jerusalem from the north-west were selected by travellers at different periods according to their varying priorities.

At about 300 m. east of Biddu the road divides into two branches (fig. 10). One of these makes for the east passing south of Nabi Samwil, and reaches the main north-south road at Kh. al Hawanit via Kh. al Biyar and Beit Hanina. Most of this road is in modern use, but one section between Nabi Samwil and Beit Hanina has not been reconstructed and here a number of large kerbstones betray pre-Ottoman road-building. The pottery collected from the surface at Kh. al Biyar (see Gazetteer) suggests occupation in the Roman, Byzantine, Mediaeval and Ottoman periods, which presumably reflects the stages of more intensive use of the road. The Iron Age pottery found in the area may indicate the earliest stage of the use of this route.

The southern branch of the road makes for the south-east. A little distance beyond the cross-roads a stretch of 2.5 km. of ancient road could be observed. It follows a relatively level course along the south slope of the hill of Jebel er-Rujman (trig. point 860), about two-thirds up the slope, above Nahal Luz. The remains include rock cuttings, a retaining wall, and patches of paving. It is now covered with earth and stones. West of Kh. Abu Leimun (G.R. 1659.1372) the terrain is fairly level. The remains here consist of two lines of large and medium-sized kerbstones and of patches of paving with small, flat stones (about 20x10 cm.). Similar remains have been preserved farther east, at G.R. 1663.1370. It may be significant for the date of this road that all the pottery seen on the surface at Kh. Abu Leimun (see Gazetteer) was Byzantine.

About 200 m. eastwards, at G.R. 1665.1368, a length of 50 m. was entirely cut out of the rock of the hillside in the form of a step, with the wall of the hillside above hewn to form the southern margin, while the northern margin descends to the slope below.

Immediately to the east of this spot an old road branches off to the south. A short stretch is still visible, consisting of two rows of medium-sized kerbstones and a levelled surface. Modern construction has obliterated the rest, but its course is clear from older publications.¹²⁸ It climbed up to Beit Ikse and then took a winding course southwards to

lower ground. It crossed Nahal Shemu'el east of Alwana hill and Nahal Soreq east of Mizpe Neftoah, finally merging again with the main Biddu - Jerusalem road at Sandhedria (see below). This branch clearly followed low-lying terrain and seems to have been used primarily in the Ottoman period.

The main road from Biddu to Jerusalem, to which we now return, followed the high ground. From the rock cut stretch described above, it continued eastward, climbing the hills of modern Ramot. It passed north of Kh. al-Burj¹²⁹ and then turned south-east, continuing east of Kh. al-Kurum and west of Kh. Tililiya.¹³⁰ Next it descended gradually along a spur along Nahal Zofim towards the high ground of Sandhedria. Here it probably followed the course of the modern Shemu'el HaNavi Street, finally merging with the main north-south road, about 400 m. north of the Damascus Gate.

No remains of this last section of the Biddu - Jerusalem road are extant today since the entire area has been overbuilt. Before the start of modern large-scale building projects, however, the region was surveyed by archaeologists of the Israel Antiquities Authority. These reportedly recorded significant remains of the road under discussion. So far only two brief reports have been published on these important observations. The first mentions a long stretch of an ancient road, 6 m. wide, north of Nahal Soreq, entering Ramot. The remains included a masonry support wall on each side and patches of paving.¹³¹ The second report refers to stretches of the same road, over a total length of about 650 m., climbing from Nahal Soreq along Nahal Zofim and upwards towards Sandhedria. The remains included shallow rock-cut steps.¹³² The remains of this road were recorded first by the SIAA century ago. The British surveyors mention 'side-walls of rude blocks' and 'paving of polygonal stones fit

¹²⁹ There may have been a branch here making for al-Biyar.

¹³⁰ For these sites, see the Gazetteer.

¹³¹ R. Arav, *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* (1982), 59. The report mentions the discovery of a milestone, cautiously suggesting that it may have been there in secondary use. No description of the stone is given, however, so that we cannot say whether it had a square base and was thus indubitably a milestone, or whether we are dealing yet again with just another pillar.

¹³² G. Mazor, *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* (1984), 57.

¹²⁸ SIAA iii, 56, road No. 3 and Map sheet xvii, B. Bagatti, *Qubeibeh*, 231, road No. 5, map on p. 227. For traces seen in the early 1980's and now gone: *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*, 1 (1982), 59.

together, apparently Roman work'.¹³³ The course of this road is also visible on German oblique air photographs of the area, taken in 1917/18.¹³⁴

Conclusions: The Qubeiba Road

The course of this road from Beit 'Inan to Jerusalem - along the watershed and on high ground - together with what we have seen of the way it was constructed, indicate Roman road-building. The remains of buildings, installations and tombs from the Roman period, which have been found in the Ramot area on both sides of the road, are evidence for use of the road at this time.¹³⁵ This impression is reinforced by the burials uncovered at Sanhedria and along the Shemuel HaNavi Street.¹³⁶ The fortified site at Tililiya which controlled the approach to Jerusalem along this road, further shows the importance of this route.

The Qubeiba road became one of the main routes to Jerusalem in Mediaeval times, as shown by the development of the village of Qubeiba, and illustrated by literary sources cited in Part I. East of Biddu both branches described above were in use: the one which led to Nabi Samwil and thence to the main north-south road, and the al-Burj - Tililiya - Jerusalem section.¹³⁷ In the Ottoman period, however, the latter, which kept to the high ground, was abandoned in favour of the road through Beit Ikhsa, which followed a lower course.¹³⁸ On the other hand, Iron Age material from Kh. al-Burj, Kh. al-Kurum, Kh. Beit Kika and Nabi Samwil (see Gazetteer), indicate that the origins of the Biddu - Jerusalem road go back to pre-Roman times.

¹³³ SWP iii, 153.

¹³⁴ Some of these have been published: G. Dalman, *Hundert deutsche Fliegerbilder aus Palästina* (1925), Pl. 12-14; R. Koeppel, *Palästina* (1930), Pl. 130.

¹³⁵ *Archaeological Newsletter* 38 (1971), 21; 40 (1971), 21; 77 (1981), 24 (all in Heb); Excavations and Surveys in Israel 1 (1982) 57 and 58-9; id. 3 (1984) 55-7; id. 7/8 (1988-9) 90-2.

¹³⁶ J. Jotham-Rothschild, *PEQ* (1952), 23-38; (1954), 16-22; L. Y. Rahmani, *IEJ* 10 (1960), 140-8; id., *Atiqot* 3 (1961), 93-120, with further references.

¹³⁷ Extensive discussion by B. Bagatti, *Qubeibeh*, 226-230.

¹³⁸ On the SWP map, Sheet xvii, which reflects the situation in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Beit Ikhsa route is marked as a road, while the al-Burj - Tililiya route is marked as a path.

The route which we refer to as the 'Qubeiba road' was the most significant secondary line of communication between the Shephelah and Jerusalem. It continued the Lydda - Barfiliya - Beit Liqya road described above, which was the main secondary road in the Shephelah. The two sections together formed the most important road from the coastal plain to Jerusalem, after the two major public highways: Beit Horon and Emmaus roads. As already indicated in the Middle Ages this road assumed an importance equal to the Emmaus road, while the Beit Horon road declined. The significance of the Qubeiba road is reflected by the extant remains which show more care and better maintenance than other roads of this class.

The other secondary roads in the region will now be treated in less detail. One preliminary observation may be made at this stage. The minor roads in the mountain region all converge, not on one of the two main highways, but on the Qubeiba road. This has implications for our interpretation of patterns of movement along the roads to which we return in Part V.

6) Wadi Salman

This road branches off from the Barfiliya - Jerusalem road where it crosses Wadi Salman west of Beit Liqya (G.R. 1553.1420). It follows the wadi eastward, then climbs to al-Jib along its upper course. Remains of the road have been preserved only in the west, where a 800 m. long section could be seen along the north bank of the lower Wadi Salman. This included supporting walls built of medium-sized stones, and patches of paving with small stones. Further east, remains of the road have been washed away by the current of the river in winter. Both the course of the road, which was laid out entirely along the bottom of the valley, and the method of its construction, made it clear that it was with smallish stones, indicate that it belonged to the Ottoman period. Indeed, this road is known from maps and references of the late Ottoman period.

7) The Jifna Road

This road, which climbs from Wadi Salman to the Judaean plateau along the Jifna ascent, was mainly in the Hellenistic and Hasmonaean periods.

¹³⁹ van de Velde, *Map of the Environs of Jerusalem*, insert; SWP map, Sheet xvii; a German classified map from the First World War: *Kurze militärgeographische Beschreibung von Palästina* (Kartographische Abteilung der Kgl. Preussischen Landesaufsichtsamt, Berlin, 1917) (Nur für den Dienstgebrauch), p. 7. f. In the wadi at Ein Salman there are some remains. However, these seem to be related to a copious spring on the spot, rather than to any road.

is described in Appendix I below, by Y. Shahar and Y. Tepper.

8) Wadi Burej

This is also a wadi road, which runs from Beit Nuba through Wadi Burej till it merges with the Qubeiba road between Beit 'Inan and Qubeiba. It was used primarily in the Crusader period and is described in Appendix II, below, by Y. Shahar and Y. Tepper.

9) The Hitan al-Wa'r Road

This road provided a direct connection between Beit Nuba and Qubeiba. It is a typical ridge road which climbs along the spur of an east-west range of hills, each higher than the other, between Nahal Kefirah in the south and the twisting Nahal Beit Hanan in the north. The road climbs from 230 m. above sea level, at Beit Nuba, to 800 m. at Qubeiba. The length of the ascent is about 10 km. and it covers a difference in altitude of 570 m.

In the immediate vicinity of Beit Nuba the road made for the south-east, but here the remains of the road have been obliterated by the groves of the settlement of Mevo Horon. The road then turns to the east and climbs between the consecutive trig. points 249, 346 and 498. Between hills 346 and 498, at G.R. 1553.1388, a stretch of ancient road has been rather well preserved. The road consists of substantial kerbs, made of rough stones forming low supporting walls and a level, unpaved surface, 3 m. in width. It serves as base line for terraces on both sides. Between the sites of Kh. Hitan al-Snubar and Kh. Hitan al-Wa'r no remains have been preserved. Further east, however, near trig. point 714, another section of the road has been preserved, similar to the one described above. The last part of the road, west of Qubeiba, is now covered by a modern track.

Two observations may be added about this road. First, the road does not avoid the hill-tops, but tends to climb toward those which were settled in Antiquity. Thus it must have served the local inhabitants as well as travellers between the plateau and the Valley of Ayalon. Secondly, fragments of pillars have been found at two sites along the road, three pieces at Kh Hitan al-Snubar, and another one at Kh. Hitan al-Wa'r.¹⁴⁰ They do not bear inscriptions

and have no square bases, so we cannot say whether they were milestones or architectural parts.

Byzantine pottery has been found at the two sites mentioned, Kh al-Wa'r and Kh al-Snubar, which may indicate that the road was used in this period, although we cannot exclude the possibility that it goes back to Roman times. The course of the road, along a ridge, is typical of Roman roads, and there is some evidence of occupation in the Roman period at both Beit Nuba and Qubeiba. One other point to be noted is that none of the sites along this road seem to have been occupied in the early Middle Ages. Thus the road may have fallen into disuse after the Byzantine period.

10) The Beit Thul Road

This road provided an alternative link between Beit Nuba / Yalu and Abu Ghosh / Biddu. On British Mandatary maps (1:20,000, sheet 15-13), the road is marked as a path. In the west it follows a course through a wadi while in the east it climbs along a ridge. After leaving Beit Nuba and Yalu two branches merge before entering Nahal Itla, which the road follows for about 4 km., as far as the point where Nahal Itla and Nahal HaHamishah meet, at G.R. 1544.1373. Here the road begins to wind up a hill to the east. No ancient remains are extant west of this point, but the serpentine has been partly preserved, with short stretches of supporting walls and a narrow flight of steps cut into the rock near Kh. Hirsha (see Gazetteer). After reaching the top, the road runs along the watershed between Nahal HaHamishah and Nahal Itla. It continues eastward, passing south of Beit Thul (see Gazetteer) and north of Batin al-Ursh (Har Haruah, trig. point 772, see Gazetteer), finally merging with the Abu Ghosh - Biddu road, described above. The eastern part of the road from Ma'aleh HaHamishah is now covered by a modern track, but west of Beit Thul we observed early remains: large kerbstones, a levelled surface, and rock-cut road edges.

Byzantine pottery was found at Kh. Hirsha and Beit Thul and Persian and Hellenistic material at Batin al-Ursh (Har Haruah). This may indicate the periods when the road was in use.

11) The Beit Tulma Cross-Roads

Kh. Beit Tulma (see Gazetteer, s.v. Motza, paragraph d) is located where Nahal Luz merges with Nahal Soreq, near a copious spring. The remains of a Crusader building are described in the Gazetteer. Here three old wadi-roads converge: (1) A southern road which crossed the Soreq valley, coming from Motza; (2) An eastern road which descended from Jerusalem

¹⁴⁰ Measurements: Snubar, (1) 1.24 m. height; upper and lower diam. 0.45; (2) H. 0.96, diam. 0.43 (upper), 0.52 (lower); (3) H. 0.77, diam. 0.41 (upper), 0.51 (lower); al-Wa'r, H. 0.77, diam. 0.45 (upper), 0.47 (lower).

through the Upper Soreq Valley via Lifta; (3) A road to the north through Nahal Luz, to Kh. Louza, Beit Suriq and Qubeiba. Half a century ago Bagatti was still able to see some ancient remains of roads (2) and (3) which he considered a single road and referred to as "The Road of the Disciples".¹⁴¹

We found no remains of these roads during our survey in the 1980's. As may be seen in the Gazetteer, Byzantine material was found at Beit Tulma, Lifta and Beit Suriq, and there are Crusader structures at Motza, Lifta, Kh. Louza and Beit Tulma. It is possible that this reflects the two periods when these roads were most actively used.

Nahal Nahshon / Wadi Aly

This road runs south of the Roman road from Emmaus to Jerusalem, which is the southern limit of the area considered in this study. However, since it clearly is an alternative to the Roman road through Abu Ghosh, something should be said about it here.

The road runs east from Latrun, along the lower course of Nahal Nahshon (Wadi Aly), which is here broad and convenient for travellers. At Sha'ar Hagay (Bab al-Wad, see Gazetteer), the valley suddenly narrows and the road runs along the bottom of a deep and winding gorge up to Saris and the western approach to Abu Ghosh, where it joins the Roman road described above. This is a wadi road with all the disadvantages of its kind: its route is constantly weathered by nature and in times of insecurity the traveller is at the mercy of those who control the hills on both sides of the road. Nevertheless it became the main route from Ramle to Jerusalem in the reign of 'Abd al-Malik (AD 685-705), as recorded by milestones, cited in Part I. The old Roman road past Mazad was abandoned in the eighth century¹⁴² and the road through Bab al-Wad became the main link with Jerusalem till the 13th century and, again, from the late 15th century till the present day. Given the existence of a Byzantine site at Bab al-Wad (Sha'ar Hagay), it is possible that the road was already in use in Byzantine times.

¹⁴¹ Bagatti, *Qubeibeh*, 231f. Bagatti assumes that Qubeiba is the Emmaus of Luke 24, 13, and that this road is the one the disciples followed to Emmaus as described in the Gospel of Luke.

¹⁴² See Gazetteer, s.v. and below, Part V.

APPENDIX I

Ma'aleh Jifna
A Road from the Hellenistic and Hasmonaean
Periods

by Yuval Shahar and Yigal Tepper

In order to clarify the questions relating to the Roman control of Jerusalem, the coastal cities and the roads between them, it is very important to establish a careful chronology which distinguishes between the pre-Roman roads and the Roman Imperial roads. In order to do this we examined several of the ascents to Jerusalem: Ma'aleh Beit Atab, Ma'aleh Beit Thul, Ma'aleh Nahal Burej and Ma'aleh Jifna - the Jifna Ascent - the subject of this study.¹ These ascents, together with Ma'aleh Emmaus, the Elah Valley Ascent, and the Beit Horon Ascent, comprised the communication network between Jerusalem and the areas to the South and West from an early period. Ma'aleh Jifna was not made as an imperial road in the Roman period. However, because of its excellent state of preservation, it is still possible to trace its path through the Shephelah, both in the section ascending to the hill ridge and along the ridge itself. If we then add to this the remains of the sites along the road, we can reconstruct the route followed by the road with a considerable degree of certainty.

Description of Ma'aleh Jifna²

Each of the ascents to Jerusalem can be divided into three separate sections:

1. The section of the route which crosses the Shephelah.
2. The ascent over the western slopes of the hills.

¹ Y. Tepper and Y. Shahar (eds.), *Ancient Ascents to Jerusalem* (Tel Aviv 1988, Heb.), sketch map of the road on p.19, fig.3.

² Taking part in the fieldwork were: Ophra Vidan, Rami Hen, Ada Caspi, Yoel Samikon, Moshe Lophen, Yuval Lophen, Yotam Tepper, Yiphtah Shahar and the authors. Most of the work was financed by our kibbutzim, Yagur and Na'an. Ariele Amit (Tepper) was the first to discover the ascent we describe; Ariel Gilboa drew the plans. A further survey of the ruins of Horvat Jifna was carried out together with B. Isaac and M. Fischer: the latter was responsible for the analysis of the pottery detailed below. Jacob Jannai identified the coins. We thank them all.

3. The section which crosses the ridge of the Jerusalem range of hills, crossing one of the ravines which surround the city.

This division holds both for roads in antiquity and at the present day. The sections of ancient roads which are generally better preserved are the ascents from the Shephelah to the hill ridge. Most of them are accompanied by some sort of road-station, usually related to the security of the road. On the other hand the sections in the Shephelah or on the hill ridges are for the most part less well preserved. The case of Ma'aleh Jifna is exceptional in that it is possible here to trace the whole route from the Shephelah up to the approaches to Jerusalem, on the basis of the better preserved sections of the road.

1. *The Shephelah Section of the Road*

The part of the road which runs along Wadi Salman has been mostly washed away, while the continuation westwards next to Beit Sirah has also been destroyed, probably by recent farming which no longer relates to the original line of the road. However, the portion of the road which runs westward from Horvat Lot (Kh. Kafr Rut) is much better preserved, especially the continuation west of al Burj. The road runs somewhat to the south of Horvat Lot (fig. 44), a few dozen metres from the Beth Horon Roman road, but does not cross it. Thus it is possible to command both roads from Horvat Lot, a point which must be taken into consideration in judging the importance of this site (see Gazetteer, s.v.). At G.R. 1520.1458 the road can be distinguished among the agricultural remains around al Burj, and continues as far as G.R. 1520.1459, as marked on the 1:100,000 maps of the British Mandate. The road continues westward, and joins the road that runs past Barfiliya and thence to Lod (Lydda). This portion of the road is surfaced, and at times even paved. The width varies between 3 and 5 metres, and there is a retaining wall on either side built of large stones. These stones are either standing in place, as in the section of the road described below, or lying on their sides. At G.R. 1506.1457 the route crosses a road running north-south, which appears to have been used by the British.

³ It would be interesting to study the relative chronology of the road in its present state of preservation in relation to the later pattern of land division along its route. It would seem that the pattern of land division and the modern roads in this area diverge from the ancient road, leaving extant only those portions of it where it happened to coincide with later patterns of land division.

army during the First World War.⁴

2. The Ascent (fig. 18)

It is possible to distinguish the section of the road which climbs from the Shephelah up to the top of the hill ridge from Wadi Salman, G.R. 1600.1416. From this point the road snakes its way up the ascent as far as Kh. Jifna (G.R. 1603.1414), and continues to climb along the ridge of the range to Beit Duqqu (G.R. 1622.1417). In this section it is quite clear how traditional farming, which was practised intensively in this area in antiquity, was organized in relation to the route of the ancient road. Both sides of the road have been built-up with large stones, either standing up or lying down. There is no standard width for the road: in the steeper sections such as the ascent from Wadi Salman to Kh. Jifna, the width varies from three to four metres, while the more graduated sections, such as that between Jifna and Beit Duqqu, are sometimes as much as seven metres wide. In some places it is clear that the road has been made by cutting and smoothing the rock, and there may well have been paving stones in some places. Jifna, which we describe below, is situated at the mid-point of the ascent, between the steeper and the more gradual sections.

3. The ridge section of the road.

The section of the road which runs west from Beit Duqqu is today a modern tarmac road as far as the crossroads north of Biddu (G.R. 1648.1387). The suggested route runs along the ridge from Jifna at the top of the steep ascent, past the sites of Kh. Badd Abu Mu'amar and Kh. ed-Ziab (see Gazetteer, s.v.⁵), to the crossroads between Biddu and Jib. From there our proposed route runs towards Jerusalem through a systematically farmed valley to the north-east of Biddu as far as G.R. 1658.1377, where it crosses the road between Biddu and Nabi Samwil and continues south-eastward to Kh. Abu Leimun, G.R. 1662.1371 (see Gazetteer, s.v.) and an unnamed site at 1667.1368 (see Gazetteer). The road continues from Abu Leimun to Beith Iksa, going down to Nahal Shemu'el, a branch of the Soreq valley, and then up again towards Jerusalem, as far as the modern road which bypasses the suburb of Ramot from the west. This section of the road is built well, with an internal width of about three metres.

Even though this road is exceptionally well-

made, it has not been noticed till now, and most of the extant sections are not marked on any maps. Our general impression is that the massive Roman road building programme which resulted in the Beth Horon and Emmaus roads made the road via Ma'aleh Jifna obsolete as a major local or national highway, which is most surprising given that this route is the quickest and easiest way to Jerusalem. It would seem that the Beit Horon Ascent must either have been better suited to Roman forms of transport or easier for Romans to control, and there was no need for two major highways so close to each other.

The Ma'aleh Jifna road connects Jerusalem and Lydda. However, these towns were important centres for so long that this fact cannot help us in deciding the date of the road. The only possibility of establishing a date lies in the investigation of the site at the top of the ancient ascent - Kh. Jifna.

Kh. Jifna: Description of the Site⁶

The site can be divided into two parts - west and east.

The Western Part

This section of the site is almost square, measuring about 30 x 26.4 metres. In the north-east corner the area of the square has been extended by a building which appears to be a tower. On the east the building is supported by a rocky ridge and a vertical wall has been cut in the rock-face. Here is the entrance to the centre of this part of the site. In the expanse of rock within the western part are various rock-cut installations including caves. In the right-angle between the west and south walls, and all along the length, are the foundations of rooms built inside the wall. Here too are two wells, one of which appears to have been the main well of the site. Both the outside walls and the internal rooms are very well built, with both large and medium-sized stones worked on the outside face.

The Eastern Part

The eastern part of the site is rectangular in shape, with its longer side attached to the western part described above. The points at which they join are

⁴ Y. Tepper, 'Allenby's battles for control of the Western ascents to Jerusalem', in Tepper and Shahar, op.cit., 123-130.

⁵ Note the presence of Hellenistic and Early Roman pottery at Kh. Badd Abu Mu'amar and Beit Duqqu, relevant for the discussion of the date of this road.

⁶ Tepper and Shahar, op.cit. (above, n.1), p.17, fig. plan of the site; pp.59-61, Pl. 1-5: photographs. The site is listed in *AS Benjamin*, No. 141, p. 28*; 141 (Heb.); '5 dunams. Ruin; terraces; traces of building; oil-press; cisterns; burial cave; fences. P(?) - few sherds; Hell-13%; Rom-few sherds; Byz-82%; Ott-2%; no sherds.' This corresponds with our findings at the site.

Appendix I

poorly matched and aligned. The centre of the eastern part is filled with rubble and debris, and it is difficult to reconstruct the original plan. However, it is clear that here too there were rooms built along the inside of the walls. In the south-east corner there is an oil-press, and in the eastern wing are the remains of a large structure.

In the northern corner of the ruins are several burial caves cut out of the rock, while to the west is a large rock-hewn cistern. Outside the walls are the remains of further buildings including a columbarium. North of Jifna a path leads down to Wadi Salman, while to the west is another path descending to the spring of 'Ein Jifna (G.R. 1610.1413), which presumably served as the water source for the ancient settlement. Next to the spring are various water-installations and a vat. The road we have described passes close by the south of the site.

The vat to the west of the site is of the same type as are found in many Byzantine sites in southern Samaria.⁷ The oil-press at the corner of the site is of a type that is common from the Roman to the Byzantine period, but would appear to be more likely to be Byzantine. The burial caves appear to be similar to caves found in the Byzantine era, and most of the pottery we found there was Byzantine. Most of the pottery found on the site and in the surrounding area was Byzantine, including fragments of tiles from around the large building in the eastern part of the site. No pottery from the early Roman period was found on the site or nearby. However, a small quantity of pottery from the Hellenistic period was found round the edges of the site, with a greater concentration inside one of the caves in the western part of the site.⁸

The chronology of the site at Jifna can be even more strongly established from the numismatic evidence. Coins were found from the Hasmonaean period, from John Hyrcanus I up to Alexander Jannaeus, together with other hellenistic coins from the same period. All the rest of the coin finds came from the end of the third century AD, the fourth century and the Islamic period.

The ceramic and numismatic finds at Jifna, taken together with the clear evidence of two different stages of building, suggest that this is a Hasmonaean

site with later Byzantine additions. In the Hasmonaean period there was a small fort on the site, intended to guard the top of the ascent.⁹ The existence of a *columbarium* in this context would support this suggestion, and it should be noted that similar examples have been found on other Hellenistic sites.¹⁰ During the Byzantine period there was a village on the site with its economy based on vines and olives.

To sum up, the total picture as described above leads us to the conclusion that we have here a Hasmonaean-Hellenistic road, which carried traffic between the Northern Shephelah and Jerusalem.¹¹

⁹ The fort at Jifna is similar to that at Kh. Mazad on the Emmaus - Abu Ghosh road (see Gazetteer), and at Beit 'Atab at the top of Ma'aleh 'Atab, see Tepper and Shahar, *op.cit.*, 24-35. There also seems to have been a fort at Upper Beth Horon, which commanded the top of the ascent.

¹⁰ Rock-cut *columbaria* have been found at sites with military connections, such as Kh. Firdusi near Qarawat bene Hassan in Western Samaria, in Hasmonaean-Herodian Jericho, at Masada, next to Beit 'Atab, as well as at Kh. Jifna. These contexts are all from the Hellenistic to Early Roman periods. See Y. Tepper, 'The Rise and Decline of Pigeon Breeding in the Land of Israel', in A. Oppenheimer *et al.* (ed.), *Man and Land in Eretz-Israel in Antiquity* (1986, Heb.), 170-196.

¹¹ For the historical background to Ma'aleh Jifna, and especially the battle of Adasa, see Part I and the Gazetteer, s.v. Adasa.

⁷ Several vats of the same sort as that at Jifna were investigated at various Byzantine sites in Samaria, including Kh. Deir Sama'an, Kh. Deir Dikla, etc. These were all sites with remains from one period only, mostly monasteries.

⁸ *AS Benjamin*, cited above, records roughly similar finds.

The Road along Wadi al-Burej (fig. 18)

by Yuval Shahar and Yigal Tepper

The road along Wadi al-Burej branches off the Biddu-Qubeiba route at GR 1616.1391. This is the point where the drainage basin of the wadi begins to slope westwards. At this point the ancient road, which is somewhat wider, can be seen under the modern road. The internal width is 10m, and the external width including the kerbs, is 12.20m. However, it should be stressed that the kerbs are built as part of walls demarcating the boundaries of modern fields, and not like the lines of kerbstones found along Roman roads. This is the case along the whole length of the road, wherever it runs through farmed fields.

From this point and right up to Khirbet al Maskah, the ancient road is covered with a macadam surfacing, presumably laid by the British authorities around the time of the First World War. About 600m further on, the road narrows to an internal width of 6.50m, as it descends closer to the wadi bed. All along this section of the road on the left hand side can be seen the tops of kerbs from an even earlier road, including a kerb wall on the southern side of the road where it slopes downwards. This kerb is built of large stones which are set in two lines along the road. After a further 700m the road is fully visible for some hundreds of metres, built up on both sides and with its original surfacing. The field pattern on either side of the road fits very well with the clearly visible line of the route. About 1,600m. from the beginning of the section described, there are two ruined structures on either side of the road.

Kh al Maskah¹ (GR 1601.1399) To the north of the road, the remains of an almost square building 18.50 x 17.20m are visible, preserved to a height of about 6.50m. The walls are 1.50m thick and built as a double wall of large stones, including some with bossed ashlar. The building was divided lengthwise into two equal parts, each with an opening onto the road and holes for bolts on the inside. On the dividing wall was a flight of steps going up to the roof. The roof was held up by two arches belonging to the two long internal units of the building. This kind of building and the method of working the ashlar are typical of the Crusader period, and are found in other sites in this

area.²

About 9m from the other side of the road is another structure, a covered cistern for catching and storing the run-off water from the road itself and from the roof of the building on its other side, as well as from the surrounding area. The external measurements are 18 x 9m and the height above the road surface is about one metre. We were unable to ascertain the depth. At this point the road surface ceases.

Beyond Kh al Maskah the road continues along the wadi bed to Kh al-Burej. Where it runs along the lowest part of the wadi there is a wall built along the line of the wadi bed which serves as a built-up support for the road on its lower side. This method of building is continued from here on. Further on the road crosses the wadi bed twice, but we found no signs of a bridge in either place. The width of the road here varies between five and six metres.

Kh al-Burej (GR 1584.1409)³. Here too, there are building remains on both sides of the road. As at Kh al Maskah, there is a dwelling and a covered cistern. However, at this site the cistern is on the higher north side of the road, and the water collected is the run-off from the hill slopes above, which is brought to the cistern by aqueducts. On the other side of the road are two houses built together with smaller units inside bounded by a wall. These two houses are similar in size and construction to the single house at Kh al Maskah and they too preserve remains of staircases typical of the Crusader buildings in this area. Kh al-Burej is situated in an area of laid out fields and in this respect also resembles Kh al Maskah. There are no laid-out farmed fields in the area lying between these two sites, so that it would appear that the fields too are connected with the Crusader settlement. If so, then we have here examples of Crusader settlements in hills and agricultural areas from the time of the first Crusader kingdom⁴.

The road continues from Kh al-Burej along the wadi bed for a further 700m, to the point where the wadi becomes a canyon. Because of this, the builders of the road were forced to choose a line of route at some distance from the wadi bed. The road therefore runs along a jutting out hill for about another 1,700m. There are no farmed fields along this stretch of road, and the line of the route shows up clearly in the stone

² See for example H Vincent 'Les monuments de Qubeibeh' *RB* 40 (1931), pp. 57-91; also below

³ See Bagatti, (*op cit* n.1), 208; Ellenblum, (*op cit* n.1), 209-211; see also the Gazetteer, s.v.

⁴ R Ellenblum 'Construction Methods in Frankish Rural Settlements' in B.Z. Kedar (ed.), *The Horn of Hattin* (1992), 168-189.

¹ B Bagatti *I Monumenti di Emmaus el-Qubeibeh* (1947), 207; R Ellenblum 'The Crusader road between Lydda and Jerusalem' in I Bet-Arieh *et al* (eds.) *Historical-Geographical Studies in the Settlement of Eretz-Israel* (1988), 203-218, esp 212-213 (Heb); see also the Gazetteer, s.v.

landscape.

Starting from GR 1566.1403 there is a stretch of road cut out of the rock. The rock-cut length is about 800m long from this point down to the bottom of the wadi channel. We measured and recorded a length of about 50m of this stretch of road, which is illustrated by four crosswise sections. The rock-cut stretch of road descends relatively gently in comparison with the parallel stretch of the channel of Wadi al-Burej, in spite of the steepness of the southern slopes of the hill where the road is cut. In order to obtain a satisfactory width for the road, the following techniques were used. On the higher side of the road the bed-rock was cut to a depth of about 90cm. The rock-face next to the vertical cutting was smoothed out and prepared for laying kerb stones. The lower side of the road, which was also cut out of the bed-rock, was smoothed out and prepared for laying the stones of the supporting wall which held the filling of impacted soil. On this side the height of the supporting wall was 2m, and over it was built a line of kerb stones about another metre in height⁵. Between the two rows of kerbstones the road was smoothed out and cut flat on the higher side and then filled with compressed soil. Paving stones were laid over this on the lower side of the road. Sometimes the paving stones were relatively large, and then the bed rock was hollowed out into cassettes to keep them in place so that they would not shift during use. As well as cutting the rock for the width of the road, steps were also cut vertically in the rock where the drop made travelling problematic. The width of the rock-cut road varied between 5.0 and 6.5m with a further 80cm-1m width of kerb at each side. The steps in the steep stone hillside have produced a definite line of road cut into the landscape, and clearly indicate a planned project consistently executed in difficult topographical conditions. The sections measured across the width of the road show the method of rock-cutting and evening out the road as follows (fig. 19.6):

Section A-A is two metres from the beginning of the rock-cut stretch of road. It is 6.2m wide. On the higher north side of the road, the edges are cut vertically into the step of the rock to a height of 80cm, and flattened out to a width of 1.10m, in order to form a base for the kerbstones at the side of the road. The base of the road itself is a further 80cm deep, forming a hollow which was filled with compacted soil, where the remains of some paving stones are still visible. On the lower side of the road the bedrock has been flattened to form a base for the supporting wall which carried the kerbstones.

Section B-B is 8.5m from the start of the rock-cut stretch of road. It is 5m wide. The difference in the width of the road is due to the fact that here there was no need for kerbstones. The inner side of the road was cut here to a depth of 90cm, making use of a natural fault 2m wide. At the base of the fault two cassettes were made in the form of steps with raised edges, in order to hold quite large paving stones and prevent them from moving. On the southern side of the road the bedrock has clearly been flattened out to a breadth of 1.10m to carry the supporting wall and the southern kerb of the road.

Section C-C is about 10m west of the beginning of the rock-cut stretch of road. The road is 6m wide at this point, and here too the stepped cassettes have been preserved. The height of the supporting wall on the lower, southern side of the road is two metres, and here too they carried the kerbstones.

Section D-D is 34m west of the beginning of the rock-cut stretch of the road. The width of the road here is 6.4m. Here a flight of steps sloping down towards the west has been cut in the rock. To the west of the steps an area of paving has been preserved with the stones still *in situ* in their cassettes.

The only chronological data that we have for the rock-cut stretch of road described here are a small number of potsherds collected from the surface north of the eastern end of the stretch, not associated with any building remains. The pottery can be placed in the Late Roman and Byzantine periods.

⁵ The kerbstones have not actually been preserved here, but their presence can be presumed because they would have been functionally necessary to prevent the road from slipping down the hillside.

III

GAZETTEER

In this Gazetteer the sites are listed in alphabetical order. Numbered sites are listed on the tables and maps in Part V.

Kh. Ein 'Abdallah

1652.1422

AS Benjamin, Site No. 55, p. 19*; '3 dunams. Scatter of sherds; low terraces. Rom(?)—few sherds; Byz.; 40 sherds.' (cf. p. 65, Heb.). We have not seen this site.

1. Kh. Abu Fureij

1519.1464

This is a large field of ruins south-south-west of Khirbet al-Burj (G.R. 1520.1455). Apparently the two sites were connected. It is mentioned briefly in *SWP* iii, 104. In the files of the *D.A.M.* (1929) reference is made to rock-cut cisterns and scattered dressed stones.

We visited the site on 13-6-1984 and noticed numerous rock-cut cisterns, rock-cut agricultural installations and many white tesserae scattered all over the site. We concluded that this is an Arab village overlying Byzantine remains.

The pottery found on the surface dates to the following periods:

Iron Age; Herodian; Byzantine and Early Islamic.

The main period of occupation appears to have been the Byzantine period, while there may be evidence of earlier settlement on a small scale in the Iron Age and Herodian period with some continued occupation in the Early Islamic period.

2. Abu Ghosh (Qaryat al-'Inab, Qiriath Anavim, Kiriath-jearim)

1603.1350

Fig. 16; Pl. 6, 18, 30.

*Literary Sources*¹

Kiriath-jearim is mentioned often in the Bible: Josh. 9, 17; Judges 18, 12; 1 Sam. 6, 21, etc.² It is

¹ For this site above all, R. de Vaux and A.-M. Steve, *Fouilles à Qaryet el-'Enab Abū Gôsh* (1950).

² See further Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, ii, 419-421; Z. Kallai, *Historical Geography of the Bible* (1986), 134 f.; J. Blenkinsopp, *Gibeon and Israel*

mentioned as having been previously named Kiriath-baal (Josh. 15, 60). 'Baalath' was one of the forts built by Solomon, together with Beit Horon, Gezer and Tamar (1 Kings 9, 17-18).

The identification of Kiriath-jearim with a site at or near modern Abu Ghosh is based on Eusebius, *On*. 114, 23-7 (Klostermann), where Kariathiareim is described as a village 9 miles from Aelia on the road to Lydda.³ Petrus Diaconus, following Egeria, writes: 'Nine miles from Jerusalem there is a church at Kiriath Jearim, the place where the Ark of the Lord used to be.'⁴ Corroboration is provided by Eutychius of Alexandria, who reports that Kiriath-jearim is Qariyat el-'Inab.⁵ According to the Georgian Ritual of the 8th century a Festival of the Holy Ark was celebrated there on 2 July.⁶

Theodosius, cited in full above (Part I), observes in the sixth century: 'From Jerusalem to Silo, where the Ark of the Covenant of our Lord used to be, is nine miles. From Silo to Emmaus, now called Nicopolis, is nine miles.'⁷ The mistaken identification with Shiloh is due to confusion about the information that the Ark used to be there. However, the distance

(1972), 9-11; *TIR*, s.v. Cariathiarim, 100.

³ Καριαθιαρεῖμ ἢ καὶ Καριαθβάαλ ἢ καὶ πόλις Ταρεῖμ, μία τῶν Γαβαωνιτῶν, φυλῆς Τοῦδα, μετὰ ξὺ Αἰλίας καὶ Διοσπόλεως ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ κειμένη ἀπὸ σημείων θ'. See, however, 48, 22-4 which places it at ten miles from Aelia. See also 128, 1-2. Procopius of Gaza, *PG* 87, 1023 f. cites Eusebius, *On*. 128, 1; Rorgo Fretellus (12th century), *Description de la Terre Sainte* (ed. P.C. Boeren, 1980), 40, C.71, cites Jerome, *On*. 115, 23-5. The identification is due to E. Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, ii, 11 f. For discussion see Pastor Lauff, *ZDPV* 38(1915), 249-302; F.T. Cooke, *AASOR* 5(1923-4), 105-120.

⁴ Petrus Diaconus, L2 (*CSEL* xxix 110, ed. Geyer): 'Miliario vero nono ab Hierusalem in loco, qui dicitur Cariathiarim, ubi fuit archa domini ecclesia illuc constructa est.'

⁵ Eutychius, *Ann.* 147 (Latin trans. *PG* cxi 940).

⁶ *Le Grand lectionnaire de l'église de Jérusalem*, ed. M. Tarchnischili, *CSCO* vol. ccv, 14, 19, no. 1069

⁷ Theodosius, *de Terra Sancta* xxiv (*Itinera Hierosolymitana* ed. T. Tobler and A. Molinier [1879, repr. 1966], 71) 'A Ierusalem usque in Sidona [MSS Beth Semes ed.], ubi fuit arca testamenti, millia viiii. De Beth Semes usque Emmaum, que nunc Nicopolis dicitur, milia viiii, ...'

from Jerusalem on the road to Lydda is correct.

Qaryat al-'Inab is described in the Persian itinerary of the Muslim pilgrim Nassiri Khosrau, who visited it on his way from Ramle to Jerusalem in 1047. '...we came to a village called Qariat al-'Enab. All along the way I noticed great quantities of rue growing wild. We saw a spring with very good fresh water flowing out from under a stone; it was made with troughs all around and had several outbuildings.'⁸

One of the gates of Ramla listed in the itinerary was Darb Bila'ah. Le Strange would like to recognize in this name the Biblical Baalah, to be identified with Kiriath-jearim and with Qaryat al-'Inab.⁹

The Crusaders named the place 'Fontenoid' and identified it with Emmaus in Luke (24:13).¹⁰ The first pilgrims to refer to Abu Ghosh as Emmaus were Theoderic (AD 1172)¹¹ and John Phocas (AD 1177).¹²

⁸ Nassiri Khosrau, *Sefer Nameh*, p.19; French trans. by Ch. Schefer, 1881, 65; English trans W.M. Thackston (1986), 20. On his way from Ramla to Qaryat al-'Inab the author passed 'Khatoum', which Schefer identifies with Latrun, *ibid.*, n.1. See also above, Part I for this and the following source.

⁹ G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 1890, 305 f.

¹⁰ 'Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr', *RHC Occ.* iv 504. For the site in the crusader period see also: C. Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés* (1928), 315-26; M. Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land* (1970), 347-51. The older tradition which identified the Emmaus of the Gospel of Luke with Emmaus-Nicopolis (Imwas) persisted for some time, for instance in the account of the Russian pilgrim Daniel (1106-7), *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, trans. B. de Khitrowo, i 1 (Genève 1889), 25; J. Raba, *Russian Travel Accounts on Palestine* (1986, Heb.), 55. See the Gazetteer entry on Emmaus (Imwas).

¹¹ Theodericus, *de locis sanctis*, iii 38: 'Near these mountains is the castle of Emmaus, which the moderns called Fontenoid, where the Lord appeared to two of his disciples on the very day of his resurrection'.

¹² John Phocas, *de locis sanctis* 29 (*PG* cxxxiii, 960). In his account Nabi Samwil ('Armatherm') is six miles from Jerusalem and Emmaus seven or more from Nabi Samwil. This place lies about 24 m. from Ramle (Ramplea). These distances make sense only if we assume that he travelled from Jerusalem to Nabi Samwil and thence to Abu Ghosh through Biddu. Benvenisti, *CHL*, 348, cannot be right in assuming that

A concomitant development was that Maccabean Modi'in was shifted to nearby Belmont Castle (Zovah).¹³ The Crusader castle of Belmont has been built over by an abandoned Arab village. It lies on a hill top 1.5 km. south of the Abu Ghosh-Jerusalem road, 0.5 km. east of Qibbutz Zovah.¹⁴ It may be noted that Abu Ghosh lost its claim of being Emmaus when pilgrims travelled exclusively through al Qubeiba in the Mameluke period, but in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Zovah still (or again) was identified with Modi'in.¹⁵

Emmaus (Abu Ghosh) is mentioned in connection with the campaign of 1098-9.¹⁶ It served as a halting place offering the first good water supply after Ramle. The local Saracens offered not only water but also stabling for horses.¹⁷ It was known for its

this still refers to Emmaus, and there is no support for his statement that there were separate Catholic and Greek traditions in this period.

¹³ Theodericus, *ibid.*: 'Near this place are the hills of Modin, upon which Mathathias sat with his sons when Antiochus took the city and the children of Israel by storm. These hills are called Belmont by the people today'.

¹⁴ For a recent historical outline and preliminary reports on the excavations carried out on the site: R.P. Harper and D. Pringle, 'Belmont Castle: A Historical Notice and Preliminary Report of Excavations in 1986', *Levant* 20 (1988), 101-118; *id.*, 'Belmont Castle 1987: Second Preliminary Report of Excavations', *Levant* 21 (1984), 47-61 with an appendix: A. Millard, 'Note on two Seal Impressions on Pottery', 60 f.

¹⁵ Jacob Wormbser (1561), 'Eigentliche Beschreibung der Ausreysung und Heimfahrt...', in *Reissbuch des heiligen Landes* (1584), 218; George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun Anno Dom. 1610* (London 1615), 201; J. Doubdan, *Le voyage de la Terre-Sainte* (Paris 1657), 61. Cf. Part I. The equation was still tentatively accepted by Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, ii, 6 f.

¹⁶ Albert d'Aix, *RHC Occ.* iv, 461, marching from Lydda 'ipso die venerunt ad castellum quod Emaus dicitur, quod juxta se habet Modim, civitatem Machabaeorum.' Similarly: Iacobus de Vitrac, *Historia Hierosolymitana apud Gesta Dei per Francos* (Hannover 1611), 1081; William of Tyre, vii 24.

¹⁷ Albertus Aquensis (AD 1099), v 43, *RHC Occ.* iv 461: 'Unde ad castellum Emmaus trans tria miliaria. cisternis et irriguis fontibus compertis ex relatione

copious spring. In 1146 Baldwin IV and his mother Melisende confirmed that 'Robert du Casal de S. Gilles ...avoit donné à l'ordre (de l'Hôpital) la terre d'Emmaüs'.¹⁸ Hence the construction of a church on the spot (see below). It is mentioned again in connection with a raid of Richard the Lionheart in 1191/2.¹⁹ As the regular route for pilgrims to Jerusalem was transferred to the parallel road through Beit Nuba and Qubeiba, the latter place came to be identified with Emmaus in the thirteenth century.²⁰ The last sources to mention Abu Ghosh as Emmaus date to this period.²¹ A source of 1280 first identifies Qubeiba with the Emmaus of Luke.²²

When pilgrims once again began to use the road past Abu Ghosh, in the late fifteenth century, the site of Abu Ghosh became identified with the birth-

conviatoriis et ductoris sui Sarraceni, plurima manus armigerorum transmissa est, qui non solum copiam aquarum, verum etiam pabula equorum attulere plurima.

¹⁸ J. Delaville le Roulx, *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 3(1895), 50, no.41. Note also 51 f., no. 49: sale of land in the territory of Emmaus, AD 1152. In 1168 Gilbertus, master of the Hospitallers, sold lands to the Duke of Hungary, Dalmatia and Croatia, in 'castellum Emaus, Aquam Bellam [Ein Hamad, Ikbala], Belveer [Qastal] and Saltum Muratum [Qaluniah]', all of them sites along the road to Jerusalem; see Röhrich, *Regesta*, no. 458, 120.

¹⁹ *Itinerarium ...Regis Ricardi* v 49: 'rex summo mane ad montana profectus est, Turcos queritans usque ad fontem Emmaus, et in aurora ipsos comprehendit improvidos'. This has been taken as a reference to Moza (q.v.), which is possible, but seems less likely.

²⁰ Burchardus de Monte Sion (1283), ap. J.C.M. Laurent (ed.), *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quattuor* (Leipzig 1864), 84. For Beit Nuba and Qubeiba see the relevant entries; for the road, Part II.

²¹ 'A iii liues de Iherusalem, devers soleil coucant, a une fontaine c'on apele le Fontaine d'Emmaüs': Ernoul, *L'estat de la cité de Iherusalem* (1228), xx, cited by S. de Sandoli, *Itinera Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum*, iii (1983), 410. This must be Abu Ghosh, for there is no spring at Qubeiba. Anonymous, *La Sainte Cité de Iherusalem*... (1229-1261) vii, 20, *RHC Occ.* ii: 'A iij liues de Iherusalem par devers soleil couchant, avoit une fontaine que l'en apeloit la Fontaine des Emauz. Le chastel des Emauz est de l'éz'.

²² H. Michelant and G. Raynaud (eds.), *Itinéraires à Jérusalem et Descriptions de la Terre Sainte* (1882), 229: 'Pelrinages et pardouns de Acre'.

place of the prophet Jeremiah, Anatoth, under the influence of the name of the local spring, Ein et-Tut, the Mulberry Spring. The old Crusader church came to be known as the church of St. Jeremiah.²³ The church and the Franciscan monastery there are said to have been abandoned following an attack by bandits in 1489,²⁴ but it has correctly been observed that this is mere legend:²⁵ the church must have been abandoned from the thirteenth century. Sixteenth century travellers mention both the presence of bandits,²⁶ the spring, an olive grove and the ruins of the church.²⁷ Later the village became the home-base of the powerful Abu Ghosh family.²⁸ Travellers were usually allowed to pass unharmed in exchange for a sum of money.²⁹ Ibrahim Pasha subdued the Abu Ghosh family, al-

²³ Fr. Suriano (1524), *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. Th. Bellorini and E. Hoade (1949), 37; D. Possot (1532), *Le voyage de la Terre Sainte* (ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1890), 161 [leaving Latrun and Deir Ayub] 'De là vinsmes à une aultre fontaine incisée en une roche, et puis par merveilleux rochers, montaignes et pais jusques au lieu de saint Jheremie apellé Anathet, où y a une belle fontaine, où nous et noz asnes fusmes rafraichiz, distant de Rame xx milles et de Hierusalem de x milles. Au dessus à main dextre, est le chasteau de Soubas'. Also: 187; L. Rauwolff, *Aigentliche Beschreibung* (Laugingen 1583), 315, and many other authors.

²⁴ Quaresmius, *Historia Theologica et Moralis Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio*, ed. A.P. Cypriano de Tarvisio (Venice 1880), ii, 14, citing Bonifacius a Ragusio, *liber de perenni cultu Terrae Sanctae* (Venice 1573), which is inaccessible to us.

²⁵ de Vaux and Steve, *op.cit.*, 118.

²⁶ Albrecht Graff zu Löwenstein, *Pilgerfahrt gen Jerusalem* (Altkayr 1562), also published in *Reissbuch des heiligen Landes* (1584), 192 f.

²⁷ J. Helffrich (1565-6), *Kurzer und Wahrhaftiger Bericht von der Reiss aus Venedig nach Hierusalem* (Leipzig 1581), E iii. Also: Quaresmius, *loc.cit.* E. Roger, *La Terre Sainte* (Paris 1646), 152 f.: 'une Eglise bien bastie, avec la voute soustenue de deux rangs de piliers, de laquelle se remarquent quelques peintures confuses. Proche de l'Eglise sont les ruines d'un Convent de nostre Ordre'.

²⁸ Robinson, iii 157 and see now M. Ma'oz, *Ottoman Reform in Syria and Palestine 1840-1861* (1968), 118 f. on the Abu Ghosh family.

²⁹ E.g. the Jewish traveller R. Haim Joseph David Azulay (1764), ap. E. Ya'ari, *Masa'ot Eretz-Yisrael* (1976, Heb.), 377.

though he retained its chief in the official position of governor of the district and warden of the Jerusalem road.³⁰

Description of the Site and Archaeological Remains

Abu Ghosh owes its importance through the ages to several interconnected factors. It lies east of the spot where the old Roman road from Emmaus/Nicopolis joins the road from Sha'ar Hagay (Bab el-Wad), in use after the Byzantine period. Abu Ghosh was therefore an important halting-place at all times. As described in Part II, the Roman road follows a narrow spur eastwards till it reaches Abu Ghosh, while the road from Sha'ar Hagay (Bab el-Wad) runs through a deep ravine. Very near the spot where both roads converge the valley opens up, allowing cultivation of the slopes on both sides of the road. The existence of a settlement is made possible by the copious spring mentioned by all the travellers, while the presence of both turned the site into a natural halting place, being situated as it was, half-way between Emmaus/Nicopolis and Jerusalem. As a result the site drew the attention of scholars from the beginning of the exploration of the antiquities of Palestine. This interest was reinforced by Robinson's identification of Deir el-Azhar with biblical Kiriath-jearim.³¹

The ancient remains are spread over three locations which should be differentiated, although they clearly comprise interdependent sites:³²

- (I) The settlement in the valley on both sides of the road, still called Abu Ghosh (1603.1350).
- (II) Deir el-Azhar (Site no. 44), a site on a hill-top west of the former (1596.1345).
- (III) Deir esh-Sheikh (site no.45), on another hill-top north of the village (1603.1355).

(I) Abu Ghosh

The most notable building in the village is the church, 'more perfectly preserved than any other ancient church in Palestine', according to Robinson.³³

³⁰ Note also the paper on early 20th century Christian institutions at Abu Ghosh: H. Goren, *Cathedra* 62 (1991), 80-106 (Heb.).

³¹ Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, ii, 11 f.

³² Aerial photographs of the village and vicinity: Kedar, *AP*, 116 f.

³³ Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, iii, 157.

Guérin, *Judée*, i, 62-71 provides a description of the crusader church of St. Jeremiah in the village.³⁴ The *SWP* iii, 132-4 gives a plan and drawing of the church (before restoration). Clermont-Ganneau pointed out that the masons' marks are similar to those of the Crusader buildings in Jerusalem (Muristan) and Belvoir. These are included in the detailed study which Clermont-Ganneau devoted to masons' marks in Crusader buildings.³⁵ Around the turn of the century several inscriptions were published (see below). In the twenties flint implements and stone vessels of the Neolithic period were first noticed in and around the village.³⁶ In 1941 and, more extensively, in 1944 R. de Vaux and A.M. Steve conducted excavations in the area of the Crusader church. The results were reported in a monograph which contains a full discussion of the site, the relevant literary and epigraphical sources, and the archaeological remains.³⁷ This serves as the basis for the following brief description. During our own visits to the site we re-studied all the Roman milestones and inscriptions which had been published before.

The excavations revealed four main periods of construction and occupation: (A) Roman (c II - III), (B) Early Islamic (Abassid, c IX), (C) Crusader (D), Mameluke.

(A) The Roman Period

The most important feature of this period is the water reservoir which was reused as a crypt in the Crusader church.³⁸ It measures c.20.7 x 16.25 m. The western side, where the spring issues forth, consists of the natural rock cut away. The walls on the north, east and south have been reused as foundations for the Crusader crypt. The north wall is partially preserved and contains an entrance near which an inscribed stone (below, no. 1) is visible on the outside. Two flights of steps, reused by the Crusaders, descend to the spring. The presence of the inscription has led the excavators to date the installation between the first and third

³⁴ As well as further discussion of the identification.

³⁵ Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, i, 4-38, esp. 23; also: R. Ellenblum in B.Z. Kedar (ed.), *The Horns of Hattin* (1992), 175.

³⁶ For the prehistoric remains (seventh millennium BC) see most recently M. Lechevallier, *Abou Gosh et Beisamoun* (1978), 9-120.

³⁷ de Vaux and Steve, *op.cit.* For a summary also M. Avi-Yonah, *EAEHL* i (1975), s.v., 3-8; see now the *NEAEHL*, ad.loc.

³⁸ de Vaux and Steve, *op.cit.*, 37-9; 41-6: Pl. I, figs. 13-14.

century. They note, however, without presenting the material in their publication, that pottery is abundant till the end of the fifth century but less so between the fifth century and the Islamic period.

(B) The Byzantine Period

A number of architectural elements were found which belong to the Byzantine period,³⁹ including a capital⁴⁰. These were all found on the surface unconnected with any structures. The excavators are no doubt correct in assuming that they derive from a nearby Byzantine site and were brought to Abu Ghosh at a later period.

(C) The early Islamic (Abassid) Period

The site was reoccupied in the Abassid period with the construction of a caravanserai which measures about 35 x 30 m. It consists of an inner court (about 19.5 x 13 m.) surrounded by vaulted arcades with pointed arches. The main entrance, about 1.90 m. high, was in the north wall of the complex near the main road. It had a pointed arch similar to the arches of the cistern at Ramle (dated to AD 789).⁴¹ In the south-west corner was a small mosque (6.20 x 4 m.) with a *mihrab* against the south wall. Along the south and west sides were vaulted rooms. A staircase in the south-east corner gave access to a flat roof. The complex contained numerous water installations. A small pool was found in the middle of the court. Outside the north and east wall of the complex further cisterns were found and these were two smaller ones inside the walls. The Roman water reservoir continued in use. An important find from the complex was a reused Byzantine capital, the abacus of which bears a Cuffie inscription from the ninth century.⁴² This inscription, in combination with the use of the pointed arch, securely dates the complex to the Abassid period. In fact, it resembles similar structures from the Early Islamic period. The date also fits the evidence provided by the literary sources and the Umayyad milestones (see Part I) for the use of the Ramle - Jerusalem road in this period.

Pottery of this period was found in stratum 'c' of cistern vi d (Pl. i). This was turned into a water closet by the crusaders and the finds therefore represent a sealed deposit, antedating the construction of the crusader installations in the mid-twelfth century (for the

date see above). This material presented by the excavators is of great importance and it is curious that there is no mention of any coins found among the deposit. The pottery may be divided into two main groups.⁴³ (a) Glazed pottery, which includes polychrome, engraved and monochrome ware, the latter datable to the 9th-10th century. (b) Non-glazed ware. This is a mixed group, consisting of burnished pottery ('lisse'): Pl. B 1-13), belonging to the 9th-11th centuries, cooking ware (Pl. B 14-19), and, the richest group, white pottery (Pl. C and D). The most common form is a jug with a flat base, a cylindrical body which flares outward slightly and a carinated shoulder. This form is found in ninth-century complexes. Another type is a jug (Pl. C 20) with a cylindrical neck incised with concentric lines and two or three handles with knobs on them. This type is dated to the 12th and 13th century. Finally, there are larger jars which continue Byzantine and Umayyad types.

De Vaux and Steve are right in noting the absence of two categories: (a) white pottery with moulded geometric and floral patterns which is common at Kh. el-Mefjer and el-Minve in the 9th and 10th centuries; (b) hand-made pottery with painted geometrical decoration which is typical from the 12th century onward.⁴⁴

(D) The Crusader Period

The main new structure belonging to this period is the twelfth-century church.⁴⁵ Most of the earlier caravanserai was reused as well. The western part of the church is built directly on the rock. The walls of the eastern part are built on those of the Roman water-installation. In this part of the church three apses of identical dimensions were constructed, which are invisible from the outside, a feature almost unparalleled in Palestinian churches of the period (Pl. ii). The central feature of the site had always been the natural spring and this was further emphasized when the Hospitallers built their church on top of the earlier structures connected with the water supply which then became part of a crypt. At the same time they enlarged and deepened the reservoir and built channels conducting the water to other containers. The Roman steps remained in use. At a later stage a central staircase was built which led down from the church into the crypt (Pl. ii, fig. 13). A number of stone and marble fragments give an impression of the original decoration of the

³⁹ Op. cit., Pl. H 1-3, p. 152.

⁴⁰ Pl. xiv. 1, p. 80.

⁴¹ De Vaux and Steve, op. cit., 62-4, figs. 19-20.

⁴² Op. cit., Pl. xiv. 1, p. 80.

⁴³ Op. cit., 31-5, 59, 100, 119-132, fig. 11, Pls. A-E.

⁴⁴ De Vaux and Steve, op. cit., 95.

⁴⁵ See the major publication by de Vaux and Steve. Also M. Benvenisti, *CHL*, 351.

church (Pl. viii:4; xx:3). The remains of mural paintings in the church are of particular interest, since they have been shown to represent work by Byzantine painters expressing themes of concern to the Crusaders.⁴⁶

The crusaders also reused the structures of the Early Islamic period. However, the early water supply-system was abandoned and cisterns were modified or neglected. Thus one of the cisterns in the south-east corner was turned into a vaulted hall (Pl i; xiv:2, fig. 7), while another to the north of it remained outside the new hall. In the north-east corner of the older complex an oven was constructed, built partly into the Roman wall. Yet another cistern (vi d, Pl.i) was turned into a toilet (fig. 11).

The pottery of the Crusader period was published together with that of the Mameluke period and will therefore be discussed below.

(E) The Mameluke Period

After a period of neglect the complex was restored as a caravanserai in the Mameluke period. On the evidence of masonry style, two Mameluke coins, and considerations of the general history of the period, de Vaux and Steve suggest that this may have taken place in the second half of the fourteenth century. The Mamluke caravanserai was built on, and installed in the early Islamic and Crusader structures (Pls. iv-v; pp. 107 f.). A mosque was added with its entrance through the forecourt of the serai.

As noted above, the pottery of the Crusader and Mameluke periods (12th-15th century) is treated as one group by the excavators (pp. 132-42). The following types are represented:

(a) Painted pottery with geometric patterns (Pls. F and xviii), a hand-made ware which can be compared with types found in Mameluke complexes (p. 135). (b) Glazed ware (fig. 32; Pl. xviii:2). This includes pottery without decoration, pottery painted over the glaze, pottery painted over the *engobe* under a transparent glaze and *sgraffito* pottery. This group may be compared with parallels from the thirteenth and fourteenth century. (c) Ware which is neither painted or glazed (Pl. G and xviii:1). This includes hand-made bowls, lids and jugs. These usually have stamped circles round the neck and seem to belong to the Mameluke period. (d) Oil lamps. One of these is tentatively assigned by de Vaux and Steve to the Byzantine period (fig. 34). It is, however, a folded

lamp, common in the Mameluke period.⁴⁷ The lamps of fig. 33 are typical of the same period, being flat lamps, made in two parts, ovoid in shape with a moulded upper part.

One small find deserves special mention. It is a fragment of a miniature copper band, representing a seated goddess inside a medallion (fig. 37). It is a fine specimen of a 'peopled scroll', which the authors say represents the type of the 'seated drinker', common in Muslim iconography of the tenth to the fourteenth centuries (pp. 152-3).

The inscriptions found at Abu Ghosh will be discussed below.

(II) Deir el-Azhar (Site no. 44) 1596.1345

The site, on a hilltop west of Abu Ghosh, attracted much attention from scholars of the nineteenth century because it was tentatively identified with biblical Kiriath-jearim. Previous research and finds are summed up by de Vaux and Steve.⁴⁸

Vincent describes the remains found on the spot as belonging to a church with a nave and two aisles, one apse and an atrium, 'surrounded by buildings'. He assigns the structure to the fifth century on the basis of 'the plan and details of architecture'. He claims it was reconstructed in the seventh or eighth century.

Baramki describes the site in a report to the Department of Antiquities (14-10-1930). He refers to a mosaic pavement, capitals and architectural remains belonging to the Byzantine church, and also mentions a rock-cut wine press and cisterns. Architectural remains of the Byzantine period found in Abu Ghosh, such as the capital with a secondary Cuffic inscription mentioned above, were probably taken as spoil from Deir el-Azhar at a later period.⁴⁹

Stray finds include prehistoric and Bronze Age material. Also of note are an (Iron Age) tomb and several tombs from the Hellenistic and Roman periods. From one of these comes an ossuary with a Hebrew inscription.⁵⁰ Besides the wine press seen by Baramki,

⁴⁷ Cf. M. Gichon and R. Linden, *IEJ* 34(1984), 156-69, esp. discussion on p.164.

⁴⁸ de Vaux and Steve, *op.cit.*, 10; 56 f.; A. Ovadia, *Corpus of Byzantine Churches*, no.5.

⁴⁹ de Vaux and Steve, *op.cit.*, 57.

⁵⁰ H. Vincent, *RB* (1902), 276 f.; *CH* 1190.

⁴⁶ A. Weyl Carr in J. Folda (ed.), *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, 214-43.

columbaria and oil presses have been found. Coins picked up on the site range from Ptolemaic to Early Islamic.

The modern church has destroyed the remains of its Byzantine predecessor and our visit to the site resulted only in the re-inspection of the two previously published Roman military inscriptions, discussed below.

The site appears to have been occupied in the following periods: Prehistoric, Bronze Age, Iron Age, Herodian-Early Roman, Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic.

(III) *Deir esh-Sheikh* (Site no. 45) 1603.1355

The site is on a hill-top north of Abu Ghosh. It was visited by various scholars in the nineteenth century, but the first description is due to the excavators of Abu Ghosh.⁵¹ The site is less significant than Deir el-Azhar. Mention is made of remains of ancient agricultural installations, cisterns, mosaics, and an olive press. West of the hill two tombs closed with boulders have been cleared.⁵² Fragments of a lead sarcophagus produced in Jerusalem in the third century have been found.⁵³

On the slopes of the hill opposite Abu Ghosh two milestones were found in 1905 (see further information below). Here, at about 1 km. north of the village, *AS Benjamin* records two sites:

Site No. 261, p. 40*, 208 (Heb.), M.R. 1606. 1354; '34 dunams. Ruin; terraces; burial caves; wine-press; oil-press beam; cisterns. Iron II-2%; Hell-16%; Rom-3%; Byz-71%; Els-6%; Med-1%; 98 sherds.'

Inscriptions

In the village of Abu Ghosh two Latin inscriptions were found.

(1) Mentioned above, re-used in the north-wall of the Crusader church near the entrance to the crypt. Seen 7-7-1983; 8-6-1988. Limestone block, 0.36 height, width 0.73. Tabula Ansata. Pl. 90-1.

J. Germer-Durand, *Echos d'Orient* 5(1901), 73; H. Vincent, *RB* 11(1902), 428-33 (drawing and photograph); *AE* 1902. 230; De Vaux and Steve, *Fouilles à*

Qaryet El-'Enab Abū Gōsh (1950), 13; 46 f.; drawing of inscription in situ: fig. 14 on p. 38.

VEXILLATIO
LEG X FRE

L.1: T and I ligatured. L.2: *hederæ* left and right of X.

(2) Limestone fragment, maximum height 0.38m., maximum width 0.34m. Latin lettering. Pl. 96.

De Vaux and Steve, op. cit., p. 54.

DOLE[---
CO[----

At Deir el-Azhar two Latin inscriptions were found.

(1) Limestone block, height 0.33m., width 0.53m. Right hand edge broken. Inscribed Tabula Ansata. Seen 7-7-1983, near the south wall of the modern church of St. Mary. See Pl. 92-3.

F.-M. Abel, *RB* 34(1925), 580 f. (photograph); *AE* 1925. 136:

VEXILLATIO
LEG X FRE

Vincent, loc. cit.: 'Parmi les ruines avoisinant l'église'.

(2) Fragment of limestone block, shaped for secondary use. Found near the previous inscription. Height 0.56 m., width 0.57 m. Seen 7-7-1983, near the south wall of the modern church of St. Mary. See Pl. 94-5

H. Vincent, *RB* N.S. 4(1907), 417 f.

IMP CAE[---
IMP[---
SEX L[---
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Abu Ghosh and adjacent sites: summary

The site owed its prominence through the ages to its good spring, halfway between Emmaus/Nicopolis/Latrun and Jerusalem. It was therefore a natural halting place and as such it was organized in the Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Crusader and Mameluke periods. In each of these periods the halting place assumed the character typical of the age. In the Roman period it was the army which took responsibility, one may assume, for construction as well as

⁵¹ de Vaux and Steve, op. cit., 11.

⁵² F.-M. Abel, *RB* 34(1925), 273-9, figs. 5-6.

⁵³ M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 4(1935), 149 f.

policing. While it is just possible that the vexillations merely recorded their building activity on the spot, it is quite likely that there was a permanent army presence guarding this important road station.⁵⁴ The discovery of two further Latin inscriptions, one of them certainly military, reinforces this impression. The Roman remains, moreover, derive from both the village site in the valley and from the hill-top. The latter became the focus of Byzantine activity with the construction of a church commemorating the temporary presence of the Holy Ark at Kiriath-jearim - an identification still considered likely. It is to be kept in mind that this was the period of massive Christian pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The Church at Deir el-Azhar would have been a landmark for all those using the southern road to the city. In the Early Islamic and Mameluke period the valley site was provided with a caravanserai, while the Crusaders added the church which is still a conspicuous feature. Again, it is characteristic of the importance of the site as such that it became the home base of a powerful regional chief during the decline of the Ottoman empire. It is one of the ironies of Palestinian nomenclature that the once notorious name of Abu Ghosh still survives, even though the modern highway no longer passes through his village.

3. Kh. Abu Leimun 1662.1371

Ancient remains on both sides of the Biddu - Beit Iksa road are evidence of a small settlement. When visiting the site on 31-5 and 6-6 of 1985 we could distinguish at least two substantial buildings, rock-cut cisterns and ancient agricultural terraces. Large quantities of pottery-sherds, roof-tiles and tesserae were scattered over the site.

Baramki gives a brief description of the site, following a visit on 16-5-1942 (*D.A.M.*). Kallai, *Survey* 1967, no.141, p.185, mentions Byzantine pottery and roof-tiles.

AS Benjamin, Site No. 306, p.45*: 'Ruin; terraces; sheikh's tomb; traces of buildings; ashlar; cisterns. P-30%; Hell-23%; Rom-15%; Byz-32%; 85 sherds.' p.228: 'A building with massive walls has been exposed in an illegal excavation'. We did not see the substantial quantity of Hellenistic sherds or the traces of buildings reported by the Survey.

The site seems to have been occupied in all periods from the Persian to the Byzantine periods. The tesserae and roof-tiles may suggest a public building, possibly a bath-house or a church.

Adasa (Fig.10)

⁵⁴ Cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* 5(1903), 51-4.

Literary Sources

1. 1 Macc. 7,39
 2. *ibid.*, 45
 3. Josephus, *Ant.* xii 10,5(408)
 4. Eusebius, *On.* 26,1; Jerome 27,1 (Klostermann)
- Possibly also:
5. 2 Macc. 14,16
 6. 1 Macc.9,5
 7. Josephus, *BJ* i 5,6(47)
 8. M. Eruvin 5,6 states that in Judaea there was a town Hadashah with only three courtyards each containing two houses. Neubauer, *La géographie du Talmud*, 1868, 98f., identifies this with Adasa.

Sources 1 and 3 locate the camp-sites of Judas and Nicanor, before their well-known battle, as Adasa and Beit Horon respectively. These are said to be 30 stades apart. Source 2 relates how the victorious Jews pursued the Seleucid army from Adasa to Gazera (i.e. Gezer), a day's march. According to source 5 a battle was fought near the village of Dessau, while source 7 gives the name of the village as 'Ακέδασα'. It has been plausibly suggested that the names in the two latter sources are scribal errors for 'Adasa'.⁵⁵

Source 6 describes Judas as being encamped at 'Elasa' before last battle during Bacchides' campaign. This again has been considered a scribal error, but this is even more speculative than the suggestion above.⁵⁶

Eusebius, *loc.cit.*, source 4, lists Adasa as belonging to the tribe of Judah, 'a site near Gophna.'

⁵⁵ Cf. B. Bar-Kochva, *Judas Maccabaeus* (1989), 349 f.

⁵⁶ Abel in his commentary on the source, *Les livres des Maccabées*, 160, mentions as alternative possibility Kh. Il'asa (or Kh. al-'Isa) between Upper and Lower Beit Horon (see our entry on the site). He rejects this place on topographical grounds. Earlier Abel, *RB* 33 (1924), 383 f., proposed identifying Elasa with Il'asa, south-west of al-Bira. This has been accepted by Bar-Kochva, *Judas Maccabaeus*, 386 f.

This cannot be correct, for, as Jerome already observed June 24, 1995 in his Latin translation of Eusebius, Gophna belonged to the territory of Ephraim. Eusebius should therefore be excluded in any attempt to locate Adasa.

Another Adasa is mentioned in the Septuagint as a transliteration of the Hebrew *Hadashah* (Newtown) (Josh. 15. 37). This could be the town mentioned in source 8. If so, the place meant could not be any of the sites discussed here.

There are three modern sites named 'Adasa'. We have visited all three and our description follows.

4. **Kh. Adasa I (northern)** 1704.1393

This is an extensively terraced hill, immediately north of and dominating the ancient road coming up from Beit Horon (Pl.46). Few ancient remains are visible today. Clermont-Ganneau refers to the site: 'ruins of old stones, without mortar, not very large ones, some columns, underground buildings and cisterns.'⁵⁷ The first extensive description can be found in the *SWP* iii, 105f. Reference is made to rock-cut tombs, quarries, an underground aqueduct, many cisterns, two reservoirs, ruins and foundations of a building or tower. 'Other foundations and heaps of stones are seen all around. Several pieces of columns...and some well-cut stones show that a building of some importance once stood here. Several wine-presses may be seen in the rock-cut surface.' The *SWP* notes that there are no springs, the nearest being that at El Jib, '...the present ruin marks an important ancient site.'

Abel, *RB* 33(1924), 377-380, describes the site as follows: 'La colline d'Adaseh forme la base rocheuse d'une localité maintenant ruinée qui s'élevait vers le sommet depuis une muraille extérieure courant sur une escarpe apparente de roc jusqu'à un fortin carré occupant la place d'une petite acropole et entouré de silos et de citernes.' The files of the *D.A.M.* record a visit by Baramki on 22-3--1932. Kallai, *Survey* 1967, no.129, 184 writes: '...partly ruined building of 5 by 15 m., remains of buildings over a large area. To the south a well, rock-cut channel to vaulted building with stone slabs. To the north bell-shaped, plastered structure. Pottery: Hellenistic, Byzantine, Muslim.'

⁵⁷ Clermont-Ganneau, *AR*, i, 471, cf. 473 and below (identification with Crusader Betligge). Clermont-Ganneau calls the site Khurbet el 'Adaseh. It is clear from the description of his route that the present site is meant from Sha'fat he travelled for three quarters of an hour and crossed Wādī Kerem Abū Rīsheh.

We visited the site on 14-3-1985. The remains are just below the top, but still on the east slope of the hill, probably because this affords protection against strong winds from the West in winter. We observed rock-cut cisterns, walls, terraces and rock-cut graves. We collected pottery of the following periods: Hellenistic, Herodian, Byzantine, Early Islamic and Mameluke.

5. **Kh. el Adasa II (western)** 1656.1396

Kallai, *Survey* 1967, p.184, no.126 still saw remains of walls built of (medium-sized) dressed stones, a fragment of a mosaic floor and three cisterns. He reports finding Roman and (predominantly) Byzantine pottery.

S. Wibbing, *ZDPV* 78(1962), 159-170, esp. 164-7, reports picking up Hellenistic sherds.

AS Benjamin, Site No. 299, p. 44*: '14 dunams. ruin; terraces; cisterns. MB-few sherds; Hell-20%; Rom-6%; Byz-72%; 91 sherds.

We visited the site on 24-5-1985. The ancient remains have been destroyed and we found little more than potsherds on the surface. We did not find the Hellenistic pottery recorded by *AS Benjamin*. The site can never have been significant. The location, a low-lying site on the floor of a valley, is not remarkable.

Since we did not find datable pottery we must rely on the conclusion in *AS Benjamin*. The site seems to have been occupied primarily in the Byzantine period.

6. **Kh. Adasa III (southern)** 1728.1371

Most of the site is now built over. There are scant remains and we were able to collect a few potsherds.

L. Féderlin, *RB* NS 3(1906), 272 f. saw ruins and cisterns and claims to have found 'coins and Hebrew weights,' proof that the site was occupied 'in the Jewish period.' In his view it was still settled in the Byzantine period.

Early this century remains of a public building were seen on the spot.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ R. Horning, *ZDPV* 32 (1909), 130, reports information from H. Vincent that a mosaic with geometric pattern had been discovered in a Byzantine building. Fragmentary columns, a capital and foundations of

We visited the site on 24-5-1985.

The pottery seems to support a date in the Byzantine period.

Identification

There is archaeological evidence for the existence of three ancient sites named 'Kh. Adasa', one of them connected with the Beit Horon road. One of these sites must have been the location of the battle between Judas and Nicanor. There is no consensus among the scholars who have discussed the campaigns of Judas Maccabaeus. This is not in itself the subject of the present work, but it would be helpful to know whether one, or possibly two, of Judas' battles were fought along the Beit Horon road. Matters are particularly complicated because we have three different sources which do not agree in their references to place-names.

Our survey has not yet resolved this question finally, but it must be noted that, among the three sites, the first is clearly the only important one, as well as the most striking feature in the surrounding area. Other things being equal, this is the only site among the three that one would expect to lend its name to a battle. The proximity of another site, mentioned in connection with these events, Kefar Salama (see below: Kh. 'Id), strengthens the argument, as Abel pointed out. The distance from Beit Horon given by Josephus, thirty stades, does not fit, but, as argued by various scholars, this is not a serious problem. We therefore opt for the northern Khirbet Adasa as the site of the battle.⁶⁰

walls were seen by F. Hagemeyer, *ZDPI* 32 (1909), 7 f. These may have come from a church, cf. A. Ovadiah & C.G. de Silva, *Supplementum*: Appendix, no. 24.

⁶⁰ Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, ii, 76f., suggests that Adasa could be identified with Kh. al Hadethah at GR 1515.1430. It would seem, however, that Guérin, *Judée*, iii, 5, was the first to identify the northern site with Judas' Adasa. He was followed by Th. Oelgarte, *PJb* 14 (1918), 82f.; A. Alt, *PJb* 23 (1927), 23: 'die beherrschende Lage über dem von der Strasse benutzten Sattel bot eine ausgezeichnete Möglichkeit zur Sperrung des feindlichen Vormarsches...' Abel, cited above, expressed the same opinion and so did S. Wibbing, *ZDPI* 78 (1962), 164-7. Wibbing, however, tends to believe that there were indeed two engagements: first, a skirmish near the southern Adasa (Dessau), then the decisive battle near eastern Adasa. This is an arbitrary manner of distilling precision from confusing material. Möller and Schmitt, 3 f. opt with some hesitation for the southern site. B. BarKochva, *Judas Maccabaeus*

Whether the later events said to have taken place at 'Elasa' are to be transferred to 'Adasa' remains uncertain.

It is quite possible that western Kh. 'Adasa is recorded in documents from the Crusader period. Clermont-Ganneau was told by a local fellah that this site was once called Beit Lijeh. This suggests a connection with the place called Betligge, Betlije etc. in mediaeval documents.⁶⁰

7. Kh. 'Ajanjul (K. Junjul) 1523.1421

SWP, iii, 116 and the relevant file of the *D.A.M.* mention traces of ruins at this spot, not far from Beit Nuba.

A. Alt, *PJb* 35(1939), 104 suggests identifying this site with the crusader Casale Bulbul, mentioned together with castellum Arnaldi in documents of 1136 (Röhricht, *Regesta*, no. 165, 41); and of 1164 (*Cartulaire*, 265, no. 144).

AS Benjamin, Site No. 112, p. 24*; 107 (Heb.): 'Ruin destroyed by modern construction; traces of walls; caves; wine-press on northern slope. MB-28%; P-32%; Hell-8%; Byz-single sherd; Ott-16%; unidentified-12%; 25 sherds. A nearby site is Kh. el-Buweira, 1515.1423, *AS Benjamin*, Site No. 107, p. 24*: 'Traces of apparently domed buildings; cisterns and wine-presses in center of hillock; arcossolia burial cave. Ott; 12 sherds.' We have not seen this site.

8. Aqed⁶¹ (fig. 12, Pl. 52) 1507.1384

Aqed is situated about 2 km. east of the presumed centre of ancient Emmaus, on a hill 370 m. above sea level. The distinctive shape of the hill, reminiscent of a cupola, is probably the origin of the name which means 'vault' in Arabic.⁶² In the valley

(1989, 363-5, prefers the western site.

⁶⁰ Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, i, 473. See e.g. Röhricht, *Regesta*, no. 74 on p. 16.

⁶¹ M. Gichon, *Cathedra* 26 (1982), 30-42 (Heb.); M. Gichon and M. Vitale, *IEJ* 41 (1991), 242-57; Gichon, *NEAHL* 2 (1993), 416f., s.v. Eqed, Horvat. A. Kindler, *Israel Numismatic Journal* 9 (1986-7), 46-50; M. Fischer, in *Dor Le-Dor*, 87-98.

⁶² Thanks are due to Ilai Alon for clarification. Sites and buildings with this name are listed in Fischer, op. cit. above.

north-west of the hill are the main sources and aqueducts which supplied water to Emmaus-Nicopolis.⁶³ Between Aqed and Emmaus several wine-presses and burial caves have been found and cleaned in recent years.

Archaeological excavations were carried out on the site from 1978 to 1980 by a team from the Department of Classics of Tel Aviv University, headed by Mordechai Gichon.⁶⁴

The rocky hilltop of Aqed extends over 25 dunams (about 6 acres). There are numerous quarries which supplied building stones and could function themselves as the lower floors of buildings on the site. Holes in the walls of these quarries probably mark the original level of ceilings. Every complex had at least one cistern. Cisterns are known from other sites to have served as hiding places, and a few of these can be dated to the Bar Kokhba Revolt.⁶⁵ The excavations brought to light a few remains of the higher levels of the walls. These were probably destroyed by the flourishing orchard in the Middle Ages. The hill was surrounded by a strong wall, the remains of which are partly visible on the surface. A length of about 100 m. was excavated in the south-western part of the site. The wall, about 2 m. thick, was mostly built of unhewn stones, but in several places both round and square projecting towers were built partly of ashlar, on the inside and outside faces of the wall. The siting of these towers was determined by topographical considerations. In the southern part of the wall a gate has been preserved up to the height of the lintels. It was built entirely of ashlar with smoothed margins and slightly protruding boss. A large number of such ashlar found in the gate-room led us to conclude that it had been built with a barrel vault. The gate was flanked by round towers on the outside of the wall. Small doorways led from the gate-room to other parts of the building. Stamped Rhodian handles and coins of Antiochos III date the structure to the first half of the second century BC.

The pottery, arrow-heads⁶⁶ and coins of Alexander Janneus suggest that the fortified enclosure was also occupied in the Hasmonaean period, in the reign of Herod the Great, and for some time after his death. It was certainly used during the Bar Kokhba Revolt. The old fortifications, cisterns, storerooms and caves were enlarged and prepared for use in that war.⁶⁷ The pottery includes the usual types described as Late Herodian and Jewish or Southern lamps⁶⁸. A substantial quantity of Bar Kokhba coins may have been produced by a mobile mint.⁶⁹

The material from the excavations at Aqed shows that the site was essentially occupied in the Seleucid period and during the Bar Kokhba war. This must be due to its dominating position overlooking Emmaus, which itself was a key site on the road from the coastal plain to Jerusalem. It is quite possible that the remains at Aqed are to be identified with the fortress placed by Bacchides at Emmaus, as recorded in 1 Macc. 9, 50.⁷⁰

9. Aqua Bella (Deir el-Benat; Kh. Ikbal; Ein Hemed)

1620.1338

Fig. 16, Pl.31

These are ancient ruins south of the modern road to Jerusalem, with natural springs.

SWP iii, 114 f. writes: 'A ruined convent in the valley, with some fine trees to the west. At the foot of the ruins on the south-east a stream flows over a rocky bed in winter.' There is also a description and plan.⁷¹ There is no information on the history of the place. Local legends held that there was a convent of

⁶⁶ Gichon & Vitale, op.cit.

⁶⁷ Gichon, *Cathedra* 26 (1982), 30-42.

⁶⁸ For the so-called 'Jewish' lamps which provide a very useful means of dating see V. Sussman: *Ornamented Jewish Oil Lamps from the Fall of the Second Temple through the Revolt of Bar Kochaba* (Jerusalem 1972, Heb.).

⁶⁹ Kindler, *Israel Numismatic Journal* 9 (1986-7), 46-50.

⁷⁰ Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* xiii 1,3 (16). More about the identification: Fischer, *Festschrift Efron* (forthcoming).

⁷¹ Cf. C. Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, ii (1928), 103-106, figs. 238 f.; plan 78 and 240; Benvenisti, *CHL*, 241-4; recent discussion, plans and photographs: D. Pringle in B.Z. Kedar (ed.), *The Horns of Hattin* (1992), 147 - 167.

⁶³ Y. Hirschfeld, in *The Aqueducts of Ancient Palestine* (1989), 197-204, esp. 197, fig. 1 (Heb.).

⁶⁴ We are grateful to Mordechai Gichon for permission to refer to material from the excavations and to include in this book plans and drawings prepared by his team. Preliminary notes: M. Gichon, *Archaeological Newsletter* 73 (1980), 23f.; 76 (1981), 28 (Heb.) and the works cited above.

⁶⁵ See below, the appendix on hideouts.

maidens, but this is no more than a legend.⁷² It is, however, clear that the site in its present state goes back to Crusader times. It is mentioned once in a Crusader document, a contract of 1163-9, recording its transfer by the Hospitallers to the Duke of Hungary, together with Castellum Emaus (Abu Ghosh), Belveer (Qastal) and Saltus Muratus (Qaluniya).⁷³ The masonry marks are discussed in various publications.⁷⁴ It may have been a private fortified manor, but recently it has been suggested that it represents the remains of a conventual building of some kind, built by the Order of St. John between c. 1140 and 1160, at about the same time as their nearby establishments at Castellum Emaus (Abu Ghosh) and Belmont.⁷⁵

Pl.31 shows structures on two neighbouring hills. Those on the hill immediately north of Aqua Bella are extant. We found mainly mediaeval pottery on the site which seems connected with the main building of Aqua Bella. Those on the other hill (678) have been destroyed.

The site dates from the Crusader period.

10. Kh. al Atrash (Giv'at Shaul)

1674.1336

Giv'at Shaul lies on a low hill, about 200 m. west of the upper end of the 'Ascent of the Romans' (see Part II), directly overlooking the Jaffa - Abu Ghosh - Jerusalem road. It extends over an area of approximately 300 square metres. The ancient site was damaged in the Ottoman period. It was first excavated in a rescue campaign by Y.H. Landau and J. Leibovitch on behalf of the Department of Antiquities in the early fifties.⁷⁶ However, these excavations were too limited to provide an outline of the history of the site. It was thoroughly excavated by Vasilios Tzaferis of the Department of Antiquities in 1967.⁷⁷

⁷² Cited by Clermont-Ganneau, *AR*, i, p.498; ii, 57.

⁷³ Röhrich, *Regesta*, n.458, 121. Cf. the Gazetteer entry on Qastal.

⁷⁴ Most recently: R.D. Pringle, *Levant* 13(1981), 181-183.

⁷⁵ Pringle in Kedar (ed.), *op.cit.* See now the extensive treatment in Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, i (1993), 239-250.

⁷⁶ *Alon* 5-6 (1957), 24f. (Heb.).

⁷⁷ *IEJ* 24 (1974), 84-94.

The features uncovered were a tower of the Hasmonaeen-Herodian period and a fort of the Late Roman and Byzantine periods.

The Tower

This is a square structure of 10 x 9.25 m., built without mortar or plaster of large hewn stones with smaller ones in between the rows. It had two floors. The lower storey had 4 rooms and a small staircase in the north-west corner. Along the walls of rooms A and C were stone benches. The main entrance to the tower gave access to the upper storey. The stairs linking the two floors were built around a column made of large square stones, an arrangement reminiscent of contemporary Nabataean towers. In the north-west corner of the tower was a plastered cistern.

The pottery of this phase is typical of complexes from the end of the Hellenistic period till the end of the Herodian period (the Second Temple period).⁷⁸ Characteristic are deep bowls of red clay, piriform bottles, juglets made of pinkish buff clay, jugs with cylindrical necks and everted rims with painted bands on the neck, cooking pots, folded lamps from the Hasmonaeen period, and the so-called Herodian lamps dating to the late first century BC and the first century AD.

The coins, over 200 in number, date from the end of the second century BC to the sixth century AD. Four coins of Alexander Jannaeus, found in room A 'may fix the time of building to the reign of this Hasmonaeen king', according to the excavator.⁷⁹

The Fort

The fort was a more substantial building of 16 x 16m. It had a large, open central courtyard, six rooms on the east, and three on the west. The Hasmonaeen tower was incorporated into the structure. Access was gained through entrances in the north and south walls. The walls were built with small hewn stones and plaster. Ashlars were used for the door-jambs.

The pottery was mainly Byzantine,⁸⁰ but there are also a few Late Roman types. One of these is a bowl of red clay, Late Roman Fine Ware, which may be assigned to the fourth-fifth centuries. Byzantine pottery is represented by juglets with incised shoulders, storage jars with large, irregular ribbing, cooking pots and

⁷⁸ *Op.cit.*, fig.3.

⁷⁹ *Op.cit.*, 93.

⁸⁰ *Op.cit.*, fig.4.

casseroles with a flattened rim, and lamps with moulded radial motifs.

Most of the coins belong to this phase. A hoard of about 150 coins of Constantine and his successors suggests that this was the period of construction of the fort. A coin of Justinian may serve as *terminus post quem* for the abandonment of the structure.

As pointed out by Tzaferis, towers of this type were also constructed along other roads in the Hasmonaean period but few of them have been excavated.⁸¹ The renewed presence on the spot in the Byzantine period corresponds with the encouragement of Christian pilgrimage to Jerusalem by the state. Tzaferis goes too far, we think, when he states that it now seems possible 'to date the construction of this road to an early period, perhaps even to the reign of Alexander Jannaeus'.⁸² However, the existence of the tower definitely demonstrates intensive use of this road in the Hasmonaean and Byzantine periods. Confirmation of this was found at other sites (see: Kh. el Qasr [Kh. Me'ad] and Kh. ed Daliyeh). Of particular interest is the lack of occupation in the second and third centuries AD, the period of the development and organization of the Roman road-system in the province of Judaea.

11. Bab al-Wad (Sha'ar Hagay)

(Pl.16,27)

1523.1358

South of the road are the ruins of a Mameluke khan and of a nineteenth century inn.⁸³ North of the road stands one of the three well-preserved Turkish watchtowers. This is the point where the mediaeval and modern road enters the mountains, passing through a deep and narrow valley. The site is therefore an important one.

It is possible that at some stage the spot was known as 'Nova Porta'. William Wey, who visited the Holy Land in 1458 and 1462 states that he travelled from Ramleh to Nova Porta, twenty-two (Gallic) miles. 'There we rested and ate what we had brought with us and drank water from a big cistern. From Porta Nova it is twelve miles to Jerusalem and the road is bad,

stony and mountainous' (*The Itineraries of William Wey to Jerusalem* [London 1857]).

This was the find-spot of one of the two Umayyad milestones discussed above. A fragmentary inscription of Byzantine date was also found here.⁸⁴

We visited the site on 23-4-84 and observed a deep rock-hewn cistern, the corner of a building and Byzantine sherds. Further east, on the slope, were a cistern, cuttings in the rock and remains of another building. The Turkish watchtower consists of a vaulted room with a smaller room with a parapet on top of it.

The site was first occupied in the Byzantine period when the main roads to Jerusalem passed elsewhere. It became a significant road-site in the Muslim period when lines of communication shifted to valleys.

12. Kh. Badd Abu Mu'ammār 1645.1403

This is a site associated with the ridge section of the Ma'ale Jifna road. *AS Benjamin*, Site No. 150, p. 29*, 145f. (Heb.), '2.4 dunams. Ruin; terraces; cisterns; burial cave with loculi. Iron I-2%; Iron II-13%; P-2%; Hell-24%; Rom-24%; Byz-30%; EIs-4%; 533 sherds. The pottery chronology indicated in *AS Benjamin* suggests that this was a site contemporary with the construction and use of the Ma'ale Jifna road.

13. Kh. Ballut al-Halis 1691.1394

This is a site on a hill-top near Bir Nabala, not far from the main road to Jerusalem. The *SWP* iii, 107 records remains of a settlement. Kallai, *Survey 1967*, 184, no.128 mentions Byzantine pottery picked up on the site.

AS Benjamin, No. 321, p. 47*: '5 dunams. Ruin; traces of buildings; possible burial caves. MB(?); P/Hell-few sherds; Hell; EI.'

The site is not directly connected with the ancient road.

14. Barfiliya 1490.1464

Literary Sources

1. Röhrich, *Regesta*, 41, no.165 (AD 1136)

⁸⁴ For the milestone see Part. I. For the inscription see Germer-Durand, *RB* 3(1894),256 f.

⁸¹ Op.cit., 87f.

⁸² Op.cit., 94.

⁸³ It is mentioned in the Baedeker of 1876, 129: 'Quarters for the night are to be had at Ramleh, and also if necessary, at the house of a Jew at Bâb el-Wâdy.' p.138: ... "the Restaurant des Moines de Judée" (refreshments, and bed if necessary; Jewish host).

2. *Cartulaire*, 265, no.144 (AD 1164)
3. Röhricht, *Regesta*, 129, no.490 (AD 1171)
cf. *Cartulaire*, 323, no.181.

These sources record a series of privileges regarding tithes given to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem from Capharut(h) and Git(h) and the villages Kefrescilita/Kefrescylta and Porfilia (var. Porphilia, Porphiria, Porfyllia) in exchange for the tithes from Castellum Arnaldi and the Casalis Hospitalis Bulbul which are conceded to the Church of St. George (Lydda).⁸⁵

Barfiliya was visited by Charles Wilson who had the following to say: 'At Birfileeya a very perfect specimen of an ancient winepress was found; it consisted of two rectangular excavations in the rock, about 9 feet square and 12 inches deep, with a sloping floor, so that the juice when pressed out from the grapes might run down into the smaller one, which was about 2 feet 6 inches square.'⁸⁶

Barfiliya is a substantial settlement which, in its present form, dates to the Ottoman period. A good road links the village with Gimzu and al-Burj. This road does not, however, show any traces of Roman construction such as milestones, an embankment, stone paving or kerb-stones.

The site was visited by Husseini in July 1940 (*D.A.M.*), when he reports seeing ancient remains, probably of Byzantine date, such as numerous cisterns, a rock-hewn press, and a cross carved on a building.

The situation on the spot does not at present permit a thorough survey, but it is clear that Barfiliya is not connected with the Roman road-system in the area. The archaeological evidence and perhaps the name suggest occupation in the Byzantine period. Documents show its existence as a village in the Crusader period when the road which passed it seems to have been more frequently used than in the Roman period. Yigal Tepper informed us that an underground hideout is said to have been discovered at Barfiliya. However, he has not had an opportunity to inspect it and nothing further is known about this cave.

The site was probably occupied in the Byzantine, Early Islamic, Crusader, and Ottoman periods.

⁸⁵ Cf. Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom* (1993), 110.

⁸⁶ C. Wilson, *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem* (1864, repr. Amsterdam 1980), 19.

15. Batin al-Ursh (Har Haruah)

1589.1364
(Kh. Abu Muhammad on the map of the *SWP*)

This is a site on a hill-top on the road from Abu Ghosh to Beit Tul. It affords a commanding view of the surrounding area.

We visited the site on 26-4-1985 and noticed the remains of a fort, measuring c.24 x 21m., built of undressed blocks. In the centre of the western wall were foundations of a tower. There were no corner towers. We collected pottery mainly of the Persian and early Hellenistic periods.

The fort must have been connected with the ancient road to Beit Tul where we noticed rock-hewn steps.

The site appears to date from the Persian and Early Hellenistic periods.

16. Kh. Beit Annaba (Betoannaba) (Pl.26)

1451.1454

Literary Sources

1. Eusebius, *On*. 20.15 (Klostermann): Ἀνώβ (Jos 11, 21). πόλις, ἣν ἐπολιόρησεν Ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἔστι νῦν κώμη περὶ Διόσπολιν ἀπὸ σημείων τεσσάρων πρὸς ἀνατολὰς, ἣ καλεῖται Βετοαννάβα.

2. Jerome, *de locis* 21.17 (Klostermann): Anob civitas quam expugnavit Iesus. et est usque hodie villa iuxta Diospolim quasi in quarto miliario ad orientalem plagam quae vocatur Betoannaba. plerique autem affirmant in octavo ab ea miliario sitam et appellari Bethanabam.

3. Jerome, *ep.* 108, ed. Hilberg, *CSEL*, lv, 314. Haud procul ab ea [sc. Lydda] Arimathiam viculum Joseph, qui Dominum sepelivit; et Nobe urbem quondam sacerdotum, nunc tumulum occisorum.

Not far off [sc. from Lydda] she came to Arimathea, the village of the Joseph who buried the Lord, and to Nob, which had once been a city of priests, and was now a graveyard of the slain.

4. Madaba Map: Ἀνώβ ἡ νῦν Βητοαννάβα.

5. al-Muqaddasi, p.165: one of the gates of Ramla was called 'the gate of (the mosque of) 'Annabeh.'

6. Endowment deed of 1552: 'the whole village of 'Annabeh' (St.H. Stephan, *QDAP* 10 [1944], 184; cf. below, s.v. Daniyal).

An issue, in these sources, is the identification of Biblical Nob (Anab) which in fact was north-east of Jerusalem ('Isawiveh').⁸⁷ Eusebius mentions a village called Betoannaba, four miles east of Lydda. Jerome translates Eusebius and adds, 'many say it is eight miles from Lydda and named Bethannaba.' The Madaba Map gives two places: 'Anob which is now Betoannaba' and 'Enetaba', south of Lydda.

We have here three sources which together refer to three place-names which were in use in the later Roman and Byzantine periods. At that time two of these sites were considered candidates for identification with the Biblical town. Enetaba need not be considered here. It is discussed under the heading 'Daniyal' (Ein Tav, Kefar Tavi).⁸⁸ Furthermore, we do not believe that too much weight should be attached to the topography of the Madaba Map. The question that remains is whether Betoannaba mentioned by Eusebius, Jerome and the Madaba map refers to modern Kh. Beit Anaba: Jerome's Bethannaba would then be identified with Beth Nuba. This indeed seems to us the most likely solution. The reference in Jerome's description of Paula's pilgrimage does not itself help in identifying the place. It could refer to Betoannaba (Beit Annaba) or to Bethannaba (modern Beit Nuba), which in the Middle Ages was identified with Nob.⁸⁹

Kh. Beit Anaba is a large ruined village with a commanding view of the surrounding country-side. Few ancient remains are now visible among the ruins of the Arab village. Guérin noticed ancient material among the stones of modern buildings.⁹⁰

When visiting the site on 12-2-1985 we saw some ancient building materials and large quantities of pottery on the surface. There were some 'eastern sigillata' sherds from the first century AD, Late Roman ware (fifth-sixth century), Early Islamic and Crusader fragments.

The settlement was occupied in the Herodian, Byzantine, Early Islamic and Crusader periods.

17. **Beit Dajan (Beth Dagan, Casellum Maen)**
 a) Beth Dagan 1339.1563
 b) Kh. Dajun [2.5 km S.W. of (a)] 1317.1548

Literary Sources

1. List of Sennacherib (704-681 BC): 'I besieged Beth Dagon, Joppa, Banai-Barqa, Azuru, cities belonging to Sidqia (king of Ashkelon), who did not bow to my feet quickly enough.' (ANET p. 287)⁹¹

2. I Macc. 10.83-4: καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἐσκορπίσθη ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. καὶ ἔφυγον εἰς Ἀζωτον καὶ εἰσῆλθον εἰς Βηθδαγων τὸ εἰδῶλιον αὐτῶν τοῦ σωθῆναι. καὶ ἐνεπύρισεν Ἰωνᾶθαν τὴν Ἀζωτον καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς κύκλῳ αὐτῆς καὶ ἔλαβεν τὰ σκύλα αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Δαγων καὶ τοὺς συμφυγόντας εἰς αὐτὸ ἐνεπύρισεν πυρί.

3. Tos. Ohil. iii.9 (ed. Zuckerman, 600,16) mentions Beth Dagan in Judaea.⁹²

4. Abulfathi, *Annales Samaritani*, ed. E. Vilmar (Gotha 1865), 132, l. 11-14.

5. The Samaritan Chronicle published by E.N. Adler and M. Séligsohn, *REJ* 45 (1902), 90 f.

Sources 4 and 5 record the building of a synagogue by Baba Rabah at Beit Dagan in the early fourth century. It is not certain whether the present site is meant, or another in the neighbourhood of Nablus.⁹³

⁸⁷ Josh. 11,21; 1 Sam. 21,1; Neh. 11,32.

⁸⁸ We do not agree that Enetaba of the Madaba mosaic should be identified with Beit Anaba, as suggested by S. Vafic in his review of Schulten's edition of the Madaba Map: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 10 (1901), 649. The proposal was rejected, among others by S. Klein, *Erez Yehudah* (1939, Heb.), 179 f., n. 59.

⁸⁹ Thus Abel, *GP*, 399 f.

⁹⁰ Guérin, *Judee*, i, 314; cf. A. Shavit, *The Ayalon Valley and its Vicinity during the Bronze and Iron Ages* (MA thesis, Tel Aviv, 1992, Heb.), 106 f.

⁹¹ Aharoni, *LB*, 389, notes that it is doubtful whether Joppa and its dependencies had belonged to Ashkelon in other periods.

⁹² A. Neubauer, *La géographie du Talmud*, Paris, 1868, 81 is the first to see a connection between the place mentioned in the Tosephta and the name Beit Dedjan, which he found on van de Velde's map.

⁹³ Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, ii, 280; iii, 298. See discussion in F. Hüttenmeister and G. Reeg, *Die antiken Synagogen in Israel*, Teil 2, Die Samaritanischen Synagogen (1977), pp. 568-570, where the arguments in favour of either site are summed up. It must be noted that even in the tenth century Dajun was principally inhabited by Samaritans, according to al-Muqaddasi.

6. Eusebius, *On* 50,15 (Klostermann) mentions 'Bethdagon of Juda there is a large village Keparadagon between Diospolis and Jamma'. As observed below, the actual location of the site is between Diospolis and Joppe rather than between Diospolis and Jamma and it is therefore possible that the text contains an error. However, source 2 may also suggest a location rather further to the south.

7. The Madaba Map: Β[ε]τ[η] δ[ε] γ[α] ν[α].

8. al Muqaddasi mentions Dajan as a town near Ramle which had a mosque and was principally inhabited by Samaritans. One of the town-gates of Ramle was called 'the gate of Dajan'.⁹⁴

Crusader Sources

The 'Casellum Maen' was among the castles destroyed by Saladin in September, 1191.⁹⁵ Maen derives from Latin Medianum, 'the middle', as pointed out by Abel, because it was halfway between Jaffa and Ramle, but perhaps also as an echo of 'Beit Dajan'.⁹⁶ Two months later King Richard repaired the fort.⁹⁷ The destruction cannot have been very thorough for the fort was completely restored in two weeks and was then stronger than before, if we can believe Ambroise. A garrison was left there when Richard marched to Ramle. In July of 1192 Richard withdrew from Beit Nuba to Jaffa. The army stayed one night at Casellum Medu.⁹⁸ Saladin, before laying siege to Jaffa, which was still occupied by the crusaders, reconnoitred the area and reached Yazur and Bayt Dajan, as described by Baha' al Din.⁹⁹ Among the places ceded to Richard in the treaty of 2 September, 1192, are: 'Tota maritima, scilicet Tyrus, civitas Acon, casellum Hymberti, Cayphas, Caesarea Philippi, Jopen et casellum Medianum'.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ On the town-gates of Ramle as described by al Muqaddasi, see Part I.

⁹⁵ *It Reg. Ricardi*, iv, 23; Ambroise, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte*, v (884), ed. Paris, 407 (casal Moyen).

⁹⁶ F. M. Abel in his article on the crusader forts Chastel des Plains (Yazur) and Chastel de Maen, *RB* 36 (1927), 83-88, esp. 84.

⁹⁷ *It Reg. Ric.* iv, 29 (ed. Stubbs, 290); Ambroise, v 1211, 410-411 (1284, 411).

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* vi 9 (Stubbs, 397).

⁹⁹ *RB* *On* iii, 333-335. Varral lectio Bayt Jibin, but Bayt Dajan is preferable, as shown by Clermont-Ganneau, *Etudes d'archéologie orientale*, ii, (1897), 137.

In this period the town must have been of some significance, for Yaquṭ (d. 1229) mentions a celebrated Muslim doctor called ed-Dajuni (otherwise: er-Ramly, an indication of the proximity of the two towns, as noted by Clermont-Ganneau, *loc. cit.*).

The last mediaeval source referring to the ruined castle is the account of the pilgrimage of Jacobus de Verona in 1335: 'From Jaffa or Joppe it is three miles to a castle on the road named Jessur (i.e. Yazur), now destroyed; from Jessur it is three miles along the road to another destroyed castle which is called Bedeian. From Bedeian it is four miles to Rama...'¹⁰¹ Yazur is mentioned more frequently because it was closer to the road to Ramla which was used by travellers in that period rather than the road from Jaffa to Lydda.¹⁰²

An endowment deed of 1552 mentions '...the village of Beit Dajan'.¹⁰³

J. Doubdan, who visited the country in 1652, seems to have seen the village, but not the ruined castle: 'Some two miles from there (sc. Yazur), off the road to our left, we were shown also the site of a large village named Bet-de-Get which is not mentioned in the Bible, but that I think must be Bethdugon, which occurs in Joshua and in the Books of Maccabees'.¹⁰⁴

C. Niebuhr, who travelled from Jaffa to Ramle in 1766 notes: 'The villages along the road, Jasur, Beit Didsjel and Serfanta, are only small and the houses lie partly under the earth'.¹⁰⁵ 'Beit Didsjel' is

¹⁰⁰ Radulfus de Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, ed. Stubbs, Rolls series, vol. 68 b, 105. As noted by Abel, *RB* 36 (1927), 86, the phrase suggests that the fort was not destroyed very thoroughly by Saladin's troops at the time of the re-occupation in 1192.

¹⁰¹ Jacobus de Verona, ed. R. Röhrich, *Revue de l'orient latin* 3 (1895), 181.

¹⁰² It is possible that we have another reference in the travel account by Pierre Mésege (AD 1507) ed. A. Barrois, *RB* 38 (1929), 404-420, esp. 407. This traveller mentions seeing two ruined castles on his way from Jaffa to Ramla: Lozor (i.e. Yazur) and Tegenet.

¹⁰³ St. H. Stephan, *QDAP* 10 (1944), 184; cf. below s.v. Danial.

¹⁰⁴ J. Doubdan, *Le voyage de la terre sainte* (Paris 1657), 53.

¹⁰⁵ Carsten Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung von Arabien*, iii (1837), 36.

clearly the northern site discussed here. The map of the *SWP* does not mark Dagon. It is, however, indicated on British 1:20,000 maps. Some information about the recent history of the two sites is given by Baldensperger in an article published in 1895.¹⁰⁶ Dagon was inhabited by Muslims, while Beit Dajan 'which then had another name', was inhabited by Christians. Under Jazzar Pasha, in the mid-eighteenth century the Christians were killed in a fight. The Muslims then took over Beit Dajan and gave it its current name. Dagon became a quarry for Beit Dajan.¹⁰⁷ At the latter site Baldensperger observed the traces of a castle with 'a closed cavern' below.

Archaeological Remains

Near Beit Dajan Clermont-Ganneau discovered a tomb containing a skeleton without a skull.¹⁰⁸ The lid of the coffin showed a cruciform design. He concludes that it must have belonged to 'a victim of one of those religious or political turmoils of which Palestine was so often the scene.' A place nearby was named by the local inhabitants 'maqtaleh', i.e. 'place of murder'.¹⁰⁹ Perhaps there is some connection with the events recorded by Baldensperger.

Macalister carried out minor archaeological investigations at Kh. Dagon where he found pottery from the Roman period up to the Early Islamic period. In addition a hoard of Cuffic gold coins was discovered on the site, and a number of architectural fragments.¹¹⁰

In a letter to the Department of Antiquities, dated 2-3-1941, J. Ory describes the clearing of Roman tombs near the Beit Dajan police station. D. Baramki reports (D.A.M. 23-9-1943) the discovery of another two graves of the Late Roman-Byzantine periods. On the site of the mosque of a village called Jami'a Abd al-Ghar J. Ory found architectural fragments, marble columns, fragments of marble screens and Corinthian capitals as well as a crypt (letter of 22-7-1947 to the

Department of Antiquities). Ory concludes that the mosque was built on the site of an earlier building, presumably a Byzantine church. M. Busheri reports finding the remains of a villa from the end of the Second Temple period, apparently destroyed in the First Jewish Revolt,¹¹¹ including bronze coins of Nero, a mosaic pavement and fragments of wall paintings. He also carried out minor excavations in the northern part of the village of Beit Dajan, not far from the road, which brought to light pottery from the Iron Age I and the Persian period.¹¹² Near Kh. Dagon were found tombs from the period MB II.¹¹³ Under present conditions a survey cannot add anything to our understanding of the history of the two sites under discussion. The site of Kh. Dagon is now built over by modern Nahalat Yehudah and there is nothing to be seen on the surface. In modern Beth Dagan the location of the ancient site can still be recognized because, like Yazur, it was on a low hill. Part has been transformed into a park and part is built over. There is nothing to be seen on the surface.

Conclusions

Literary sources of various periods refer to two places with different but related names. Before Eusebius all sources use variants of the name 'Beth Dagan'. Beth Dagon or Beth Dagan means 'Temple of Dagon', the god of grain, often mentioned in the Old Testament.¹¹⁴ Eusebius, in speaking of 'Kaparadagon', is the first to use a different nomenclature. As pointed out by Clermont-Ganneau, the description of Eusebius (and, one may add, that of 1 Macc.) seems to fit the

¹¹¹ *Archaeological Newsletter* 14(1962), 15; 17(1966), 10 (Heb). The site is indicated as Nahalat Yehudah, west of the Beit Dagan - Rishon Lezion road. This is the area of Kh. Dagon.

¹¹² M. Busheri, *Archaeological Newsletter* 4(1962), 15 (Hebrew); *Yalkut Hapirsumim* #73.

¹¹³ R. Gofna, *Archaeological Newsletter* 22-23(1967), 21 (Heb).

¹¹⁴ E. Dhorme, 'Les avatars du dieu Dagon', *Revue de l'histoire religions* 138 (1950), 129-140, esp. 131: a local god of Philistia. On his sarcophagus Eshmunazar of Sidon claims to have received 'Dor and Joppa, the mighty lands of Dagon, which are in the plain of Sharon' from the Lord of Kings (the Persian king). Cf. Philo of Byblos fr. 809, 23: *Δαγόν, ὃς ἐστὶ Σιτων*, with comments by A.I. Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos, A Commentary* (Leiden 1981), 15; 190. U. Oidenburg, *The Conflict between El and Baal* (Leiden 1969), 47-57. The temple of Dagon in Azotus was burnt by Jonathan: 1 Macc. 10, 83; *Jos. Ant.* xiii 4,4 (99 f.).

¹⁰⁶ P.J. Baldensperger, *PEFQSt* (1895), 114-119.

¹⁰⁷ This was noted by A.M. Mantell, *PEFQSt* 1882, 164.

¹⁰⁸ Clermont-Ganneau, *PEFQSt* (1882), 19-22. The site, on the territory of Beit Dejan, was called "Wadi Abu Rûs" i.e. "Valley of Heads".

¹⁰⁹ Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria* (1876), 153: "...we pass a lonely spot called the "Maktaleh", or place of slaying, which is said once to have been a haunt of robbers".

¹¹⁰ R.A.S. Macalister, *PEFQSt* (1903), 356-8.

southern site (Dagun) better than the northern site (Beth Dagan) on the Jaffa-Jerusalem road. Also, the Madaba Map, in writing 'Betodegana' seems to refer to Beth Dagan. In the mediaeval period Muqaddasi clearly means Dagun when he speaks of the town. The crusader sources invariably mean Beth Dagan on the main road when they mention the place. The archaeological evidence is not very satisfactory. It is clear that the crusader castle was at Beth Dagan. Remains of the Roman, Byzantine and Early Islamic periods appear to have been found at both sites. So far, however, it is less clear where the earlier town must be sought.

18. Beit Duquq 1624.1407

AS Benjamin, Site No. 146; p. 28*, 143f. (Heb.); '10 dunams. Arab village. MB-15%; Hell-19%; Rom-25%; Byz-12%; Els-few sherds; Med-single sherd; Ott-25%; 78 sherds.' Fig. on p.144. The site is linked with the Ma'aleh Jifnah and the presence of Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine pottery is therefore significant in connection with the chronology of this road.

19,20: Beit Horon: see Beit Ur

21. Beit Ikka 1672.1360

Clermont-Ganneau, *Études d'Archéologie Orientale*, ii, p.20 argued that this is the place meant where the 'Life of Peter the Iberian' describes a village 'Beth Tafsa'. We cite Raabe's translation: 'Nachdem er nun den Seligen in sein Dorf gebracht hatte, welches Beth Tafsa heisst und fünf Meilen nördlich von der heiligen Stadt unter dem Abhang des Gebirges liegt, dessen Luft sehr schön und gut temperiert ist, hielt er ihn dort den ganzen Sommer über zurück. Dasselbst ist eine tiefe Quelle die zugleich fischhaltig ist und wenige kleine Fische ernährt.'¹¹⁵ This then would show the existence of the village in the fifth century AD. The next reference known to us occurs in an endowment deed of 1552: 'The whole village of Beit Ikka together with the farm of el Kharrûbeh.'¹¹⁶ Thereafter it is mentioned by Pococke, who was in Palestine in 1738: 'a village called Bettisa.'¹¹⁷ Beit Ikka is now a modest village where we did not find any ancient remains. Clermont-Ganneau, *AR*, i, 479 notes ruins of old buildings. The *SWP*, iii, 16 has no

comment (s.v. Beit Izza), but observes that there was a spring at some distance to the west. In a report to the *D.A.M.* (7-6-1934) Husseini mentions ruined vaults and foundations which he assigned to the mediaeval period. *AS Benjamin*, Nos. 304, 305, 312, pp. 228, 233; 45*f. 'Ruins; terraces; traces of buildings; traces of walls; cisterns' Pottery: P; P/Hell; Byz; Ott.

The site is not immediately connected with the roads to Jerusalem.

22. Beit 'Inan (Beit 'Anan)

1605.1400

The village is mentioned in a document of 1159, interesting in other respects, because the road which passed through the place served as a boundary.¹¹⁸ The *SWP*, iii, p.16 records: 'A small village on the top of a flat ridge; near a main road to the west are remains of a Khân with water, and about a mile to the east is a spring.' Note also p.104, s.v. Khan Miska: 'Remains of a hostel; a tank with pointed arches. Some of the masonry is drafted.' Baramki reports a cave with a door which he assigns to the Roman period in his report to the *D.A.M.* of 31-10-1928. Bagatti, *el-Qubeibeh*, p.208f. did not observe ancient structures, but notes that near the modern cemetery, north-west of the village, were some ancient remains: tombs, cisterns and threshing floors. On pp.171-177 Bagatti lists coins found in the area surrounding Qubeiba. From Beit Inan he records coins of Nero, Constantine, the Crusader period and of the fourteenth century (one each).

¹¹⁵ R. Raabe, *Petrus der Iberer* (Leipzig 1895), p.93.

¹¹⁶ St. H. Stephan, *QDAP* 10(1944), p.184. See below s.v. Daniyal.

¹¹⁷ R. Pococke, *Description of the East and some other Countries*, i (1743-48), p.48.

¹¹⁸ 'le Cartulaire de S. Lazaire', *Archives de l'Orient Latin* 2(1884), no.16, p.135: '...gastinam, Bethanam nomine, que est de divisione Mahomerie Geraudi cognomine Regis...ab hac enim divisione, sicut via protenditur usque ad cavam, quae est in opposita parte'; cf. Röhricht, *Regesta*, no.338, p.88 and see discussion in Part I.

AS Benjamin, Site No. 264, p.41*, 'Arab village: large building, possible fort; tomb. Rom-4%; Byz-9%; Els-3%; Ott-81%; 65 sherds.'

There are indications that a settlement may have existed here in the Roman and/or Byzantine periods. The crusader period is attested in the literature.

23. Kh. Beit Kika 1689.1353

This is an ancient site on the road from el-Qubeiba to Jerusalem, now built over by the suburb of Ramot.

Clermont-Ganneau, *AR*, i, p.479 mentions the site.

Baramki of the *D.A.M.* visited the site on 21-11-1943 and observed rock-hewn cisterns and caves, rock-hewn presses, limestone columns, white tesserae, a Corinthian capital and remains of an ancient road. Stylistically, the capital seems to date to the fourth-fifth century. Baramki records that he found Roman and Medieval pottery on the surface.

Bagatti, *el Qubeibeh*, p.229, describes a watchtower of relatively recent date with ancient foundations, Roman pottery, a rock-hewn tomb and more recent structures.

Kallai, *Survey 1967*, p. 187 f., no.15 reports: 'Remains of numerous buildings. In the centre a tower of 9.5 by 9.5 m. attached to which is a later building with barrel vault...many cisterns and tombs. A Corinthian capital, tesserae and tile fragments.' He classifies the pottery on the surface as Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman.

Before the construction of the modern suburb which destroyed the ancient remains in the area a survey was carried out. The site under discussion is briefly described by Rami Arav in the *Archaeological Newsletter* of the Department of Antiquities 78-79 (1982), p.67. Arav mentions an ancient road, four m. wide, running southward from Kh. Beit Kika. Not far from this spot he found a small agricultural site, at 16821.13495, apparently Byzantine. Unfortunately no further information was made available to us.

Further archaeological exploration is no longer possible.

The site and its immediate surroundings were occupied in the Roman, Byzantine and Mediaeval periods.

24. Beit Liqya (fig.18)

1565.1418

Literary sources

In a talmudic source, often discussed, we are told that the emperor Hadrian placed guards at three points: Hamat, Kefar Leqitaya and Beth El in Judaea. It was their duty to catch refugees in the Bar Kokhba revolt.¹¹⁹ It has been suggested — and is widely accepted — that Kefar Leqitaya must be identified with Beit Liqya.¹²⁰ It must be admitted that the site would be very appropriate for the purpose described, but, apart from a very vague resemblance in name, there is no real evidence in support of the identification, as pointed out by Abel, among others.¹²¹

Mujir ed-Din refers to the village as Beit al-Qia. Masalik, in his description of the Al-Aqsa mosque, mentions a village Bayt Laqya in the province of Jerusalem.¹²² An endowment deed from 1552, which we have often cited, lists 'The whole village of Beit Liqya with the farms Beit Nūshif and Rukūbis.'¹²³ de Thevenot, who visited the Holy Land in 1655-59, refers to the village in a somewhat confused manner. Three hours after leaving Ramle '...we saw to the right hand the Village of the Good Thief, called in Arabick *Bethlakij*, after that we paid the *Caffaire*, and took a Guard as far as *Jerusalem*; before we came to that Village, we found two ways, of which that which is the good way is on the right hand, and passes through the village; and the other is on the left hand, which we took, to avoid a *Caffaire*, but it led us among hills in a very bad way, and at length we encamped amidst the mountains about half an hour after two in the afternoon, in a place close by a ruinous old building, which

¹¹⁹ Midrash Lamentations Rabbah i 55. For discussion of the source and its implications see A. Oppenheimer, *Cathedra* 26 (1982), 25 (Heb.).

¹²⁰ A. Neubauer, *La géographie du Talmud*, Paris, 1868, p.115, who saw the name Kefr Lukyeh on van de Velde's map; also S. Klein, *Jüdisches Monatschrift* (1910), p.25 f.

¹²¹ Abel, *Geographie*, ii, p.292, s.v. Caphar Leqitia. Abel makes other suggestions equally speculative. See also the discussion of this source in the entry on Emmaus and in Chapter I.

¹²² Masalik, 139-167 (AD 1342), cited by Marmardji, p.232.

¹²³ St.H. Stephan, *QDAP* 10 (1944), p.184; cf. below s.v. Daniyal.

heretofore was a convent of Franciscan Friars...¹²⁴ De Thevenot obviously saw both Latrun (the Village of the Good Thief) and Beit Liqya (Bethlakij) and confused the two. The guard was hired at Latrun and in order to avoid paying yet another sum (at Bab al-Wad or Abu Ghosh) they chose the route through Beit Liqya and Qubeiba (the convent; see s.v.).

The *SWP*, iii, p.106, writes: '...a small village on a main road at the foot of the hills, supplied by cisterns. There are ancient foundations among the houses.'

A milestone was reported to have been found near the village. We did not see any ancient remains in the village. The ancient road to Beit Inan and Qubeibeh is now blocked by modern military installations and agricultural terraces.

25. **Beit Mizza** see Motza.

26. **Beit Naqquba** 1619.1345

This is an ancient site now built over. Guérin did not see any ancient remains.¹²⁵ In the files of the *D.A.M.* an ancient column south of the road is mentioned.

AS Benjamin, No. 271, p.213f.; *41: 'Ruin; terraces; traces of buildings; rock-cut reservoir; loculi burial cave. Rom - 81%; Byz-19%; 32 sherds.'

Survey is not now possible.

27. **Beit Nuba** (fig. 44; Pl.28) 1531.1400

Literary Sources

References to this place are very numerous throughout the middle ages, when it was an important station for the two northern routes to Jerusalem. There is, however, very little evidence from earlier periods.

Jerome, *de locis* 21.17 (Klostermann): 'Anob civitas quam expugnavit Iesus. et est usque hodie villa iuxta Diospolim quasi in quarto miliario ad orientalem plagam quae vocatur Betoannaba. plerique autem affirmant in octavo ab ea miliario sitam et appellari Bethannabam.'

This source is also discussed above, s.v. Beit

Anaba. Jerome translates Eusebius who clearly identified biblical Nob, which was actually north-east of Jerusalem, with Betoannaba (probably = Beit Anaba). Jerome, however, adds a statement of his own in addition to the information from Eusebius which he repeats.

'The city of Anob which Joshua conquered (Joshua 11, 21) is now a village near Diospolis, approximately four miles eastward, named Betoannaba. Most people, however, assert that it is eight miles from Diospolis and that it is called Bethannaba.'

This then could refer to Beit Nuba, identified with Biblical Nob in the middle ages.¹²⁶

The Madaba Map states 'νωβ η νυν Βητοανναβα': 'Anob is now Betoannaba.' This could mean either Beit Annaba or Beit Nuba. Since the topography of the map is confused it is prudent to leave the matter open.¹²⁷

In the Crusader period Beit Nuba is mentioned very frequently as one of the major halting places on the route to Jerusalem (See Part I). The site is described by William of Tyre in connection of the construction of Castellum Arnaldi.

'...a place near ancient Nobe, which today is generally called Bettenuble. There, on that slope of a hill at the entrance to the plain, on the road leading to Lydda and from there to the sea, they built a fortress of solid masonry to ensure the safety of pilgrims passing along that route. In the narrow mountain pass, among the defiles impossible to avoid, pilgrims were exposed to great danger. Here the people of Ascalon were accustomed to fall upon them suddenly. The work, when successfully accomplished was called Castle Arnold. Thus, by the grace of God and also because of this fortress, the road became much safer and the journey to or from Jerusalem was rendered less perilous.'¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Note also the reference in Jerome, *ep.* 108, cited in the entry on Kh. Beit Annaba, above. As observed there, this could refer either to this place or to Beit Nuba.

¹²⁷ M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map* (1954), no. 73, has no doubt that Beit Annaba is meant.

¹²⁸ William of Tyre, xiv 8 (*RHC Occ.*, i, p.617); trans. Babcock and Krey, ii (1957), p.58. Cf. the entry on Yalo for discussion of the identification of Castellum Arnaldi.

¹²⁴ We quote from the English translation which is the only text accessible to us: *The Travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant* (London 1686), p.181.

¹²⁵ *Judée*, i, p.279.

According to Marinus Sanutus in 1130 the patriarch and citizens of Jerusalem 'came to the city of Nobe, later named Bethnoble, where one descends from the mountains into the plain, on the road to Lidda and the sea. There they built a strong castle called Hernaut, for the protection of passing pilgrims; for the Ascalonites often ambushed Christians at that spot.'¹²⁹ Marinus Sanutus wrote his work between 1310 and 1320.

In 1191-92, when Saladin and the crusaders under Richard fought for the control of the routes from the plain to Jerusalem Beit Nuba is often mentioned. Saladin stayed there with his army on at least one occasion.¹³⁰ In December of 1191 the crusader army moved from Ramleh to Beit Nuba in anticipation of their abortive advance on Jerusalem, and remained there for a month.¹³¹

In June of the following year the crusaders advanced again in preparation for an assault on Jerusalem which failed to be realized. They encamped at Blanche Garde (Tell es-Safiyah, Tel Tsafit) and Latrun.¹³² The king moved ahead and planted his tent at Castellum Arnaldi 'on the higher part to the right.' The next day the Franks and the whole army followed and encamped at Beit Nuba. Here they again stayed for a whole month, 'where pilgrims were wont to pass on their way to and back from the Holy City.'¹³³

This is an important source for the identification of Castellum Arnaldi with the fort at Yalu (discussion s.v.). Together with the other sources cited, it shows that at this period Beit Nuba was the natural site for a camp when an army prepared for an assault on

Jerusalem. Moreover, it is clear that pilgrims would normally pass through the town. This is also recorded in a series of thirteenth-century sources referring to pilgrimage rather than warfare. A map of c. 1200 shows that all routes to Jerusalem passed through 'Becennoble Civitas'.¹³⁴

In 1192/3 Saladin again passed through Beit Nuba, according to Baha' al-Din, coming down from Jerusalem and Jib on his way to Ramleh and Jaffa.¹³⁵ He could have used the Beit Horon road or the one through Qubeibeh.

Two further references to the town by Baha' al-Din may be mentioned here: '...Bayt Nuba which is near al-Quds (Jerusalem) the Holy City and the distance is one day's march.' And: 'Bayt Nuba which is a low laying place between mountains.' It is then mentioned as a place on the supply route of the Franks.¹³⁶

Wilbrandus de Oldenburg, who visited the Holy Land in 1211-1212 describes Bettenoble as 'a village whose fortifications are destroyed, inhabited by Sarracens. The distance from Iopea or Iaf is seven Gallic miles.'¹³⁷

It is hard to know what Beit Nuba really looked like in this period, for a French report from 1231 tells us: 'The distance from Rames to Betenuble is five leagues: Betenuble is a large city. The distance from Betenuble to Monioie is five leagues.'¹³⁸

Later in the thirteenth century the road was still used, but there are complaints about banditry and the quality of the road.¹³⁹

Ricoldus de Monte Crucis travelled in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century from Athlit

¹²⁹ Marinus Sanutus, *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis* ed. J. Bongars, (Hannover 1611, photogr. reprint: Toronto, 1972), p. 163: Interim vero Patriarcha et cives Ierosolymitani, venientes ad civitatem Nobe, postea dictam Bethnoble, in descensu montium ad planum, in via qua itur Lidam, et ad mare, ibi aedificaverunt castrum forte vocatum Hernaut, pro tutela transeuntium Peregrinorum: quia Ascalonitae ibidem, Christianos saepe per insidias trucidabant. As noted below, s.v. Yalu, the source is decisive for the identification of Castellum Arnaldi.

¹³⁰ Abu Shama, *RHC Or.*, v, p. 44.

¹³¹ *It. Reg. Ric.* iv, 36 (Stubbs pp. 303 ff.).

¹³² *It. Reg. Ric.* v, 49 (Stubbs, p. 368f.); Ambroise, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte* ed. G. Paris, 1897, p. 437; Abu Shama, *RHC Or.*, v, p. 54.

¹³³ *It. Reg. Ric.*, loc. cit. See also vi, 6 (p. 392); vi, 9 (p. 396).

¹³⁴ *ZDPV* 14 (1891), p. 139f.

¹³⁵ Baha al-Din, *RHC Or.*, iii, p. 322 f. Cf. Part I: Arabic sources.

¹³⁶ Baha' al-Din, op. cit., pp. 11.

¹³⁷ in: J.C.M. Laurent (ed.), *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quattuor*, (Leipzig 1864), p. 76.

¹³⁸ H. Michelant and G. Raynaud, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem* (Genève 1882), "les pèlerinages por aler en Iherusalem", p. 92f.

¹³⁹ Ibid. p. 192: les chemins et les pèlerinages, Texte B (before 1265) and p. 229: pelrinages et pardouns de Acre (before 1280).

(Castrum Peregrini) past Kakun (Cacho) to Lydda (Sanctus Georgius). Thence he went via Benopolis, which he describes as a village of priests, and onward to Nabi Samwil (Ramatha).¹⁴⁰

Yaqut, i, 780 lists Bayt Nuba as a small town in the neighbourhood of Filastin.

Louis de Rochechouart travelled in 1461 via Yazur and Rama to 'Bethumbe' i.e. Beit Nuba and thence to Emmaus (Qubeibeh) and Ramatha (Nabi Samwil).¹⁴¹ 'Nobe' also appears on the map of 1461 included in B. de Breidenbach's Itinerary, reproduced in ZDPV (1901), Pl.III.

Archaeological Remains

Pl.28 (German air photograph), looking south, shows Yalu in the upper left-hand corner and Beit Nuba below Yalu. Guérin, *Judée*, i, p.286 saw a number of ancient cisterns and reused stones. He discusses at length the identification of Beit Nuba with ancient places.¹⁴² The major treatment is by Clermont-Ganneau, *AR*, ii, pp.71-73, who gives a detailed description of a crusader church, particularly of the three apses, with illustrations.¹⁴³

Baramki observed ancient foundations (visits on 12-9-1932 and 25-9-1933). Husseini mentions seeing three sarcophagi and a rock-hewn tomb (reported 28-4-1937).

Bagatti, *el-Qubeibeh*, p.234 did not see noteworthy antiquities.

We visited the site on 3-5-1985. It is now difficult to survey. In the north-western part, however, we found an area where Byzantine pottery and tesserae are concentrated.

Beit Nuba was important in the crusader period as a road-station for pilgrims and — at times — as a military camp. The church belongs to this period. It was also certainly occupied in the Byzantine

¹⁴⁰ T. Tobler in *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quattuor*, 1864, p.107.

¹⁴¹ Louis de Rochechouart, 'Journal de Voyage', ed. C. Coudere, *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 3 (1893), 240.

¹⁴² Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, ii, 254, briefly discusses the literary references.

¹⁴³ Brief discussion and further references in Enlart, *Monuments des Croisés*, ii (1928), 44f; Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom* (1993), 102f.

period.

28. Beit Sira

1543.1439

Here there is an Arab village built over earlier remains, sited on the route connecting Emmaus (Imwas) with the main road Lydda - Kafr Rut - Beit-Horon - Jerusalem.¹⁴⁴

Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, ii, pp.77;79;481, mentions the village and points out the importance of the site, but does not describe any archaeological remains.

Guérin, *Judée*, i, p.337, records: 'I noticed several ancient cisterns and a rock-hewn tomb. Over the opening which gives access to the grave-chamber a sculptured cross can be discerned.'

D. Baramki visited the village twice and reports to the D.A.M. that he saw foundations with rectangular dressed stones, glass and pottery (27-12-1928). On 12-7-1941 he saw a circular pool.

The ancient remains appear to be of Byzantine origin but cannot now be surveyed.

The site includes Byzantine and later remains.

Beit Suriq

1642.1367

AS Benjamin, Site No. 284, p. 43*: 'P-few sherds; Hell-21%; Rom-15%; Byz-16%; Els-4%; Med-17%; Ott-15%; unidentified-10%; 185 sherds.

The village was granted to the church of the Holy Sepulchre by Godfrey of Bouillon in 1099 or 1100.¹⁴⁵ It is mentioned again as a Latin settlement in 1169.¹⁴⁶ Pringle therefore assumes the existence of a parish church in the Crusader period.

It is remarkable that *AS Benjamin* does not record crusader material. Possibly the unidentified pottery belongs to that period. There are many cases where crusader pottery seems to be absent although crusader monuments and literary sources attest to

¹⁴⁴ Aerial photographs of the village and vicinity. Kedar, *AP*, 108f.

¹⁴⁵ Röhrich, *Regesta*, 17, no. 74.

¹⁴⁶ Röhrich, *Regesta*, 123, no. 469. Further references in Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom* (1993), 103f.

occupation in that period. This may possibly point to difficulties in distinguishing crusader pottery from mediaeval or Ottoman. See also entry 52 (Ein Beit Suriq).

29. **Beit Thul**

1571.1366

This is a large site on the ridge between Nahal Itla to the south and Nahal Hahamisha to the north. It lies on a road from Kiriath-jearim to Yalu and Beit Nuba. Some three km. further west is another substantial settlement, Kh. Hirsha (see entry No. 69, s.v.).

The *SWP*, iii, p.86 (s.v. Beit Tûl) mention foundations and a 'mukâm'.

Clermont-Ganneau, *AR*, ii, pp.65-68, describes the site in detail. He observes that there is a very fine view through a gap in the hills of the plain that lies below. Thûl, he explains, means 'swarm of bees' or 'hornets' and, indeed, the place used to produce excellent honey. He considered that the site was certainly ancient and of some importance. He observed cisterns, presses, caverns and tombs hewn out of the rock, especially on the western slope of the hill, as well as house foundations, quarry-holes and fragments of pottery. He also comments on 'a seemingly ancient road, bordered with large blocks and extending, as it appears, to Yalo, an hour's journey distant.'

He notes a capital with two spiral scrolls (i.e. volutes) ornamented with large Greek crosses which belonged to one of the columns lying in the fields. They must have come from a building of Byzantine date.

We visited the site together with Yuval Shahar and Yigal Tepper and their team. The site is entirely covered by the ruins of the Arab village, but in various spots we saw older masonry as well as rock-hewn cisterns and installations. In addition to recent sherds we picked up ribbed ware of the Byzantine period.

The site is Byzantine.

30. **Beit Tulma** see: Motza (Qaluniych) and vicinity

20. **Beit Ur al-Fauqa (Beit Horon, Upper)**

1608.1436

fig.8.44; Pl.14,22,61,63-5.

In this and in the next entry, on Lower Beth Horon, we present only the literary and archaeological evidence on the two sites. A discussion of the use of the road named after these sites and military campaigns in the area is presented in Part I, the evidence of the course of the road in Part II.

Literary Sources

On the place-name Albright writes: 'The name Beth-horon unquestionably contains the name of [the] god Haurôn, as pointed out by I. Lévy...The fact that the second element is elsewhere known as the name of a Canaanite god proves...that our name belong to the same category as such theophorous names as *Bêt-shemesh*...' ¹⁴⁷ A 'Beth Horon', i.e. a temple of Horon is mentioned on an ostrakon from Tell Qasile. ¹⁴⁸ It has also been suggested that 'Bit Ninurta', mentioned in Amarna letter 290, is Beit Horon. ¹⁴⁹

Solomon fortified 'Jerusalem, Hazor, Megiddo and Gezer, ... Lower Beth-horon, Baalath, and Tamar in the wilderness.' (1 Kings 9.15, 17-18). The parallel passage in 2 Chron. 8.5 states: 'He also built Upper Beth-horon and Lower Beth-horon as fortified cities with walls and barred gates, and Baalath...'

In 927 BC a military expedition was carried out by Pharaoh Shishak in Palestine (1 Kings 14.25-8; 2 Chron. 12.1-2). An inscription preserved in the Amon Temple in Karnak contains a long topographical list which includes Gezer, ??, Rubute, Ayalon, Gatim, Beth-horon, Gibeon. ¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ W.F. Albright, *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 53 (1936), 6. I. Lévy published an essay about the god Hauron which was published after Albright's article and this contains no reference to Beit Horon: 'Les dieux de Jamnia', *Recherches esséniennes et pythagoriciennes* (Genève and Paris (1965), 65-9. However, A. Plassart, *Les sanctuaires et les cultes du Mont Cynthe à Délos* (1928), 280 f. writes: 'M. Isidore Lévy a bien voulu me signaler que son nom se retrouve sans doute dans celui d'une localité qui n'est pas très éloignée d'Iamneia. C'est l'actuelle Bêt-Ûr...' Plassart's work appeared before Albright's article.

¹⁴⁸ B. Maisler (Mazar), *JNES* 19 (1951), 265-7, esp. 266.

¹⁴⁹ Z. Kallai and H. Tadmor, *EI* 9 (1969), 138-47, arguing that the god Horon is the equivalent of Mesopotamian Ninurta.

¹⁵⁰ For this list see recently Schmitt in Cohen, R. and Schmitt, G., *Drei Studien zur Archäologie und Topographik Altisraels* (Wiesbaden 1980). We follow

An unspecified (Beth) Horon is mentioned in one of the Qumran documents, the Copper Scroll, which lists sixty-four underground hiding places where various treasures have been deposited. We cite Milik's translation: 'Parmi les tombeaux de (Bet) Horon dans l'hypogée qui est face à la Mer, dans le bassin creusé seize coudées: 22 talents.'¹⁵¹

The well-known Talmudic passage describing the narrowness of the Beth Horon road has been cited in Parts I and II, above.

Eusebius tells us that 'There are two villages, approximately twelve miles from Aelia on the road to Nicopolis, one of which is named Upper Beth-horon, built by Solomon, and the other Lower Beth-horon which is assigned to the Levites.'¹⁵²

It should be noted that Jerome (AD 385-6) describes the two towns as ruined.¹⁵³ Elsewhere, however, Jerome notes that 'Rama, Bethoron and other noble cities founded by Salomon appear as small villages.'¹⁵⁴

The Madaba Map mentions one unspecified Bethoron.

In the crusader period Upper Beit Horon came to be identified with the birth place of Daniel.¹⁵⁵

suggestions made to us by Nadav Na'aman.

¹⁵¹ 3Q15, ix,7-9; trans.: M. Baillet, J. Milik, R. de Vaux, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* iii (1962), 214, para 42.; discussion, p. 268, para 32.

¹⁵² Eusebius, *On*. 46.22; Jerome 47.18ff. (Klostermann).

¹⁵³ In the account of Paula's journey to Jerusalem, Jerome, *ep.* 108.8, ed. Hilberg, *CSEL*, iv, p.314, we are told that she passed the two Beit Horon on her way from Nicopolis and saw Aialon and Gibeon. 'Atque inde [sc. from Nicopolis] proficiscens ascendit Bethoron inferiorem et superiorem, urbes a Salomone conditas, sed varia postea bellorum tempestate deletas; ad dextram aspiciens Aialon et Gabaon.'

¹⁵⁴ Jerome, in *Sophoniam* i, 15.16 (CCSL 76A, p.673): 'Silo, ubi tabernaculum et arca testamenti domini fuit, vix altaris fundamenta monstrantur. Gabaa illa civitas Saulis usque ad fundamenta diruta est. Rama et Bethoron et reliquae urbes nobiles a Salomone constructae, parvi viculi demonstrantur.' Further references: *TIR* s.v. Bethoron, p.84f.

¹⁵⁵ *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters...Olivarius*, ed. H. Hoogeweg (Tübingen 1894), 'Historia de ortu Jerusalem et eius variis eventibus', pp.49; 60.

It was occasionally named Beter, not to be confused with Bitir (Bethar).¹⁵⁶ The Beit Horon road was not commonly used by pilgrims and travellers after the Crusades. An exception is perhaps the Jewish traveller who mentions another group of Jewish pilgrims who had to pay toll at Kephart Beit in the eighteenth century.¹⁵⁷ However, this could also be a reference to the genuine Beitart (Bittir) which lies on the Jerusalem - Beit Guvrin road.

Archaeological Evidence

Guérin, *Judée*, i, p.346, noticed the remains of a small castle, several times rebuilt. In the *SWP*, iii, p.86 the site is briefly mentioned: 'many large rough stones in the walls of the houses and enclosures...the great *birkeh* in the north-east.' Note also p.17: 'a small village... at the end of a spur on a knoll. The water supply is artificial...The view is very extensive, including the sea, the plains of Lydda and Ramleh, and part of the valley of Ajalon.' Clermont-Ganneau, *AR*, ii, p.377, mentions rock-cut steps and a reservoir hewn in the rock near the village 'on the ancient way.' P.-M. Séjourné, *RB* 34 (1898), p.122f. noticed a milestone, built into a wall in the village.¹⁵⁸

Abel, in 1925, saw vestiges of a wall built on an escarpment, *RB* 34 (1925), 204 f. Baramki also mentions the reservoir as well as foundations south of the road (report of 15-11-1937). We should add, as so often, the splendid illustrations published by Charles W. Wilson, *Picturesque Palestine* (1880), pp.191-93 (repr. Jerusalem, 1976), 'The Land of Judea', pp.71-3.

AS Benjamin, Site No. 143, pp. 49-50; 28*: '18 dunams. arab village; caves; oil-press; portion of Rom. road; reservoir; burial caves; rock-cut wine-press; cisterns. Iron II-46% Hell-12%; Rom-6%; Byz-9%; Els, Med and Ott-27% (further details on p.142, Heb.). This relates to the remains in the old part of the village, south of the modern road. The remains north of the road are listed as No. 28, p. 16*: '15 (?)MB-few sherds; Iron I-3%; Iron II - 66%; P-4%; Hell-12%; Byz-few sherds; Ott-9%; 161 sherds. (p. 49f., Heb.).

Perhaps one of the two sites recorded in *AS Benjamin* represents an establishment connected with

¹⁵⁶ For instance: Theodericus, *de locis sanctis*, iii 38, ed. Bulst, p.42: 'Iuxta Sophim Bethoron, que nunc Beter vocatur'.

¹⁵⁷ R. Haim Joseph David Azulay (1764), E. Ya'ari, *Masa'oth Eretz-Israel* (1976), 377 (Heb.).

¹⁵⁸ This milestone and the others along this road are among the few missing in P. Thomsen's comprehensive paper, *ZDPV* 40(1917), p.77.

the road, and the other, the settlement itself. The pottery presented in the figure on p. 50 seems to be a representative sample of the periods encountered on this site. Remarkable, however, is the absence of real Roman pottery, while the road clearly was in use in the period, as attested by the milestones.

In the village we found large subterranean rooms with oil presses preserved intact, clearly of Byzantine date. Fragments of marble building material, including a well dressed column-base, appear to have belonged to a public building, possibly a church. In the mosque and other recent buildings there are numerous well-worked stones, presumably from the Byzantine and Mediaeval periods. Some of these have marginal dressing and projecting bosses.

Literary evidence leaves no doubt that there was a fort in biblical times. However, no remains from that period, nor from Hellenistic or Roman times were found. The earliest remains visible today are Byzantine and later. The remains of a fort are visible in the highest part of the village. This has been identified as a manor house from the Crusader period.¹⁵⁹ It was certainly rebuilt in the Ottoman period, with more recent masonry visible in various places.

19. **Beit Ur at Tahta (Lower Beit Horon)**
1582.1446

The site of Lower Beit Horon occupies the area where the road to Jerusalem leaves the undulating hill-country and begins the famous 'Beit Horon ascent.' It is on a low ridge with wells to the west. Like the upper site it was often visited by scholars. The site consists of the village proper and smaller sites nearby, such as Kh. er-Ras, Kh. Deiriya (q.v.) and Kh. al-'Isa (for the latter site, also above, s.v. Adasa). It is not always easy to know which site exactly scholars are referring to in their descriptions.

For the literary sources see above, s.v. Beit Ur al-Fauqa. Thirteenth and fourteenth century sources mention only the lower site. Burchardus de Monte Sion, who visited the Holy Land in 1283 has a reference to 'Behoron inferior', but it is not clear from his text whether he visited the village himself.¹⁶⁰ The same must be said of Marinus Sanutus, who wrote

between 1310 and 1320.¹⁶¹

The first to recognize the ancient name in the Arabic Beit Ur was Dr E.D. Clarke (1801).¹⁶²

Robinson gives a description of the ascent and the sites along it.¹⁶³ At Lower Beit Horon he notes: '...the foundations of large stones indicate an ancient site' On his way to the upper site he observes (on top of the first offset) 'foundations of large stones, the remains perhaps of a castle which once guarded the pass' In the village of Upper Beit Horon he observes: '...[it] is small, but exhibits traces of ancient walls and foundations. Just below the little hill on which it stands, towards the east, is a small but very ancient reservoir.'

van de Velde (1858) notes: 'the two Beit-Ürs are united by a steep and rough ascent, over a sort of promontory, jutting out between two deep valleys. The rock, here, has been cut away in many places, and the path formed into steps, showing that this is an ancient road. At nearly midway, on the first offset or step of the ascent, are foundations of large stones, the remains perhaps of a castle, which once guarded the pass [with note, referring to Robinson].'¹⁶⁴ This is probably the Byzantine church at er-Ras (see below).

Guérin discusses the site and its importance in connection with the road (see also Part II). In the village he notes that the houses were partly built with older materials and he saw several cisterns, hewn into the rock (*Judée*, i, p.338-344). On a later visit he notes that a small mosque contained two ancient columns and records numerous cisterns and some rock-hewn caves (*Samarie*, ii, p. 396 f.). The *SWP*, iii, p.86 records foundations of good masonry and a tomb in the village itself, while half a mile east of the village on the Roman road were remains of a Byzantine church with a large wine-press to its north. This, apparently is the site named er-Ras, for P.-M. Séjourné, *RB* 7 (1898), 122-3, specifically mentions having seen the remains of a

¹⁶¹ Marinus Sanutus, *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*, ed. J. Bongars (Hannover, 1611, repr. 1972), ii, p.249 (vetus Betor). G. Bever, *ZDPV* 65(1942), p.178, n.6 comments that these two authors 'reden nur vom unteren Bethoron, das auch als das ältere und zugleich bedeutendere zu gelten hat.' Neither text implies anything like that.

¹⁶² E.D. Clarke, *Travels in various Countries* (London 1811), Pt. ii, vol. i, 628 f.

¹⁶³ Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, ii, 250 f.

¹⁶⁴ C.W.M. van de Velde, *Memoir to accompany the Map of the Holy Land* (Gotha 1858), 241.

¹⁵⁹ Benvenisti, *CHL*, 232 (photograph), 233.

¹⁶⁰ Burchardus de Monte Sion, ed. J.C.M. Laurent, *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quattuor* (Leipzig 1864), p.77.

church at er-Ras, 'where the road passes over a small hill-top.' In the north-eastern part of the village of Lower Beit Horon, he observed remains of another church with a mosaic pavement, the remains of which were being destroyed by a cucumber-plantation. In the neighbouring mosque, presumably the one mentioned by Guérin, and along the streets of the village, he saw architectural fragments, remains of a frieze, Corinthian capitals, and columns, as well as a sarcophagus with traces of a Greek inscription. It seems likely that these are the remains noted briefly by A. Alt, *PJB* 21 (1925), 56. Alt also mentions that the village occupied only part of a considerable ancient site.

The milestones discovered in Upper and Lower Beit Horon are listed in Parts II and IV. Clermont-Ganneau *Archaeological Researches*, ii, 377, notes hewn stones and lintels with rosettes at a site which he calls Khurbet Râs Snôbar. This is presumably Kh. er-Ras.

N. Makhoul reports on 29-12-1926 (D.A.M.) that he found ancient foundations in the northern part of the village. Baramki, in a letter of 16-11-1937 (D.A.M.) describes these remains as belonging to a church. This would seem to be the second church already seen by Séjourné. S.A.S. Hussein writes, on 10-10-1931, that he saw numerous architectural fragments of a church all over the village, especially in its northern part. He mentions in particular acanthus capitals and fragments of columns. A marble base of a corner-pillar is extant in secondary use as a well-cover. Hussein further mentions having seen coloured tesserae, a marble chancel screen and other fragments. He plausibly concludes that all this suggests the existence of a 'large [Byzantine] church north of Amwas.'

Baramki's report already cited shows conclusively that there were indeed two churches, for he speaks both of remains of a church to the north of the village and of another about one km. eastward.

Here, at the site named er-Ras, he found foundations, columns of well-worked masonry, cisterns and a wine-press. As described below, the site was recently re-discovered.

Approximately two km. west of the village, at a site named Kh. al-Manna (q.v.), S.A.S. Hussein saw on 8-9-1934 (D.A.M.) a burial cave with *loculi* which contained four ossuaries decorated with a rosette pattern inscribed in a circle. Thirty metres eastward Hussein found a similar cave. Caves and ossuaries of this type were in common use in Judaea, and particularly in the Jerusalem-area, in the last phase of the period of the Second Temple (first century BC-first century AD).

Albright, already cited for his comments on the name Beth Horon writes: 'There are two places by this name, but the older of the two is Beit Horon the Lower, where there is an ancient mound with Late Bronze pottery'.¹⁶⁵ LMLK seals are said to have been found on the site.¹⁶⁶ We have no further information on this early settlement, but it is certainly true that the lower site is more attractive for settlement. It is also possible, but this is our conjecture, that the two places have the same name because one of them was at first only a road-fort. This is how Eusebius saw the relationship since he writes that Upper Beit Horon was built by Solomon, and Lower Beit Horon which was assigned to the Levites. This implies that he considered the lower site the original settlement and the upper one merely the site of a Solomonic fort. However, Eusebius' statement is valid only for the situation in his own time.

AS Benjamin, No. 22, pp.43-6; 15*: '30(?) dunams. Arab village on tel; terraces to north. Iron I-single sherd; Iron II-27%; P-3%; Hell-27%; Rom-17%; Byz-10%; Els(?) -single sherd; Ott-9%; 157 sherds.' pp. 43-45 (Heb.): pottery drawings, photo. The pottery illustrated ranges from the Iron age to the Byzantine period. On p. 43 (Heb.) Late Bronze Age pottery is also mentioned.

A 'dyeing vat' (=oil press) from the Iron Age was found in the village (*Archaeological Newsletter* 31-32, 1970, 13).

In July of 1985 Yuval Shahar, Yigael Tepper and their companions showed us an ancient site at G.R. 1590.1440. Here the ancient road is still preserved with steps cut into the rock, as described in Part II. The location is south of Kh. er-Ras and Kh. al-'Isa, mentioned above.

Immediately to the north of the road are walls of fine masonry, cisterns and ancient quarries. It is possible that the masonry remains come from one of the two churches seen earlier by others. Small steps descend to the main road from a terrace, while south of the road are remains of wine-presses and cisterns. This is clearly a small settlement which developed along the public road. The pottery collected was exclusively Byzantine.

This site is listed in *AS Benjamin* as site No. 140, p.28*: '2.5 dunams. Traces of walls: rock-cut wine-press; burial cave; oil-press; tiles; tesserae. Byz-71%; Els(?) -6%; Med-Ott-23%; 31 sherds. Nearby is

¹⁶⁵ *Am. Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 53(1936), 6.

¹⁶⁶ E. Stern, *BA* 38 (1975), 50, n.20

site No. 139, p.28*, M.R. 15910.14380: 'Traces of circular structure; cistern. Rom; 7 sherds.' Cf. p. 122 (Heb.), describing the remains of an elongated building (length: 26m) of medium sized stones. Close to it were seen the remains of a wine press cut in the rock, a tomb and a millstone were found. Tiles, tesserae, marble fragments, stone columns and fragments of doorjambes were also recorded. This seems to be another (mainly) Byzantine site along the main road.

At 1596.1443 another ancient site was found, Kh. Il'asa, about 1.5 kilometres east of Lower Beit Horon. This is now an area of agricultural terraces and a few houses.

An Elasa is mentioned in 1 Chron. 8.37; 9.43 (LXX: Ελασα), as a personal name. It has also been suggested that this site might be the Eleasa (var. Elasa, Alasa) mentioned in 1 Macc.9.5 as the site of a battle, but the topography does not seem appropriate¹⁶⁷ (see the entries on Kh. Adasa and Beit Ur et Tahta).

SWP, iii, p.115 notes: 'Traces of ruins. Terrace walls and scattered stones. A trough...Traces of an old walled road. A rock-cut cemented cistern.' The files of the D.A.M. (1929) note: 'Ruined walls, foundations, rock-cut cisterns, fragments of columns and a cave.'

South of this site we found a long section of the old Beit Horon road with steps cut into the rock in an excellent state of preservation. The site dates from the Byzantine period and belongs to the site of Lower Beit Horon.

The ancient remains found in the village of Beit Ur et-Tahta and in the surrounding area are Byzantine and mediaeval. To the west, remains of the Early Roman period (first centuries BC and AD) were found.

31. Kh. el Beituniya 1657.1378

About 400 m. west of Kh. el Beituniya, AS Benjamin, Site No. 298, p.44*, record a small, unnamed site: '4 dunams. Ruin; terraces; traces of buildings; cupmarks. Iron II-8%; P-20%; Hell-65%; Byz-6%; unidentified; single sherd; 65 sherds.' Note that the site, listed as Kh. el-Beituniya (AS Benjamin, No. 307) is 700 m. from Beituniya.

Ben Shemen Crossroads

¹⁶⁷ Abel *Les livres des Maccabées*, p.160 n., mentions this as an alternative possibility, but rejects the site on topographical grounds. See also his *Géographie de la Palestine*, ii (1938), p.312, s.v. Eleasa.

In the vicinity of the crossroads are a number of sites none of which is marked on any map: they are therefore nameless.

1443.1518

On this site are many quarries, two wine presses, a well, tombs with arcosolia. Pottery: Late Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic. 500 m. to the south were extensive quarries again, extending over ca. 10 dunam, wine presses, graves. Pottery: Persian (?), Roman, Byzantine.

1439.1509

Three graves, 2 bell-shaped caves. Pottery: Roman, Byzantine.

1438.1507

Well, cuttings in the rock. Pottery: Persian(?), Roman, Byzantine.

1435.1508

Foundations of buildings extend over 5 dunams, a well, perhaps a farmhouse. Pottery: Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine.

32. Biddu 1643.1377

The significance of the Biddu crossroads is discussed above, in Part II.

Literary Sources

The village is not mentioned in any of the ancient or mediaeval sources known to us. The first mention of the place seems to be by Doubdan who visited the country in 1651-52: '...we found a village filled entirely with animals, particularly chickens, from which they derive their wealth; it is called Bedon...' (J. Doubdan, *Le voyage de la Terre-Sainte*, (Paris 1657), 113). At about the same time a Jewish traveller, Moshe ben Eliyahu Halevi (1654-5) mentions travelling from Ramle to Jerusalem by way of Biddu.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁸ A. Ya'ari, *Masa'ot Eretz-Yisrael* (1976, Heb.), 305 ff.

The village is referred to again by Pococke (in 1737-40): [from Nabi Samwil] we turned back again to the road, and went westward toward Emmaus [i.e. Qubeiba], leaving the village of Bedou to the right, and Bethsurick to the left.¹⁶⁹

The village lies on the Jerusalem - Qubeiba - Beit Nuba road. Guérin, *Judée*, i, 362, observed that some of the buildings in the village seemed to be ancient. In such cases, however, it is very hard to say anything of the date of the original structures.

Bagatti, *el Qubeibeh*, 215f., surveyed the village and its surroundings. He considered it possible that it should be identified with the 'Parva Mahomeria' of Crusader documents (see the entry on el Qubeiba). In the village he found mediaeval buildings, built upon Byzantine foundations. He notes that there were ancient cisterns and tombs nearby. A number of tombs are measured and drawn (figs. 43,17;20). One of them has the trefoil shape and arcossolia typical of tombs of the Late Roman and Byzantine periods. On the road to Ramallah he cleared and measured a rock-cut press (fig. 40,3) which was in part paved with tesserae. A nearby cistern contained many Byzantine sherds. Bagatti lists 23 coins found in the village: 6 Hellenistic, 3 Jewish (first cent. AD), 5 late Roman and Byzantine, 1 Ummayyad, 8 from the 12th to 15th century.

Kallai, *Survey 1967*, 185, no.139 visited the Arab village but did not notice any ancient remains.

Ellenblum describes a building which he dates to the Crusader period because it resembles a structure at Al-Meska (q.v.).¹⁷⁰

AS Benjamin, Site No. 287, p.43*, 220 (Heb.), observes that the ancient site also extended into the valley north of the village. '15 dunams. Arab village. Iron II-few sherds; Hell/Rom-8%; Byz-18%; Els(?) -few sherds; Med-64%; Ott-10%; 77 sherds.'

We visited the village several times in our efforts to trace the ancient road system of the area. The village appears to have been sited at an important crossroads in antiquity and at certain later periods.

Mediaeval remains are clearly visible. According to Bagatti it was inhabited in the Byzantine period as well.

¹⁶⁹ R. Pococke, *Description of the East and some other Countries*, i, (1743-48), 49.

¹⁷⁰ R. Ellenblum, *Historical-Geographical Studies in the Settlement of Eretz-Israel* (1988, Heb.), 213, 214 fig. 6.

Bir 'Abdallah

1638.1417

Approximately 600 m. east of Rujum Abu Hashabe, south of the road, 200 m. from Bir Abdallah is a site on a hilltop which we have not seen. *AS Benjamin*, Site No. 149, p. 29* '16380.14170; 0.5 dunam. Traces of two buildings; tesserae. No identifiable sherds.'

32a.

Kh. Bir al-Biyar

1684.1402

This site has been mentioned frequently in modern literature in attempts to identify it with biblical Beeroth. That identification is no longer accepted and need not be discussed here.

The site lies half a kilometre east of Gibeon, near the ancient road to Beit Horon and is built over today.

The *SWP*, iii, 109, mentions traces of ruins, heaps of stones, a rock-cut cistern.

P. Lagrange, *RB* 3(1894), 450 f. saw the remains of a Byzantine church, a cistern and a milestone. The church, which measured 20 by 10 m. was used by the inhabitants of nearby Bir Nebāla as quarry. Dalman, *PJb* 8(1913), 18 f. saw only 'formlose Trümmer aus unbehauehen Steinen' and a cistern.

Abel, *RB* 43(1934), 365 f., writes that because of extensive quarrying operations there was nothing to see, apart from the cistern already mentioned, and is doubtful whether there was any occupation before the Byzantine period. With some reservations, he suggests identifying the site with Gederah of 1 Chron. 12,5, as the original name of the village was apparently Jedīreh.

Kh. Bir al-Biyar is sometimes also referred to as Kh. el-Biyar, which has caused confusion with another site named Kh. al-Biyar at G.R. 1691.1374 (see below, s.v.).¹⁷¹

Baramki, in his report of 12-8-1941 (*D.A.M.*), describes traces of settlement: walls, foundations and cisterns. He collected Roman and Byzantine pottery. Kallai, *Survey 1967*, 183, no. 124 notes: 'Remains of walls, mosaic floor and cistern.... Pottery of the Roman, Byzantine and Muslim periods.'

¹⁷¹ For instance in A. Ovadia, 'Supplement to the Corpus of Byzantine Churches', *Levant* (1984), no.41, the chapel of Kh. Bir al-Biyar is mistakenly assigned to Kh. al-Biyar.

M. Noth, *ZDPV* 66 (1943), 37, n.1, suggests that Gibeon was the significant site in the area in the Roman and Byzantine periods and that the site under discussion was, in fact, part of the larger settlement-area of Gibeon. However, as observed in the entry on Gibeon (s.v.), there is no evidence that Gibeon was a significant site in the Byzantine period.

More recent surveys suggest occupation in the Iron Age, and in the Roman, Byzantine, Mediaeval and Ottoman periods.¹⁷² *AS Benjamin*, Site No. 161, p. 30*: 'Ruin; traces of buildings; ashlar; large tesserae. Iron II-10%; Hell/Rom-17% Byz-72%; 98 sherds.'

It is not now possible to carry out a survey of the site, but it seems safe to conclude that it was occupied in the Roman, Byzantine and Early Islamic periods.

34. Bir Mezza 1534.1386

This is an extensive site with ancient remains approximately one km. east of Yalu and immediately to the east of Kh. Heit Zedan (see entries s.v.).

The site was visited on 20-2-1985 and 26-4-1985 at the suggestion of Dr Naphtali Kadmon. It is characterized by numerous agricultural installations: terraces, remains of oil-presses and a fine wine-press cut in the rock. At the edge of the site are cisterns, rock-cut tombs and tombs with *arcosolia*. In one area steps cut in the rock connect different levels of the settlement.

This is an agricultural settlement, connected with the more important site of Yalu. The pottery is predominantly Byzantine, but Iron Age sherds were picked up as well.

The site was occupied in the Iron Age and in the Byzantine period.

35. Bir Nabala 1686.1394

This is a small village, one km. east-south-east of Gibeon, which gives a commanding view of the Beit Horon road.

Guérin, *Judée*, i, 393, saw a ruined fort, apparently of the Crusader period, fine ancient stones in secondary use and a number of rock-cut tombs. Baramki reported on 19-7-1941 that he had seen an ancient cistern, an olive-press and a cylinder-shaped

well.

AS Benjamin, No. 318, p. 47*. '8 dunams. Arab village; oil press; Hell-31%; Byz(?) -18%; Med and Ott 42%; unidentified-4%; 58 sherds.'

It is not now possible to add anything to these observations. The settlement dates to the Hellenistic, Byzantine and later periods.

33. Kh. al Biriya 1473.1501

This is a small site on the road from Lydda to Modi'in, approximately a kilometre and a half due east of Deir Abu Salama (see entry s.v.). Guérin, *Samarie*, ii, 394 visited the site and found a ruined village with fine ancient cisterns.

The village is now incorporated into the National Park at Ben Shemen and consequently virtually destroyed as an ancient site. The files of the *D.A.M.* refer to traces of settlement, stones and cisterns.

Sherds: IA, Hellenistic, Herodian, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Crusader, and later.

36. Kh. al-Biyar (Kh. Farrâj) 1691.1374

Fig. 10; Pl.87

This site represents a concentration of archaeological remains along the Nabi Samwil - Beit Hanina road. A Byzantine chapel was found on the site. On the north side of the valley are the remains of a large water-reservoir. It is partly hewn in the rock and partly built of fine masonry with bosses. It belongs to the type of Crusader structure (fortified manor house?) seen at many sites in the region, such as Motza / Qaluniya, Tulma and others.

The site is shown as Kh. Faraj on the *SWP* map and is listed as Kh. Farrâj in the *Geographical List of the Records Files* (1918-1948) of the *D.A.M.*, 153: 'Rock-cut tombs and cisterns, rock-cut and masonry pool to west'.

Bagatti, *Qubeibeh*, p.228, n.5, also describes the reservoir. He observed two types of tombs cut into the rock. The first type consisted of tombs with loculi common in the Iron Age. The second group were tombs with *arcosolia* typical of the Late Roman and Byzantine period. In the former, Bagatti found pottery from the Iron Age, while pottery from the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods was spread over the

¹⁷² B. von Klaus *et alii*, *ZDPV* 87 (1971), 23-41.

whole site.

Kallai, *Survey 1967*, 186, no.144, gives a brief description of the site. He gives the measurements of the large water reservoir as 10.7 by 17.8 m. with walls 1.7 m. thick. He records pottery from the Iron Age (Israelite II) and from the Roman, Byzantine and Early Islamic periods. The cisterns and tombs are described again by a group of German archaeologists.¹⁷³

Apart from the reservoir, we found additional water-installations, such as cisterns and an aqueduct, partly hewn out of the rock and partly constructed. These are still being used by the Bedouin of the area. Tombs are visible on both sides of the valley - we counted at least seven. We collected pottery from the Iron Age and from the Byzantine and Crusader periods.

The site was occupied in the Iron Age (Israelite II), and the Roman, Byzantine and Crusader periods. It supplied water to neighbourhood farms and to travellers and was used for burials.

36a. Kh. al Burej

1584.1409

Pl.88-9; fig.19.6

This is a site on the Beit Nuba - al-Qubeiba road. It is mentioned in the files of the *D.A.M.*: 'Traces of ruins'. Bagatti briefly discusses the site.¹⁷⁴ It is also described by Ellenblum.¹⁷⁵

AS Benjamin Site No. 134, p. 27*, 120 (Heb.): Kh. Bureij; '1 dunam. Ruin traces of two buildings, one with vault; cistern; caves on north site of wadi. Rom(?) - single sherd; Med-9 sherds.' The descriptions in *AS Benjamin* and Ellenblum suggest that this was a Crusader site along the road of this period to Jerusalem. Note also Site No. 135, 300 m. further down the wadi; 15800.14080: 'Traces of walls; cisterns; plastered troughs. Hell-single sherd; Rom-27%; Med-67%; 15 sherds.' For further discussion, see Appendix II to Part II.

37. Al Burj (Gittaim, Gat, Git(h), Horvat Tittora)

1520.1455

¹⁷³ Klaus Balzer, H.H. Schmid *et alii*, *ZDPV* 87 (1971), 23-41; further references: *TIR* s.v. Kh. el Biyar, 91.

¹⁷⁴ B. Bagatti, *I monumenti di Emmaus el-Qubeibeh* (1947), 208.

¹⁷⁵ R. Ellenblum in: *Historical-Geographical Studies* (1988, Heb.), 210, figs. 2, 3.

Gat

1 Chron. 7,21: 'Ephraim's other sons Ezer and Elead were killed by the native Gittites when they came down to lift their cattle.' Then follows (25) a statement regarding the construction of Lower and Upper Beit Horon.

1 Chron. 8,13: 'The sons of Elpaal: Eber, Misham, Shamed who built Ono and Lod with its villages, also Beriah and Shema who were heads of families living in Aijalon, having expelled the inhabitants of Gath.'¹⁷⁶

Gittaim

1 Neh. 11, 31-5: 'The men of Benjamin lived in Geba, Michmash, Aiah, and Bethel with its villages, in Anathoth, Nob, and Ananiah, in Hazor, Ramah, and Gittaim, in Hadid, Zeboim, and Neballat, in Lod, Ono, and Ge-harashim.' Also: 1 Sam. 14,33 (Septuagint); 2 Sam. 4,3.

Git(h)

Git(h) is mentioned in a number of documents of the Crusader period, which confirm that the Patriarch of Jerusalem granted the Church of the Holy Sepulchre possession of a number of villages between Lydda and Beit Horon: Git(h), Porphilia/Porphiria (i.e. Barfilya), Kefre(s)cilta (Shilta), and Capharuth/Capharut.¹⁷⁷

Schmitt has argued persuasively that these sites are identical and that they are best identified with al-Burj (Horvat Tittora).¹⁷⁸ This site is to be distinguished from Gitta/Geth mentioned by Josephus and in Christian sources (see the entry on Gitta). The site has often been identified with Castellum Arnaldi of the Crusaders, first by Vincent and Abel, *Emmaüs*, 367-69 and n.1 on p.369, but we prefer the

¹⁷⁶ Discussion of 'Gat, Gittaim und Gitta' by G. Schmitt in R. Cohen and G. Schmitt, *Drei Studien zur Archäologie und Topographie Altisraels*, (1980), 88-92.

¹⁷⁷ E. de Rozière, *Cartulaire*, no.26, 49 = Röhrich, *Regesta*, no.165, 41 (AD 1136); de Rozière, no.53, 100 from 1155, where Castellum Arnaldi is also mentioned (see entry on Yalu); no.144, 265 (1164); in the same document, 266, reference is made to the 'casalia Cafaruth et vetus Bethor' (i.e. Beit Horon); similarly: no.165, 279 (1167).

¹⁷⁸ Against B. Mazar, *IEJ* 4 (1954), 227-235, followed by many others such as Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer*, s.v. Githam, 62.

identification of Castellum Arnaldi with Yalu.¹⁷⁹

This is a hill-top site occupying a strong position which affords a remarkable view of the surrounding country-side. The old air photograph, Pl.34, shows the site and the regular pattern of field-walls around it. Robinson notes: 'The name is modern; but there are here evident traces of an ancient site, apparently once fortified'.¹⁸⁰ The *SWP* iii, 110, gives a plan of the main building and notes: 'a large arched building, a tower possibly of Crusading date... The tower is a very conspicuous object; the roof is flat above, with a tunnel-vault inside. A staircase leads to the roof on the south-east side. The four windows have pointed arches. The building is about 76 feet by 20 feet. Older ruins of a small town - walls, foundations and heaps of stones occur round the tower'. Clermont-Ganneau, *AR*, ii, 98 calls it Burj el-Ma'in and gives an illustration of a 'fine Byzantine lintel with a Greek cross.'

Ory visited the site, which he names 'Kulaat et Tanturah', on 20 and 21-1-1929. Hussein reports (30-9-1940) a mosaic pavement of red, black and white tesserae and some architectural fragments such as a base and a frieze, all belonging to the Byzantine period. *Alon* (Bulletin of the Department of Antiquities of Israel) 1 (1950), 7 (Heb.), reports new discoveries on the site: coloured mosaic with geometrical patterns, and an underground system of vaulted halls. Kochavi, *Survey* 1967, 235, no.230 s.v. Horvat Tittora, el-Burj, notes: 'deserted Arab village on a low elongated hill. East of the village pottery on the surface include: Early Canaanite, Middle Canaanite II, Late Canaanite, Israelite I, II, Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Medieval'.

AS Benjamin, Site no. 117, p.25*, note: 'Ruin of Arab village on tel; cisterns; oil-press elements; burial caves with vaulted facade on western slope. EB(?) -single sherd; MB(?) -few sherds; Iron I(?) -single sherd; Iron II-31%; P-15%; Hell-12%; Rom-7%; Byz-17%; Med-9%; Ott-3%; 121 sherds. Chal. sherds found on eastern slope.'

The Crusader tower is briefly described by Pringle.¹⁸¹

When visiting the site in 1984 we noted many installations to the west of the main building, including several rock-hewn cisterns, foundations of walls, a large area of terraced fields and gardens, foundations of

farm-buildings, wine-presses and other rock-hewn installations, numerous mosaic tesserae and tombs. These were mainly Byzantine, but we also picked up earlier material and Muslim sherds. *AS Benjamin*, 109 (Heb.), also observes an ancient road approaching the site from the West.

The impression from all archaeological surveys carried out on this site is that it was one of the most intensively occupied sites in the area of Modi'in.

38. Kh. al Burj

1678.1367

This is a site occupying a commanding position on a hill near the road from Jerusalem to Nabi Samwil, about one km. south-east of the latter site.

Guérin, *Judée*, iii, 3 f. observed a rectangular vaulted building, 27 by 7 m. He considered it a military station from Crusader times or earlier. It is mentioned in the files of the *D.A.M.* of 1929 as including a tower, foundations of buildings and a tomb. Since then the site has suffered considerably. Bagatti, *Qubeibeh*, 229 saw only a cistern and Iron Age pottery. Kallai, *Survey* 1967, 186, no.150 gives a photograph of the building mentioned by Guérin and notes that the foundations are ancient. He records pottery of the Iron Age (Israelite I and II), the Persian, Byzantine and Early Islamic periods. Hellenistic and Roman material has also been collected on the site.¹⁸²

It is not now possible to make a survey of the architectural remains which once were seen on the site. We collected pottery from the Iron Age and the Persian and Early Islamic periods but no Byzantine sherds. Some 300 m. to the south-east lies Kh. el Kurum (see entry s.v.). The Jerusalem road used to pass over the saddle between the two sites.

AS Benjamin, Site No. 311, p. 46*: 'Tell; terraces; cisterns. MB(?) -single sherd; Iron I-few sherds; Iron II-74%; P-few sherds; P/Hell-9%; Hell-8%; Rom-7%; Med-single sherd; 212 sherds.' The pottery drawn on pp.232-233 belongs mainly to the Iron Age.

This site has evidence of occupation in the Iron Age, Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, and Early Islamic periods and, possibly, the Byzantine period.

39. Burj et Tut

1682.1334(?)

¹⁸² *Archaeological Newsletter* of the Antiquities Authority 101-102 (1994), 77f.

¹⁷⁹ Discussion below, s.v. Yalu.

¹⁸⁰ Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, ii, 249.

¹⁸¹ D. Pringle, *Levant* 23 (1991), 88.

identification of Castellum Arnaldi with Yalu.¹⁷⁹

This is a hill-top site occupying a strong position which affords a remarkable view of the surrounding country-side. The old air photograph, Pl. 34, shows the site and the regular pattern of field-walls around it. Robinson notes: 'The name is modern; but there are here evident traces of an ancient site, apparently once fortified'.¹⁸⁰ The *SWP* iii, 110, gives a plan of the main building and notes: 'a large arched building, a tower possibly of Crusading date... The tower is a very conspicuous object; the roof is flat above, with a tunnel-vault inside. A staircase leads to the roof on the south-east side. The four windows have pointed arches. The building is about 76 feet by 20 feet. Older ruins of a small town - walls, foundations and heaps of stones occur round the tower'. Clermont-Ganneau, *AR*, ii, 98 calls it Burj el-Ma'in and gives an illustration of a 'fine Byzantine lintel with a Greek cross.'

Ory visited the site, which he names 'Kulaat et Tanturah', on 20 and 21-1-1929. Hussein reports (30-9-1940) a mosaic pavement of red, black and white tesserae and some architectural fragments such as a base and a frieze, all belonging to the Byzantine period. *Alon* (Bulletin of the Department of Antiquities of Israel) 1 (1950), 7 (Heb.), reports new discoveries on the site: coloured mosaic with geometrical patterns, and an underground system of vaulted halls. Kochavi, *Survey* 1967, 235, no. 230 s.v. Horvat Tittora, el-Burj, notes: 'deserted Arab village on a low elongated hill. East of the village pottery on the surface include: Early Canaanite, Middle Canaanite II, Late Canaanite, Israelite I, II, Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Medieval'.

AS Benjamin, Site no. 117, p. 25*, note: 'Ruin of Arab village on tel; cisterns; oil-press elements; burial caves with vaulted facade on western slope. EB(?) - single sherd; MB(?) - few sherds; Iron I(?) - single sherd; Iron II - 31%; P - 15%; Hell - 12%; Rom - 7%; Byz - 17%; Med - 9%; Ott - 3%; 121 sherds. Chal. sherds found on eastern slope.'

The Crusader tower is briefly described by Pringle.¹⁸¹

When visiting the site in 1984 we noted many installations to the west of the main building, including several rock-hewn cisterns, foundations of walls, a large area of terraced fields and gardens, foundations of

farm-buildings, wine-presses and other rock-hewn installations, numerous mosaic tesserae and tombs. These were mainly Byzantine, but we also picked up earlier material and Muslim sherds. *AS Benjamin*, 109 (Heb.), also observes an ancient road approaching the site from the West.

The impression from all archaeological surveys carried out on this site is that it was one of the most intensively occupied sites in the area of Modi'in.

38. Kh. al Burj 1678.1367

This is a site occupying a commanding position on a hill near the road from Jerusalem to Nabi Samwil, about one km. south-east of the latter site.

Guérin, *Judée*, iii, 3 f. observed a rectangular vaulted building, 27 by 7 m. He considered it a military station from Crusader times or earlier. It is mentioned in the files of the *D.A.M.* of 1929 as including a tower, foundations of buildings and a tomb. Since then the site has suffered considerably. Bagatti, *Qubeibeh*, 229 saw only a cistern and Iron Age pottery. Kallai, *Survey* 1967, 186, no. 150 gives a photograph of the building mentioned by Guérin and notes that the foundations are ancient. He records pottery of the Iron Age (Israelite I and II), the Persian, Byzantine and Early Islamic periods. Hellenistic and Roman material has also been collected on the site.¹⁸²

It is not now possible to make a survey of the architectural remains which once were seen on the site. We collected pottery from the Iron Age and the Persian and Early Islamic periods but no Byzantine sherds. Some 300 m. to the south-east lies Kh. el Kurum (see entry s.v.). The Jerusalem road used to pass over the saddle between the two sites.

AS Benjamin, Site No. 311, p. 46*: 'Tell; terraces; cisterns. MB(?) - single sherd; Iron I - few sherds; Iron II - 74%; P - few sherds; P/Hell - 9%; Hell - 8%; Rom - 7%; Med - single sherd; 212 sherds.' The pottery drawn on pp. 232-233 belongs mainly to the Iron Age.

This site has evidence of occupation in the Iron Age, Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, and Early Islamic periods and, possibly, the Byzantine period.

39. Burj et Tut 1682.1334(?)

¹⁸² *Archaeological Newsletter* of the Antiquities Authority 101-102 (1994), 77f.

¹⁷⁹ Discussion below, s.v. Yalu.

¹⁸⁰ Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, ii, 249.

¹⁸¹ D. Pringle, *Levant* 23 (1991), 88.

The site lies a little way north of the nineteenth-century road going to Jerusalem from the West. It disappeared as a result of the development of this part of the city of Jerusalem in the present century. It is said to have lain close to the ancient road, c. 400 m. east of the 'Ascent of the Romans'.

SWP, iii, 91 records a vault, rock-hewn cisterns and square chambers without loculi. Schick *PEFQS* 1893, 136, observed: 'The vault consisted originally of a three-fold one, each parallel to the other, and apparently Crusading. Besides, there were a few other houses, also a large cave — a pool cut in the rock, and water-channels' and several components of an oil press. 'Several pieces of glass and a good many small tesserae were found.' It seems to us that the latter finds must be Byzantine. The files of the *D.A.M.* of 1929 mention foundations, rock-hewn cisterns, pools, a press and tombs.

The site seems to have been occupied in the Byzantine and Crusader periods.

40. Kh. ad Daliya
(fig.6; 19.1; Pl.40)

1538.1464

Kh. ad Daliya is a site in the area of Kh. Kafr Rut, not far from the ancient road to Modi'in and Lydda. It lies now fenced off within the perimeter of Moshav Kefar Ruth and requires further investigation.

The SWP iii, 111 s.v. Khurbet ed Daly records 'foundations'. On 12-8-1931 it was visited by D. Baramki of the Department of Antiquities who noticed foundations, rock-hewn cisterns, a tomb, presses, column fragments and remains of an ancient road.

AS Benjamin, No. 6, p.14*: 'Hell - single sherd; Rom - few sherds; Byz - 86%; EIs - 10%; 118 sherds.'

In February 1980 a survey with excavations was carried out at this and other sites in the vicinity (Kureikur, Kafr Rut and Huriya; see the relevant entries). The team was headed by Moshe Fischer on behalf of the Department of Classical Studies, Tel Aviv University and the Department of Antiquities. At Kh. Daliya the remains on the surface were cleared, a plan was drawn and limited excavations were carried out in a number of squares. This does not represent a full investigation of the site, but enables us to describe the chronology of the main phases of occupation and to give an impression of the nature of the structure.¹⁸³

¹⁸³ A brief summary was published in the *Archaeological Newsletter* 74-75 (1980), 19f. (Heb.). The excavation at Kh. ad Daliya was supervised by Eli

Three main periods can be distinguished: (1) The period of Alexander Jannaeus and his successors; (2) The time of the procurators before the Jewish War; (3) the Byzantine period.

(1) The period of Alexander Jannaeus is represented only by coins of this ruler and pottery. The material was concentrated around the central - and highest - part of the site (Area B). It is not possible to identify the structure, which could be a farmstead, without further excavation.

(2) First century AD. The main structure on the site may go back to the reign of Herod the Great, but the coins and pottery are typical of the first century. The ruins are spread over an area of about 100 x 80 m. (i.e. about 8 dunams), but they can be clearly identified only over a surface of 80 x 50 m. (i.e. about 4 dunams). Three concentrations of buildings can be distinguished (Areas A, B and C) in the northern, central and southern parts of the site respectively, the central concentration (B) being the biggest. In the north-eastern corner of B remains of a round tower were seen. The main part of the site, that is the area of 80 x 50 m. is encircled by an enclosure which consists of a partly preserved dry-stone wall and sections of bedrock cut away so as to form a low vertical wall. Outside the fence smaller structures, walls, and fragments of columns which may come from an ancient press were found and there were traces of an ancient road.

The tower has a diameter of 5 m. and is built of dry stone work with large, roughly dressed stones. It seems to have been part of a complex usually called 'maison à tour', found in many parts of the eastern Mediterranean region including Palestine in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.¹⁸⁴

Shenhav, Sarah Pilz and Alla Stein. Marcel Lubas acted as surveyor and prepared the plan of the site.

¹⁸⁴ Kh. Mazad (below, s.v.) is another example. Cf. P. Grimal, *Mélanges d'archéologie et histoire de l'École française de Rome* 56 (1939); A.J. Graham et al., *ABSA* 57 (1962), 75-114; 68 (1973), 355-452; M. Nowicka, *Les maisons à tour dans le monde grec* (1975).

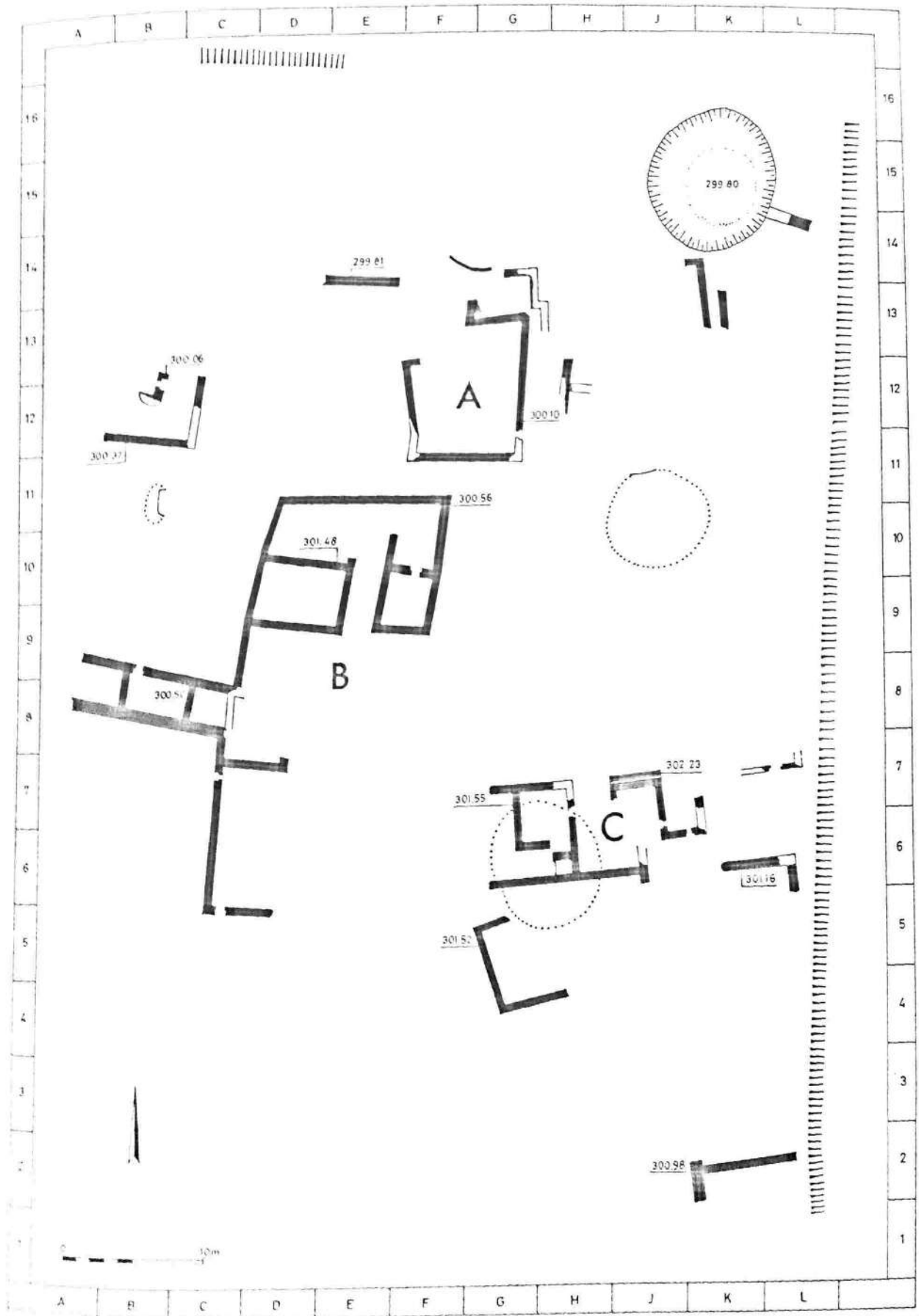


Fig. 19 1. Plan of Dahiya.

In Area A a large room (c. 10 by 9 m.) and adjacent structures were found. North of the room was a rock-hewn installation of 3 by 2.5 m., perhaps a press. East of the room three rectangular cellars with plastered walls were cut in the rock. They were made accessible by rock-hewn steps. No water-ducts were seen so these were not cisterns. They may have been storage rooms, possibly for wheat or olives.

Area B contains the biggest structure of the site, measuring 30 by 28 m. It seems to consist of a number of large courtyards and smaller rooms. It was entered from the west through a big forecourt and a corridor. In the northern court was a large cistern, in the north-western court a fine rock-hewn cellar.

Area C lies in the south-eastern corner of the site. It contains a house of 15 by 8 m. with a forecourt and large cellar in the west, and a substantial interior court and further rooms in the eastern wing. South of the house were walls and other remains of the Byzantine period.

The walls were invariably dry-stone, built of small unworked stones or roughly dressed masonry. Floors were made of beaten earth with pebbles.

The pottery is typical of the period: elongated and bag-shaped jars, globular cooking pots with a straight neck, 'Herodian' oil lamps, globular juglets and stone vessels.

A substantial number of coins could be assigned to this phase. They range from coins of the first prefect Coponius to those of Antonius Felix. There are no coins of the First Jewish War or the subsequent period. This justifies the conclusion that the site was abandoned shortly before the Jewish War.

(3) The Byzantine Period. The remains of the Byzantine period are rather scanty and do not provide a clear impression of the character of the site. Most of the main building (Area B) was reused. Later walls are found particularly in the western part. These include modest architectural decorations, such as the upper part of a small column with an Ionic "en bosse" capital. South of Area C are a number of walls which belong to this period.

Small finds of this period are scanty, but sufficient to establish the date.

Conclusions

It is interesting to compare the results of these

excavations with the data published in *AS Benjamin*,¹⁸⁵ which records the presence only of Byzantine and Early Islamic pottery. On p. 33 (Heb.), remains of buildings and subterranean installations are mentioned. The pottery statistics in *AS Benjamin* attribute to the Byzantine period a heavy preponderance (86% of the pottery). These are clearly contradicted by the results of the survey and excavation carried out at the site by Fischer and his team in 1980. Here the bulk of the pottery and coins was clearly Early Roman (i.e. Herodian and 1st cent. AD). This shows how misleading conclusions based only on the collection of pottery on the surface can be.

The site of Kh. ad Daliya was occupied in three periods: Hasmonaean, Early Roman and Byzantine. The remains suggest that in the first period it was a watchtower or possibly the central building of a farmstead. In the second period of occupation it was probably a farmstead with a main building, agricultural installations and storage rooms or it could possibly have been a road-station. The remains in Area B could suit such a site (cf the discussion in the entry on Kh. Mazad). In the Byzantine period it was probably one of the farmsteads in the area of Kafr Rut.

With respect to the Hasmonaean period, it should be pointed out that the site is not far from Maccabean Modi'in. This was an area of intensive settlement and development in this period. This continued through the reign of Herod right up to the Jewish War, which marked the end of the occupation of many sites. The site lay on the main road from Lydda via Modi'in to Beit Horon and near the junction with a road coming from Emmaus.

In the Byzantine period the site was again occupied by a farmstead, one of many in the area and formed was part of an agricultural zone which contained comparable sites such as Kh. Huriya, Khayalil al Muhammed and larger settlements such as those found at Mevo Modi'in, Kh. Hammam (at Modi'in) and Kafr Rut.

41. **Daniyal (Kefar Daniel)**
to be identified with:

1433.1488
a) Kefar Tavi
b) Ein Tav
c) Enetaba

Literary Sources

a) *Kefar Tavi*: Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, a pupil of Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai and one of the most important sages of the generation of Rabban Gamaliel of Yavneh, lived in Lydda (1st-2nd

¹⁸⁵ Site 6, p.33, pottery drawings: fig. p.34.

centuries AD). He was a man of property and owned land in the region. 'Rabbi Eliezer had a vineyard east of Lydda on the side of Kefar Tavi' (Tos. Ma'aser Sheni V 16; B.T. Bezah 5a; B.T. Rosh Hashanah 31b).

Baskets full of (human) bones were brought from Kefar Tavi, close to Lydda, and 'were taken into the synagogue of Lydda and placed in it, exposed to the air'.¹⁸⁶

b) *Ein Tav*: This site is mentioned several times in Talmudic sources as the place where the monthly ceremony of declaring the new moon was performed in the third century:

'Rabbi thereupon said to Rabbi Hiyya: Go to 'En Tav and sanctify the month and send me the watchword "David King of Israel is alive and vigorous."' (B.T. Rosh Hashanah 25a, trans. Soncino; J.T. Sukkah ii 53a; J.T. Rosh Hashanah ii 58a).

c) *Enetaba*, a place-name which occurs on the Madaba Map south of Lydda.

Graetz proposes identifying a) Kefar Tavi with b) *Ein Tav*, in an article published in 1884 but often ignored in recent literature.¹⁸⁷ Better known is Clermont-Ganneau's suggestion that b) *Ein Tav* and c) *Enetaba* are, in fact, the same place.¹⁸⁸ In our opinion

¹⁸⁶ On the basis of what Theodorus the Physician said about this, Rabbi 'Aqiva (2nd century AD) withdrew his verdict of impurity. Tos. Ahilot IV 2; J.T. Berakhot I 3a; B.T. Nazir 52a. According to the parallel version in the Babylonian Talmud this happened in the synagogue of the Tarsians (i.e. weavers, or people from Tarsus in Asia Minor).

¹⁸⁷ Graetz, 'En-Tab, die Kalenderstadt', *Monatschrift für die Geschichte des Judenthums* 33 (1884), 544-551. The proposal was criticized at length by A. Buechler, *Studies in Jewish History* (1956), 222-4, n.1. The latter did believe, however, that *Ein Tav* is to be identified with *Enetaba* of the Madaba Map. On both accounts he followed S. Klein, *Eretz Yehudah* (1939, Heb.), 179 f. and n.59 (Heb.).

¹⁸⁸ Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO*, iv, 275, followed by S. Klein, *loc. cit.* and again in his *Sefer Hayishuv*, 115 f. (Heb.). For further references see F. Hüttenmeister and G. Reeg, *Die antiken Synagogen in Israel* (1977), s.v. 'En Tav, 115-117. Add: S. Safray, *Tarbiz* 35 (1971), 27-38, esp. 37. G. Schmitt in: G. Schmitt and R. Cohen, *Drei Studien zur Archäologie und Topographie Altisraels* (1980), 101 f. objects that *Enetaba* of the Madaba Map lies south rather than east of Lydda.

both suggestions are attractive although there is no proof. There is therefore at least one relevant ancient settlement to be sought in the area east of Lydda.

Two sites are mentioned in modern literature: a) Kh. Kefrata (Kefar Tab on modern maps), for which see below, s.v. b) the site discussed under the present heading: *Daniyal*. The former suggestion rests on information which is, in fact, altogether inadequate and should not have found acceptance. This is a single statement by de Saulcy, who, travelling from Ramle to Jerusalem passed '...l'oual nommé Cheikh-Souleiman, il occupe l'emplacement d'une localité antique que les Arabes appellent Kefr-Tab...'¹⁸⁹ This was accepted by A. Neubauer, *La géographie du Talmud* (Paris, 1868), 80 who suggested the identification of this Kefr Tab with Talmudic Kefar Tavi.

Clermont-Ganneau, *AR*, ii, 482, writes, however: 'I passed by Kefertâ or Kefer Tâ, a ruined spot on a hill that is surmounted by the sanctuary of Sheikh S'limân. M. de Saulcy thinks that he has grounds for identifying it with the Kephartab of the Talmud, but mistakenly in my opinion.' The *SWP* map records 'Kh. Kefrata' and indicates the wely of 'Sheikh Suleiman' in the same place. In volume iii, 117 n., s.v. Kh. Kefrata, the survey notes: 'This place is called Kefr Tab on some maps, but special inquiry in 1881 showed the Survey spelling to be correct.'

We have here two contradictory positions: the statement of de Saulcy, a traveller who passed the site, as opposed to Clermont-Ganneau, a serious scholar with a special interest in place-names and their significance, whose inquiries stimulated the authors of the Survey to further research. Anyone who is familiar with the relevant works must accept the verdict of those who refer to the place as Kefrata. An endowment deed from 1552 mentions: 'the whole village of Kafr 'Âna and the farm of Kafr Tâb.'¹⁹⁰ Avi-Yonah considered

We do not think that the Madaba Map is sufficiently precise in its topography for such arguments. Schmitt also rejects the identification of *Ein Tav* with Kefar Tavi on philological grounds which do not seem to us convincing (*Tavi* does not derive from the Hebrew word *tzevi*, gazelle). S. Vailhé, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 10 (1910), 649, would like to identify *Enetaba* of the Madaba Map with the village of Annabeh near Lydda, but this is unacceptable (v. supra, s.v. Kh. Beit Annaba).

¹⁸⁹ L.F. Caignart de Saulcy, *Carnets de voyage en orient*, ed. F. Bassan (1955), 133.

¹⁹⁰ St.H. Stephan, *QDAP* 10 (1944), 184. The document records some of the possessions endowed by Khâsseki Sultan, the favourite queen of Suleiman the

this proof that de Saulcy was correct, but this rests on a misunderstanding of the text as published.¹⁹¹ Al-Kanisa may indeed be the site opposite Qubab, west of Keřrata, but it is a very common name. Any place with a church could qualify and it is hard to be certain which one is meant. Another possibility, for instance, would be the Kh. el Keniseh between Yehudieh and Lydda (and not far from Kařr 'Ana) which appears on the *SWP* Map, Sheet xiii, Qi. Modern maps refer to Keřrata as 'Kefar Tab'. This is incorrect and misleading.¹⁹²

Clermont-Ganneau proposes an alternative site for the location of ancient Kefar Tavi: Daniyal (Kefar Daniel), which he visited repeatedly. Since the issue is of interest and not discussed with sufficient care in modern literature we shall quote Clermont-Ganneau in full. He questioned a local man as well as the sheikh of Neby Dāniān and was told that 'Neby Dāniāl (so spelt in the maps of the time) is really Dāniān ... this prophet was Dānun, son of Jacob, i.e. 'the patriarch Dan, whose makām is built just by on the territory assigned to the tribe descended from that patriarch. The ancient name of the place, they both assured me, was *Kufur Tāb* ... My informants added that a large tomb had been found at Neby Dāniān.'¹⁹³

Following a second visit he wrote: 'I was again told, what I had noted the time before, that the ancient name of the spot was *Kufur Tāb*. It was occupied some thirty years since by a band of fellahin from Rāfāt (near Rām Allah)...It was from this time that the place began to lose its name of *Kufur Tāb*' (*AR*, ii, 349 f.). And again, on p.480 of the same work Clermont-Ganneau notes: 'I received local information of the statement already made to me, that the ancient

name of [the place] was *Kufur Tāb*.'

From all this we may safely conclude that Keřrata never was named Tab, while Daniyal at some time did indeed bear this name. It is therefore a very convincing candidate for identification with ancient Kefar Tavi, east of Lydda — it is indeed east of that town in a rather vague sense. If Kefar Tavi can be identified with Ein Tav/Enetaba, then Daniyal represents the site of all of these.

Some ancient remains were seen on the spot. Clermont-Ganneau, op.cit., 480, notes that 'in the kubbeh of the wely' [i.e. in the sanctuary of Neby Dan] local workmen found a burial vault. 'Inside the enclosure there are two or three wells. At the foot of the eminence in which the kubbeh stands is the beiyarat Dānian, "garden of Dānian", which has a well built of masonry.' On p.349 he gives an illustration of the cover of a sarcophagus found at the site.

The *SWP*, ii, 252, does not record ancient remains: 'A small settlement round the sacred shrine of the Prophet with a well to the west. The tomb of Dan is shown here, and is believed by the Samaritans to be the true site.'

Rescue excavations carried out recently brought to light a rock-hewn tomb with ossuaries of soft limestone decorated with incisions and red paint (*Archaeological Newsletter* 63-64 [1977], 81). These are typical of the end of the Second Temple period (first century AD).

42. Deir Abu Salama

1461.1507

This site consists of ancient ruins near Mizpeh Modi'in in the Park of Ben Shemen.

When visiting the site in 1984 we noticed many building stones, quarries and sherds. A well-preserved wine-press with treading area and two containers with some Byzantine sherds suggest a Byzantine date. However, Muslim pottery was picked up as well.

This site includes material from the Byzantine, Early Islamic, and Mediaeval periods.

46. Kh. Deiriya

1563.1445

This a small site about one and a half km. west of Beit Ur et-Tahta, near the Roman road which is now built over. The files of the *D.A.M.* (1929) note 'unimportant site' and mention rough walls of flint and foundations.

Magnificent.

¹⁹¹ M. Avi-Yonah, *BJPES* 10 (1942), 20 (Heb.). Avi-Yonah believed that the document described Kařr Tāb as [east of al Kanisa...]. However, the text between brackets, although printed in the publication, does not belong to the original document. It is a note by the editor who was misled by modern maps with their reference to Kařr Tab instead of Keřrata. It is indeed stated that al Kanisa was in the Ramle subdistrict, but this is not true for Kařr Tab.

¹⁹² Abel, *GP*, 294, s.v. Capfar Tabi, considers the ancient place 'not identified', 'car la référence de Neubauer à de Saulcy se rapporte à Keřrata au nord de Qubab, à l'est de Ramle et non à un K. Tab quelconque.' On the other hand, Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer*, 47, s.v. Capfar Tob I, confidently refers to Kh. esh Sheikh Suleimān (with wrong coordinates). Similarly: *TIR* s.v. Kefar Tabi, 166.

¹⁹³ *AR*, ii, Appendix i, 472.

AS Benjamin, No. 133, p. 27*: 'Traces of oil-press; wine-presses; cisterns. Byz. small number of sherds.'

47. **Dhar Hassan** 1561.1355

This is a site approximately a kilometre and a half east of the bigger road-station of Kh. el-Qasr (Kh. Mazad, see entry s.v.).

There are remains of ancient quarries and water-cisterns. The site was surveyed by Eli Shenhav and a group under his direction during the excavations at Kh. el-Qasr in 1980. Not far from this site a fragment of a milestone was discovered.

48. **Kh. ed-Dhuheiriye (H. Zahiriah)** 1440.1504

This is a site near Moshav Ben Shemen, about two and a half kilometres east of Lydda on the road to Modi'in.

Clermont-Ganneau, *AR*, ii, 474, refers to ancient cisterns on the site. The files of the *D.A.M.* mention both rock-hewn and built-up cisterns and great quantities of pottery on the surface. The remains extend over c. 40 dunams. They consist of foundations of buildings, water cisterns cut in the rock, rock-cuttings, graves. Pottery: Iron Age II, Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Ottoman. West of this site, at 1435.1504, are cuttings in the rock. Pottery: Byzantine. Further to the south, at 1434.1500 we found similar material.

43. **Deir Aiyub (fig. 12; Pl. 27)** 1519.1372

This is a substantial ruined village, north of the modern main road to Jerusalem west of Bab el-Wad.

The first reference to 'Job's Well' known to us was made by Radzivil who visited the country in 1583: 'A stone-throw away from the mountain is a cold and copious spring which the Christian Arabs claim was first discovered by the blessed Job whose ruined house they show to the right...'¹⁹⁴ It appears on a drawing by Zuallart who was there at the same period (1586) and describes it as 'an ancient well, quite deep and built of stone (murato)'. It is often mentioned by later pilgrims, for instance Quaresmius (1616-25), who

¹⁹⁴ N.C. Radzivil, *Ierosolymitana Peregrinatio* (Antwerp 1614), 121. G. Zuallardo, *Il devotissimo viaggio de Gerusalemme* (Rome 1587), 116 f.

expresses doubts whether Job actually lived there and dug the well himself.¹⁹⁵

Guérin, *Judée*, i, 61, tells of 'a hill, part of which was once occupied by a rather elaborate construction which the local inhabitants claim to have been a 'deir' or monastery named after Ayoub.' The *SWP*, iii, 15, s.v. Deir Eyub, notes: 'A very small hamlet on the hill-side. There is a fine spring-well (Bir Eyûb) about half a mile south-west by the main road, lower down the hill. The water comes up in a circular masonry shaft.' The files of the *D.A.M.* have nothing to add to this description.

When visiting the site in 1985 we did not see any remains of particular interest in the village itself. A little to the east, however, at the edge of the village, G.R. 1524.1370 there were ancient foundations with pottery of the Herodian Period (first century AD). This area is near the site called Kh. en Nuqeib. A cylindrical stone (fragment of a milestone?) was found half a kilometre to the east. The remains here may be part of a site along one of the alternative routes from Kh. el-Qasr to Aqed or Yalu (see Part II).

Deir Aiyub has remains from the Arab and Mediaeval periods; Kh. en Nuqeib has Early Roman remains.

44. **Deir el-Azhar**, see Abu Ghosh

46. **Kh. Deiriya** 1563.1445

AS Benjamin, No. 133, p. 27*: 'Traces of oil-press; wine-presses; cisterns. Byz. small number of sherds.'

Kh. ed Diab, see: **Kh. ed Ziab**

49. **Kh. ad Dureihima** 1626.1418

This is a site on a hill occupying a commanding position south of the ancient road immediately east of Upper Beit Horon. It lies near Rujm Abu Hashabe, which occupies a similar position north of the road, a little distance to the east (see below).

The site is briefly mentioned in the *SWP*, iii, 111: 'A ruined watchtower, with two wells, beside the Roman road.' Baramki made a thorough survey of the site and submitted a report to the *D.A.M.* on 25-7-1934. Besides the watchtower he also mentions the two wells beside the road as well as some cisterns.

¹⁹⁵ Quaresmius, *Historia Theologia et Moralis Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio*, ed. A.P. Cypriano de Tarvisio (Venice 1880), 12-14.

Baramki adds a sketch which shows a building of 11 by 11 metres, with a strongroom in the south-east corner. It is divided into four or five rooms and steps may have led to an upper floor. The pottery is Byzantine. R.W. Hamilton notes that the site lies on the spot corresponding with the ninth milestation from Jerusalem.

The site has disappeared altogether. Agricultural terraces constructed in recent years have destroyed all ancient remains. It is not listed in *AS Benjamin*.

The site was a Byzantine guardhouse.

50. **Kh. ed Dureish** 1549.1445

This is a small site north-east of Beit Sira, approximately four hundred metres south of the Beit Horon road.

It is mentioned in the files of the *D.A.M.* as a field with masonry foundations, heaps of stones, caves and cisterns. Details regarding pottery or other datable finds are not given.

AS Benjamin, No. 126, p.26*; 114 (Heb.): 'Cave; cisterns; rock-cut wine-press. Byz-74%; Els-26%; 23 sherds.'

There is now nothing to be seen on the spot.

51. **Kh. 'Ein 'Abdallah** 1652.1422

This is a terraced area north of the Beit Horon road. *AS Benjamin*, No. 55, p.19*: 'Scatter of sherds; low terraces. Rom(?) - few sherds; Byz; 40 sherds.' Across the road, several hundred metres from this site the remains of an isolated building, surrounded by a terrace wall, and a cistern with Byz/Els pottery (47 sherds) were seen: No.154, p.29*.

When we visited the spot we failed to discern even the slightest indication that the area had once been occupied. It is possible that modern terraces have replaced earlier agricultural structures.

52. **'Ein Beit Suriq** 1647.1369

Crusader documents repeatedly refer to Beit Suriq which they call Bet(h)suri or Bet(h)surie(h). It is mentioned in records of privileges dealing with sites in the area between 1114 and 1196 and described

alternatively as a 'villa' or a 'casale'.¹⁹⁶ It is possibly referred to by Doubdan (1652) as the 'fontaine des Apostres' which he saw on his way from the Valley of Soreq to Qubeiba:¹⁹⁷ '...sur le bord du chemin à main gauche une petite Fontaine bordée de pierres de taille, qui avoit abondance d'eau & qui coule tousiours à travers du chemin par un petit canal de pierres iusques dans une cistern qui est vis à vis de l'autre costé'. The place is certainly mentioned again by Richard Pococke who visited the country in 1737-40: coming from Jerusalem 'we went westward towards Emmaus, leaving the village of Bedou to the right, and Bethsurick to the left'.¹⁹⁸

There are ruins and a spring at the north-west end of Nahal Luz which feeds into Nahal Soreq (Wadi Suriq, visible on Pl.35, lower right-hand corner). This site is about one kilometre south-east of Biddu. In the village of Beit Suriq itself Guérin, *Judée*, i, 362 could still see an ancient wall and cistern cut into the rock. Clermont-Ganneau commented on the name Suriq which recurs in the name of the ruined village of Khurbet Suriq further down the Valley of Soreq.¹⁹⁹ 'Kh. Sûrik and Beit Sûrik have taken the same name, since in spite of the distance they are apart, they are intimately connected by the same valley.' The root 'srk', as Clermont-Ganneau points out, indicates a 'vine of superior quality characterized by the particular colour of the grapes it bears'.²⁰⁰ This indeed is information relevant to other sites in the valley as well, particularly those connected with Motza.

The *SWP*, iii, 16 notes s.v. Beit Sûrik: 'A small village on a hill-top. To the east in a flat valley is a spring with lemon and other trees. The place appears to be ancient, having rock-cut tombs near the spring.'

¹⁹⁶ Röhrich, *Regesta*, no.74, 16 (1114); de Rozière, *Cartulaire*, no.53, 98; de Rozière, no.53, 97f. (1136); Röhrich, no.469, 123 (1169); etc. note de Rozière, no. 144, 263: 'Betsurieh, in cuius territorio fundata est villa que dicitur Parva Mahomeria.' This shows that in 1164 the Parva Mahomeria (el Qubeiba) lay on the territory of Beit Suriq.

¹⁹⁷ J. Doubdan, *Le voyage de la Terre-Sainte* (Paris 1657), 109. For the identification see also: B. Bagatti, *I monumenti di Emmaus el-Qubeibeh* (1947), 223.

¹⁹⁸ Pococke, *Description of the East and Some Other Countries* (London 1743-48), 49. He passed through the village a second time, p.50.

¹⁹⁹ Clermont-Ganneau, *AR*, ii, 198 ff.

²⁰⁰ AV's 'choice vine' of Gen 49, 11 and *passim*.

At the beginning of this century H. Vincent, *RB* 10 (1901), p. 444 f. published a fragmentary Greek mosaic inscription of Byzantine date.²⁰¹ It probably derived from a church or monastery.

Bagatti, *el-Qubeibeh*, pp. 212-215 and photograph 90, gives the most extensive description of the site. He found a Corinthian capital, which he says dates to the late fifth or early sixth century, stamped roof-tiles, and Late Roman dishes with stamped crosses on their bases. It is clear that there must have been a church or monastery on the site. Tombs described and drawn on p. 211, fig. 43, 6-9 seem to belong to the same period. One of those has an incised cross over the entrance.

AS Benjamin, Site No. 286, p. 43*, here named Kh. Ein el-Keniseh: '5.5 dunams. Ruin; terraces. Iron I-single sherd; Iron II; Iron II/P-few sherds; Hell-few sherds; Rom-few sherds; Byz-69%; 156 sherds.' The preponderance of Byzantine sherds corresponds with our observations on the site. Beit Suriq: site No. 284, p. 43* at 1649.1365: 'P - few sherds; Hell - 21%; Rom - 15%; Byz - 16%; EIs - 4%; Med - 17%; Ott - 15%; unidentified - 10%; 185 sherds.' At the latter site, as opposed to the former, Hellenistic, Roman, Mediaeval and Ottoman wares are well represented.

The site of Kh. Ein el-Keniseh is Byzantine and, according to documentary evidence, also dates to the Crusader period. The site of Beit Suriq was occupied in the Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Mediaeval and Ottoman periods. See also the entry on Beit Suriq.

53. Emmaus/Nicopolis (Imwas)

(Fig. 12)

1491.1384

This is the well-known ancient city lying at the edge of the coastal plain near the mouth of the Ayalon Valley north of modern Latrun. The strategic importance of the site is illustrated by the sources cited below, by the ancient remains and by the remains still visible of the British police fort, the target of fierce fighting in 1948 and 1967.²⁰²

Literary Sources

The literary sources are cited systematically

in the major publication by Vincent and Abel.²⁰³ As will be clear from our comments in the entry on Motza (q.v.), we do not agree with their identification of the Emmaus in Luke 24:13 which, in our opinion, is better sought at Motza. Furthermore we shall note those sources which clarify the nature of the site and its importance in connection with the road-system.

The origin of the name 'Emmaus' is not quite certain and various theories have been proposed.²⁰⁴ It is possible that there is some connection with the Hebrew word for 'hot', but there is no indication that there is any connection with the alleged presence of hot baths or hot springs.²⁰⁵ These are indeed attested in the past and still exist today, at two places with vaguely similar names: the hot baths near Tiberias, called Ἀμμαθοῦς by Josephus, and those near Gadara (Ἐμμαθαῖ).

Emmaus is not found in any source before the Hellenistic period and is not mentioned at all in the Bible.²⁰⁶ Before the Hellenistic period neighbouring Gezer was the dominant city of the region. Emmaus is first mentioned as the site of the victory in 166 BC of Judas Maccabaeus against Gorgias, who had placed his camp there.²⁰⁷ The description of the battle clearly indicates the strategic importance of the site, but provides no information about Emmaus in this period.

The next reference to the place relates to the

²⁰³ Vincent and Abel, *Emmaüs, sa basilique et son histoire* (1932), 403-30; discussion in chapters V and following. See also the entry in *TIR*, s.v. Emmaus I, Nicopolis, 119f. A recent M.A. thesis is devoted to the city and its territory: R. Shallev (Stroll), *The Emmaus Region during the Roman-Byzantine Period* (M.A. Thesis, Bar Ilan University, 1994, in Heb.).

²⁰⁴ Discussed at length by Vincent and Abel, *op. cit.*, 277-85; also: B. Bar Kochva, *Judas Maccabaeus: The Jewish Struggle Against the Seleucids* (1989), 242 f.

²⁰⁵ However, there may have been volcanic activity in the area in the past: M. Avnimelech, *Bull. Israel Exploration Society* 3 (1933), 59-63. Avnimelech found traces of hot springs at Beit Jiz, now Zelafon, about 4 km. south-west of Emmaus (Imwas).


²⁰⁶ A. Lemaire, *RB* 82 (1975), 15-23, has suggested that 'mmst' found on stamped jar handles from the Iron Age II period must be identified with Emmaus, but this is only a speculation.

²⁰⁷ 1 Macc. 3, 38ff., 4. comments by Vincent and Abel, *op. cit.*, 287-9; Bar Kochva, *Judas Maccabaeus*, 243 ff., with comments on the site of the camp.

²⁰¹ Cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* v, 1903, 46-49; *SEG* viii, 239.

²⁰² Aerial photographs of the area, taken in 1918 and 1988: Kedar, *AP*, 106 f.

year 160 BC, when the Seleucid general Bacchides built several forts to check the operations of Jonathan, the brother of Judas.²⁰⁸ 'And he returned to Jerusalem and strongly fortified [a number of] towns in Judaea: the forts at Jericho, Emmaus, Beit Horon, Beth El, Thamnatha of Pharathon, and Tephon, with high walls, gates, and bars. And he placed in these garrisons to intimidate Israel. And he fortified the towns of Beth Zur, Gazara and the Acra [i.e. the citadel of Jerusalem] placing there forces and stores of victuals.' The passage distinguishes between two kinds of forts: the first, in so far as they can be identified, were sited in strategic spots controlling the main roads to Jerusalem, but they were not important as settlements. The second group were significant towns in their own right. Thus we see that, in the first half of the second century BC, Gezer was still the more significant place, while Emmaus is listed because of the site it occupied. More will be said below about the possible site of the fort at Emmaus. The other point of interest here is the correspondence between the measures taken by Bacchides in 160 BC and those of Vespasian and Titus in AD 69-70, described below.



The decline of Gezer and increasing importance of Emmaus can be traced to some extent in the sources. When Gabinius divided the country into five districts in 57 BC, Gezer was apparently still one of the capitals.²⁰⁹ However, by 43 BC Emmaus and Lydda were named among the four important towns reduced to slavery by Cassius.²¹⁰ Restitution was made afterwards by Antony.²¹¹ Emmaus and Lydda now became capitals of toparchies, superseding the older centres of Hadid and Gezer.²¹²

Subsequently there are a number of incidental references to Emmaus in the work of Josephus. All of these reflect the siting of the town at a nodal point in the road-system. In 38 BC the Roman commander Machaeras, lieutenant of Ventidius, went up to Jerusalem with two legions and a thousand horse, and then withdrew to the city (πόλις) of Emmaus.²¹³ During the troubles following Herod's death in 4 BC

there was a rebel attack near Emmaus on a company of Romans who were bringing grain and arms to the army in Jerusalem.²¹⁴ The town was held responsible and Varus, governor of Syria, ordered it to be burnt after its inhabitants had fled.²¹⁵ From there he advanced to Jerusalem. These events clearly illustrate the position of Emmaus as a prominent station on the road to Jerusalem in times of unrest, and as a base for armies moving to and from Jerusalem. It recurs as such in the First Revolt: in 68 Vespasian marched from Caesarea to Emmaus from where he subdued Idumaea and Samaria. 'Occupying the passes leading to Jerusalem he built a fortified camp at Emmaus, and left *Legio V Macedonica* posted there...' ²¹⁶ Other garrisons were stationed at Adida (Hadid, q.v.) and Jericho. In 70 Titus, on his march to Jerusalem, ordered the fifth legion and tenth legion to join him from Emmaus and Jericho respectively.²¹⁷

Five inscriptions referring to the legion *V Macedonica* have been found at Emmaus.²¹⁸ At least two of these are epitaphs of serving soldiers who died at Emmaus sometime in the late first century AD.²¹⁹ This shows that they stayed there long enough for a stone-mason's workshop to be set up. Another inscription, cited below, mentions *coh(ors) VI Ulpi(a) Petr(aeorum)*. This unit is listed on the diploma from AD 139 for Syria Palaestina (CIL xvi 87); possibly also on a fragment from 149-161 (Roxan, *RMD* 60) and certainly not on the diploma of 186 for this province (*RMD* 69). Thus the unit must have been present at Emmaus in the second century, before 186. Thus, although no actual military base has been found at or near Emmaus itself, the inscriptions found there strongly suggest that there was a long-term military presence on the spot, following the suppression of the First Revolt.

The question of the location of the Emmaus mentioned in Luke 24: 13 is, we believe, more

²⁰⁸ 1 Macc. 9, 50-3.

²⁰⁹ Josephus, *Ant.* xiv 5,4 (91); *BJ* i 8,5(170), with comments by Schürer, *History*, i, 268, n.5.

²¹⁰ Josephus, *Ant.* xiv 11,2 (275); *BJ* i 11,2 (222).

²¹¹ *Ant.* xiv 12,2 (304-5) and the documents cited *ibid.*, 3-5 (306-22).

²¹² *BJ* iii 3,5 (54-5); Pliny, *NH* v 14/70 and cf. Schürer, *History*, ii, 190-6.

²¹³ *Ant.* xiv 15,7 (436).

²¹⁴ *Ant.* xvii 10,7 (278ff.); *BJ* ii 5,3 (71).

²¹⁵ *Ant.* xiv 10,9 (289); *BJ* ii 5,1 (71).

²¹⁶ *BJ* iv 8,1 (443ff.).

²¹⁷ *BJ* v 1,6 (42); 2,3 (67); cf. Fischer, *ZDPV* 103 (1987), 131 f.

²¹⁸ See below.

²¹⁹ L.J.F. Keppie in *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East*, ed. P. Freeman and D. Kennedy (1986), 420, has observed that the formula 'H(ic) S(itus) E(st)' is not to be expected in the second century. Hence a date from the period of the Bar Kokhba Revolt may be excluded.

appropriately discussed in the entry on Motza (q.v.), as is Josephus' reference to a small veteran settlement at Ammaus, founded by Vespasian. Turning to the question of the refoundation of Emmaus as Nicopolis, the evidence is as follows:

(i) Coins issued in the reign of Marcus Aurelius are inscribed on the reverse side: ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ and are dated to the year 91.²²⁰ Coins of Elagabalus have on the reverse side: ΜΑΥΑΝΤΩΝΙΝ ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ and ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΕΒ.²²¹

(ii) Eusebius, *Chron.* ed. Schoene ii, 178 f., according to the Armenian text, records: 'In Palestine the old Emmaus is restored and named Nicopolis thanks to the intercession and the request addressed to the Emperor by Julius Africanus, the chronographer.'²²²

(iii) Sozomenus, *HE* v 21.5 (PG lxvii 1280f.) writes: 'There is a city in Palestine now called Nicopolis. The Gospels still know it as a village and call it Emmaus. After the capture of Jerusalem and their victory over the Jews²²³ the Romans named it Nicopolis because of this event.'

It will be clear that both the numismatic and the literary evidence for a third-century (re-)foundation is sound. The coins of Elagabalus dated to 'Year Two' of the city were unquestionably issued by Emmaus/Nicopolis and Eusebius, writing a century later, clearly had concrete information on the role played by Julius Africanus on this occasion. As regards the alleged foundation in the seventies, Sozomenus appears to have been interested mainly in linking Nicopolis with Emmaus of the Gospels and providing an explanation of the change in the name of

the place. Otherwise he had no concrete information.

As observed by Abel, none of the authors who wrote before the third century refer to Emmaus as Nicopolis.²²⁴ Josephus mentions Emmaus regularly and never mentions that it was renamed Nicopolis, nor do Pliny, *NH* v 14/70 or Ptolemy, v 16,7, use that name. The Peutinger Table, which uses only pre-Severan names in Palestine, has 'Amavante'. Yet all these early sources refer to the city of Neapolis, founded in AD 72/3, by this name.²²⁵ On the other hand, all the later sources from Eusebius and the Bordeaux pilgrim onwards use the name Nicopolis.²²⁶

If Emmaus had been founded as a city by Vespasian it would not be clear what Elagabalus did for it, for the mere addition of the current imperial name to the nomenclature of the city would hardly have been a reason for the adoption of a new era. However, the coins of Marcus Aurelius with the name 'Nicopolis' have now been shown to belong to Nicopolis ad Lycum in Armenia Minor.²²⁷ This was the only piece of information which seemed conclusive evidence for a Flavian foundation.²²⁸ It may therefore be concluded that Emmaus, like Antipatris, received city status only under Elagabalus.

Emmaus is mentioned in Talmudic literature. Most of the relevant sources will be discussed here.

Avot de-Rabbi Natan, Version B: xxvii, ed.

²²⁴ Vincent and Abel, *op.cit.*, 322f.

²²⁵ Cf. Schürer, *History* i, 520, n.36.

²²⁶ Eusebius, *loc.cit.*; also: *On.*, ed. Klostermann, p.90 etc. *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 600,2, ed. Cuntz, *CCSL* 175, p.20.

²²⁷ Discussion in an as yet unpublished Ph.D. thesis by Dr Alla Stein (Tel Aviv 1991). The city of Nicopolis ad Lycum in Armenia Minor (Koinon Armenias) used a Flavian era because the region was annexed by Vespasian in 72, at the same time as Commagene: *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland. Sammlung v. Aulock* (Berlin 1957), nos. 145-7. Previously it was assumed that this town belonged to Pontos and therefore used an era beginning in 64: F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen* (1901, rep. 1974), 3f. and no.5. Other cities of Pontos have indeed an era beginning in 64, cf. R.D. Sear, *Greek Imperial Coins and their Values* (1982), pp. 145, 168: Cerasus, Neocaesarea.

²²⁸ A coin of Faustina I attributed by Hill to Nicopolis has now been assigned to Bostra: A. Kindler, *The Coinage of Bostra*, 108, no.11.

²²⁰ Hill, *BMC, Palestine*, lxxx and no.3.

²²¹ Hill, *BMC, Palestine*, lxxxi. Full bibliography in A. Kindler and A. Stein, *A Bibliography of the City Coinage of Palestine* (1987), 177-9.

²²² Cf. ed. Helm, 214: [after the reference 'Elagabalum templum Romae aedificatum'] 'In Palaestina Nicopolis quae prius Emmaus vocabatur urbs condita est, legationis industriam [F industria] pro ea suscipiente Julio Africano scriptore temporum'. Similarly: *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf i, 499; Michel le Syrien (1166-1199), Book vi, ch. vii [112], trans. J.-B. Chabot, Paris 1899, i, 187: [on Elagabalus] de son temps fut bâtie Nicopolis de Palestine, qui est Emmaus, le chroniqueur Julius Africanus presidait à sa construction.

²²³ μετὰ τὴν ἁλώσιν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νίκην.

Schechter, 55f: 'An ass-driver came to Hillel the Elder and he said: "Rabbi, see what an advantage we have over you. You suffer having to travel all the way from Babylonia to Jerusalem and I leave my house and sleep at the gate of Jerusalem." He was silent and waited for a reply. Hillel said: "For how much will you rent me your ass from here to Emmaus?" He answered: "For a dinar". "To Lod, for how much?" He said: "For two". "To Caesarea, for how much?" He said: "For three". Hillel said: "Look, as I travel further your wages are higher". He answered: "Yes the wages are in accordance with the road". Hillel said: "Will not the wages of my legs be as the wages of the legs of your animal?"'

Lamentations Rabbah i, 52: 'Vespasianus Caesar placed guards at eighteen miles from Pomais [=Emmaus?]²²⁹ and they would ask pilgrims and say "To whom do you belong?" and they would say: "To Vespasian, to Trajan, to Hadrian".' It is tempting to think there is a connection between these guards and the military units apparently stationed at Emmaus for some time after the suppression of the First Revolt. As observed in Part V, the distance from Jerusalem to Emmaus is exactly 18 m., so it is possible that the source originally meant to state that Vespasian placed a garrison at Emmaus, 18 m. from Jerusalem.

This source reminds us of another passage, related to the Bar Kokhba Revolt. Lamentations Rabbah i, 45: 'Hadrian - may his bones be crushed - stationed three guard posts, one at Hamatha [Emmaus],²³⁰ one at Kefar Laqitia, and one at Beit El of Judah, and he said: "anyone who tries to escape here will be caught here, and anyone who tries to escape there will be caught there".' Both passages appear to be lively descriptions of the policy which Josephus describes as 'occupying the passes to Jerusalem'. In all these sources Emmaus is prominent.

'Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai was going up to Emmaus in Judah and he saw a girl picking barleycorn out of the excrement of a horse. Said Rabban Yohanan to his disciples: What girl is this? Said they to him: A Jewish girl. Said he further: And whose is the horse? They answered: It belongs to a nomad [Arab] horseman. Then said Rabban Yohanan to his disciples: All my life have I been reading this

verse, and not until now have I realized its full meaning: "If thou dost not know, O fairest among women (go thy way forth by the footsteps of the flock, and feed thy kids beside the shepherds' tents." *Cant.* 1:8). You were unwilling to be subject to God, behold now you are subject to lowly nomads; you were unwilling to pay the biblically ordained head-tax of "one beqa per head" (*Exod.* 38:26), so now you have to pay fifteen shekels under a government of your enemies. You were unwilling to repair the roads and the streets leading up to the Temple, so now you have to repair the "burgasin" and the "burganin" leading to the royal cities. And thus it says: "Because you did not serve Heaven... therefore you will serve your enemy."²³¹

In the Oxford MS. Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai is described as going up to 'Maus in Judaea' which refers, apparently, to Emmaus. (This is preferable to 'Ma'on in Judaea' which is found in other versions.) The entire saying in the Mekhilta is attributed to Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai, spiritual leader of the Jews at Yavneh after the destruction of the Temple in 70. The beginning of the passage and the quotation from the Song of Songs give the impression of an authentic description of the state of affairs after the failure of the First Revolt. However, the continuation: 'You were unwilling to pay...' is an addition by the editor of the Mekhilta which refers to the reality of a later period, apparently the third-century period of crisis in the empire.²³² The 'burgi' mentioned in the source are conceived of as an integral part of the road-system which linked the cities of the

²²⁹ Pomais: Cf. ed. Buber, 80. S. Klein, *Sefer ha-Yishuv*, 5, interprets this as a reference to Emmaus, Buber as referring to 'Pamias', i.e. 'Paneas'.

²³⁰ The Buber edition, p. 82, based on the Rome MS has: 'one at Hamath Gader, and one at Bethlehem, and one at Kefar Laqitia'. Hamath Gader makes no sense in the present context, for it is far from the area of the revolt.

²³¹ Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael, BaHodesh, i, ed. Horovitz-Rabin, 203f. Translation of this passage taken from G. Alon, *The Jews in their Land in the Talmudic Age*, i (1980), trans. G. Levi, 68f. For an edition and translation of the whole text see J.Z. Lauterbach, *Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael* (1933). For discussion of this source see B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire: The Roman Army in the East* (1990), 293 f.

²³² Evidence of this may be found in the fact that this part is missing in all parallel sources, see: Tos. Ketubot v 10; Sifre Deuteronomy cccv, ed. Finkelstein, 325, where another addition is found; J.T. Ketubot v 30 b-c; B.T. Ketubot 67a; Lamentations Rabbah i 48; Pesikta Rabbati xxix - xxx, ed. Friedmann, 140 a, etc. Cf. E.E. Urbach, 'The Jews in their Land in the Tannaitic Period', *Behinot Beviqoret haSifrut* 4 (1953), 70 (Heb.). In some of the parallels reference is made not to a case regarding Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai on his way to Emmaus, but to a testimony of R. Eleazar bar Zadok regarding a case in Acre.

province.²³³ Again, it is tempting to link the presence of an Arab horseman at Emmaus with the testimony regarding the cohort *17 Ulpia Petraeorum* there (see below).

Ecclesiastes Rabbah vii 11: 'Once Rabbi Yohanan suffered from ravenous hunger and he went to Imunis [to Imwis i.e. Emmaus] and sat east of a fig tree and recovered.'²³⁴

A number of parallel sources tell of R. Eleazar ben 'Arakh, a disciple of Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai before the First Revolt, who 'went to Maos (Emmaus), a beautiful place with good water'.²³⁵ The point at issue is that, following the destruction of Jerusalem, R. Eleazar ben 'Arakh decided to move to Emmaus instead of joining Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai in Yavneh, because Emmaus was a more attractive place.

M. Keritot iii 7 relates: R. 'Aqiva said, 'I asked Rabban Gamaliel and R. Yehoshua about the cattle market of Emmaus where they went to buy an animal for the feast in honour of the son of Rabban Gamaliel...'

J.T. 'Avodah Zarah v 44d tell us that: 'Rabbi Aha went to (Em)maus and ate pastry [prepared by Samaritans]...' R. Aha was one of the leading Palestinian Amora'im of the fourth generation (320-350), although he was also active in the previous generation. He was based at Lod. The present source relates that he ate food prepared by Samaritans who poured boiling water on it.²³⁶

Midrash Tannaim p.175 on Deuteronomy 26,13: 'A pupil asked R. Nehunia ben ha-Qanah from Emmaus'. It is impossible to say whether R. Nehuniah

came from Emmaus or taught there.

From these sources we can learn that Emmaus had a good water supply; that there was a substantial market; that there was a Samaritan community, attested also by several inscriptions referred to below, and that at least one sage came from the town.

Various sages are mentioned in connection with the town. As already noted, a complete collection of further relevant sources may be found in the work of Vincent and Abel and there is therefore no need to list them all here.

The account of the journey of Paula in the Holy Land (AD 385-6) is the first which seems to indicate that there was a church in the settlement.²³⁷ '[From Joppa] she reached Nicopolis (formerly called Emmaus), where the Lord made himself known to Cleophas in the breaking of the bread, thus consecrating his House as a church.'

The salubrious spring at Emmaus is also mentioned by numerous Christian authors who attributed healing powers to it because Jesus had washed his feet in it.²³⁸ For the same reason Julian reportedly tried to block it.²³⁹ In the sixth century Sabas founded a monastery at Nicopolis. In the reign of Anastasius an earthquake is said to have struck the city.²⁴⁰ The last Byzantine author who refers to the town is John Moschus, who tells of the activities of a bandit named Cyriacus with a mixed gang of Christians, Jews and Samaritans in the region of Emmaus.²⁴¹

As noted in the section on the early Moslem sources, the town was apparently the location of a major camp of the Moslem army, for a plague which struck the troops and claimed the lives of many soldiers in 639 is called the plague of 'Amawas. The *SWP* iii,

²³³ For discussion of 'burgi', Isaac, op.cit., Chapter IV, 178-186.

²³⁴ Klein, loc.cit., accepts the opinion of S. Krauss, *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum* (repr. 1964), ii, 58, that Emmaus is meant. The parallel in Yalqut Shim'oni, Ecclesiastes, 975, has 'Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai'.

²³⁵ Avot de-Rabbi Nathan, Version B: xix, ed. Schechter, 59, Version A: xiv, ed. Schechter, ibid. Version A in part of the versions, has a term which derives from δημοσία, the public bath, in stead of 'Emmaus'. Cf. Ecclesiastes Rabbah vii 7; B.T. Shabbat i 47b.

²³⁶ The sages mentioned in the sequel of this passage, R. Jeremiah and R. Hezekiah, did not necessarily visit Emmaus.

²³⁷ Jerome, *ep.* 108: 'Repetitoque itinere, Nicopolim, quae prius Emmaus vocabatur, apud quam in fractione panis cognitus Dominus, Cleophae domum in Ecclesiam dedicavit.'

²³⁸ Sozomen, *HE* v 21 (*PG* lxvii 1280).

²³⁹ E.g. Theophanes, *Chron.* ad ann. 5854 (*PG* cviii, 160); Cedrenus, ad ann. 1057 (*PG* cxxi 581).

²⁴⁰ Michel le Syrien, Book vi, ch. vii [112], (Chabot, 154): [Year 8 of Anastasius] 'la ville de Nicopolis fut totalement renversée, et ensevelit tout ses habitants, à l'exception de l'évêque et de deux de ses syncelle.' cf. ibid. note 6: *Chron. Edess.*, no. lxxvi; Ps. Den., ad ann. 810.

²⁴¹ *Pratum spirituale*, ch. 95, *PG* lxxxvii 3, 3032.

14, note that, on the south side of the village there was a spring, 'Am Nim, and on the west a dry well, 'bir et-Ta'un', i.e. the well of the plague. One might speculate that there is a connection between this tradition and the Byzantine legend attached to a spring with healing powers in which Jesus had washed his feet. al-Muqaddasi informs us that Emmaus was formerly the capital of the region, having been abandoned in favour of sites near the sea and the shore. Yaqut's lexicon describes its location as six miles from Ramle on the way to Bayt al-Maqdis.²⁴²

In the subsequent period Emmaus declined to such an extent that it lost its status as a bishopric.²⁴³ Daniel Hepoumenos (1106-7) may be cited to illustrate the state of affairs: '... it was a large village and there was a church, but now everything has been ruined by wretches and the village of Emmaus is abandoned. It is behind a mountain to the right, not far from the road which leads from Jerusalem to Jaffa.'²⁴⁴ He may have been the last mediaeval pilgrim to refer to Imwas as the Emmaus in Luke 23. 13.²⁴⁵ In the thirteenth century Imwas was never referred to as Emmaus by the Christian pilgrims.

The neighbouring site of Latrun, discussed separately, was of military importance in the period of the Crusaders. The reason why the Crusaders built their fortress further south is doubtless connected with the shift of the main road to Jerusalem, discussed in Part II. However, the strategic considerations for the location of a fortress in the general area had not changed since Hellenistic and Roman times.

As observed in the entry on Abu Ghosh, the Crusaders identified that site with the Emmaus in Luke. Accordingly Emmaus (Imwas) lost its central

importance for Christian pilgrims. Latrun, however, was thought to represent the site of Maccabean Modi'in.²⁴⁶ This fortress was built by the Templars and they may be assumed also to have re-built the Byzantine church at Imwas, although, in the absence of any reference in the literature, it is not clear whether the Templars thought it was the Emmaus in the book of Luke or Modi'in.²⁴⁷

Inscriptions

Seven Latin inscriptions have been found at Emmaus, six of these military.

(1) CIL iii 14155.11

[...] Col(l)ina Sabinus Amasi[a], mil(es) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae), (centuria) Summi, an(norum) xxy, militavit [...]

(2) CIL iii 14155.12

C(a)us Vibius Firmus mil(es) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae), (centuria) Pollionis, beneficiarius milita(vit) annis xix, vixit annis xxx, hinc) status e(st), Saccia Primig[e]nia conjug(i) suo f(aciendum) c(uravit).

(3) CIL iii 6647

[...]ma mil(es) [...] V Mac(edonicae)

(4) CIL iii 6646

p[ro] salute D[omi]ni Fe[l]icis pp[ro] tem[p]l[um] Au[re]lii Pauli S[an]c[t]i

J.H. Landau, *Angot* 11 (1976), 89f.

(5)

P(ublius) Oppi[us] ---f(ilius) Camilia [---] Rave[n]a, miles leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae), optio, vixit an(n)os xxx, milita(vit) annos viii, H[ic] status e(st), Heres f(ecit).

(6)

D(is) M(anibus), Dom(itius?) Fronto mil(es) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae).

(7) AE 1924.132 (Inscribed capital)

²⁴⁶ See the entry on Latrun. The earliest source is Fulchre of Chartres (1127), *RHC Occ.*, iii, 354.

²⁴⁷ Vincent and Abel, 365, 374.

²⁴² Cf. G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (1980), 383 f.

²⁴³ It is mentioned without comment as a station on the road from Ramle to Jerusalem by Bernardus Monachus (AD 870), *Itinerarium* 10, ed. Tobler and Molinier, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, 314: 'De Ramula festinavimus ad Emmaus castellum. De Emmaus pervenimus ad sanctam civitatem Jerusalem.'

²⁴⁴ *Itinéraires russes en orient*, i 1, trans. B. de Khtowov (1899), 52; J. Raba, *Russian Travel Accounts on Palestine* (Heb., 1986), 55.

²⁴⁵ John Pfiogas (AD 1177), *de locis sanctis* 29 (PG 65XIII, 960) describes Abu Ghosh as the Emmaus of Luke (see s.v. Abu Ghosh). We therefore take, for instance, William of Tyre vii 22 as referring to Abu Ghosh (q.v.) when he says the Crusaders spent the night at Nicopolis.

Coh(ors) VI Vlp(a) Petr(aeorum)

Vincent and Abel cite two Latin military inscriptions which were actually found by Clermont-Ganneau at the site of Qubab, four and a half km. from Emmaus, apparently because they assumed that the inscriptions originally came from Emmaus. We have listed them under the heading Qubab since we do not want to exclude the possibility that this was a military site in its own right. For various Greek inscriptions from Emmaus, Vincent and Abel, *Emmaus*, 428-430. Samaritan inscriptions: F. Hüttenmeister and G. Reeg, *Die antiken Synagogen in Israel, Teil 2, Die samaritanischen Synagogen* (1977), 603-9 and see below.

Archaeological Remains

The controversy regarding the site of Luke's Emmaus stimulated much interest in the site from the eighteen seventies onward. Robinson observed some antiquities on the site: 'It is now a poor hamlet consisting of a few mean houses. There are two fountains or wells of living water; one just by the village and the other a little down the shallow valley west...' He noticed also fragments of two marble columns; was told of sarcophagi, and saw the church.²⁴⁸ Guérin, *Judée*, i, 293-308, describes the site and discusses its identification. Between 1875-82 Captain J.B. Guillemot carried out investigations and excavations on the spot.²⁴⁹ The officers of the Survey of Western Palestine visited Emmaus in the same period and produced a plan of the church (*SWP* iii, 63-82, with contributions by Clermont-Ganneau).²⁵⁰ Further work was carried out by, among others, Schick, Meistermann and Schiffers. A major project was undertaken by the Dominican fathers L.H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel in the years 1924-5 and 1927 which resulted in the publication of a substantial report in 1932.

All these investigations were concentrated in the spot called Kh. el-Keniseh, near the southern limits of ancient Emmaus. The wider area of the ancient city was not explored. In recent years some partial work has been done, but the area of the Roman and Byzantine town has not yet been surveyed properly. Y.

Hirschfeld explored and cleared the aqueducts which carried water from Ein el-Aqed to the town and studied a number of ancient wine presses and tombs.²⁵¹ M. Gichon conducted excavations at Kh. Sheikh Ubeid, a bath house not far from the churches, and at Kh. Aqed (see above).²⁵² As already observed, in spite of all these activities a thorough survey of the remains of the ancient town and its vicinity is still required.

Before we sum up the results of the work of Vincent and Abel a few further comments are to be made.²⁵³ (1) Although a section through the main area of their dig has been published,²⁵⁴ these were not stratigraphic excavations in the proper sense of the term. (2) An important omission is the absence of systematic reference to pottery and coins related to the various phases of construction. (3) The limited information on mosaic pavements at the time has led to a number of erroneous conclusions. (4) The archaeological interpretation is occasionally biased by historical and comparative judgments. Despite these reservations the book by Vincent and Abel remains a major contribution to the study of late antique Palestine.²⁵⁵

Four main structures are to be distinguished: (1) a Roman villa west of the church; (2) a Christian church, partly under the Crusader church and partly reused by the latter; (3) a chapel with a baptistery parallel to the east end of the church, to the north of it; (4) the Crusader church. Minor features to be noted are rock cuttings with material from the second and first centuries BC, and elements belonging to the end of the period of the Second Temple (first century AD) such as ossuaries.²⁵⁶ The excavators also assign various restorations and blocked doorways to the Islamic

²⁵¹ Y. Hirschfeld, *IEJ* 28 (1978), 86-92; 33 (1983), 207-18; id., *Ariel* 55/56 (1988), 9-30 (Heb.); id. in D. Amit et al. (eds.), *The Aqueducts of Ancient Palestine* (1989, Heb.), 197-204.

²⁵² M. Gichon, *IEJ* 29(1979), 101-110; id. and R. Linden, *IEJ* 34 (1984), 156-69.

²⁵³ All references in the following notes are to Vincent and Abel, op.cit.

²⁵⁴ Pl. xiii.

²⁵⁵ See also the summary by M. Avi-Yonah, *EAEHL*, ii, 362-4, with corrections of erroneous conclusions. Note, however, the plan on 364 which reproduces Vincent and Abel, Plan II, and has retained the original legend, repeating the errors that Avi-Yonah corrects in the body of the text.

²⁵⁶ Figs. 107f.; see also below.

²⁴⁸ Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, iii, 146. He discusses the identity of Emmaus and accepts that this was the Emmaus of Luke.

²⁴⁹ A photograph of the village in this period: F. and E. Thévoz, *La Palestine Illustrée* (Lausanne 1888), i, 4, no. 32.

²⁵⁰ See also Clermont-Ganneau, *AR*, i, 483-93.

period.

(1) *The Roman Villa*

Remains of a building of the Roman period were found under the western part of the church and north of it.²⁵⁷ It measures 18 x 17 m. and is subdivided into rooms and courtyards. Along the stylobate of a portico in the northern part of the building a mosaic pavement was found.²⁵⁸ Its borders contain flowers and guilloches and the central field is composed of a pattern of circles and octagons combining into squares and lozenges. Animals and birds are represented in these medallions, turning them into 'peopled scrolls'. An inscription mentions 'the other brothers Pelagius and Thomas',²⁵⁹ which led the excavators to assert that the pavement belonged to the church which they believed to date to the third century. In the absence of unambiguously datable material such as pottery and coinage, associated with this structure it is hard to be specific. However, the second-third century finds published seem to us to derive from the villa rather than the church. These finds include fragments of an eagle in relief,²⁶⁰ a frieze,²⁶¹ and fragments of Corinthian capitals.²⁶² No pottery has been published, apart from one sigillata dish.²⁶³ The excavators state that they found pottery dating to the Herodian period in association with the villa. This cannot be verified, but we believe that it derives from a structure preceding the villa which itself belongs to the third century.

At nearby Sheikh Ubeid a well-preserved bathhouse was excavated by M. Gichon who dates it to the third century.²⁶⁴ Parts of the aqueducts from Ein

Aged to the town were dated by Y. Hirschfeld to the same period.²⁶⁵

(2) *The First Church*²⁶⁶

Vincent and Abel date the first church to the third century in spite of the difficulty caused by the mosaic which, as they themselves admitted, could belong to the earlier villa. Although there is some evidence for the existence of a church at Emmaus by the late fourth century, we agree with Crowfoot²⁶⁷ and Avi-Yonah²⁶⁸ who assign the church to the fifth-sixth century. The church measures 46.40 x 24.40 m. and is divided into a central nave and two aisles ending on the east in three apses. There is no narthex. Two layers of mosaic pavement have been preserved in the western part. Already mentioned above is the chapel north of the church with a baptistery in the apse behind it. Vincent and Abel date this to the sixth century and believe it was a secondary church.²⁶⁹ It is separated from the main building by an intermediate hall and consists of a basilica of 18.40 x 10.40 and a small apse, the baptistery proper, in which two baptismal fonts were found, a large one, trefoil shaped, and a small, round font for children.²⁷⁰ Fragmentary inscribed mosaics clearly date the building to the sixth century.²⁷¹ The small finds have not been recorded, but architectural elements confirm the date of the building. Remains of an olive press have also been assigned to this period.²⁷²

²⁶⁵ Hirschfeld, *IEJ* 28(1978), 86-92.

²⁶⁶ Vincent and Abel, 183-227.

²⁶⁷ J.W. Crowfoot, *Early Churches in Palestine* (1941), 71 and 125. H. Vincent, *RB* 55 (1948), 348-75, attempted to refute Crowfoot's claim that the type of a church with three apses occurs in Palestine only after the end of the fourth century. His arguments, however, were not based on archaeological and stratigraphical analysis of his excavations.

²⁶⁸ *EAEHL*, ii, 363f.

²⁶⁹ Vincent and Abel, 238-49.

²⁷⁰ Figs. 68, 106; Pl. ii, xvii. Discussion of the design and unit of measurement of the baptistery: D. Chert, *ZDPV* 97 (1981), 171-7.

²⁷¹ Pls. xii 2-4; xviii; xxiv and fig. 77. The inscriptions are read as follows: 'Επὶ Προ[αίου] τοῦ ὁσιωτάτου ἐπισκόπου ἐγένετο τὸ πᾶν ἔργον ψηφώσεως[--- and: ---] Ἰωαννου[---] ἐγένετο καὶ ψηφω(σις).

²⁷² 98f., fig. 44.

²⁵⁷ Pl. ii; fig. 79.

²⁵⁸ Fig. 43; Pl. iii; vii-xii; discussion on pp.90-5.

²⁵⁹ [κα]ὶ λ(οι)πῶν τῶν [ἀ]δελφῶν [πε]λαγίου καὶ θωμᾶ. Vincent and Abel, 197-201.

²⁶⁰ Figs. 47, 50, 80; pp.104f. and 175f.

²⁶¹ Figs. 112, p.263.

²⁶² Figs. 84-6.

²⁶³ Fig. 48.

²⁶⁴ Gichon, *IEJ* 29 (1979), 101-110. Note the later Muslim tradition associated with this building which was recorded by Clermont-Ganneau (see the entry on Latrun). In this connection it may be mentioned that there the bathhouse was reused in the post-Byzantine (Mameluke?) period: M. Gichon and R. Linden, *IEJ* 34 (1984), 156-169.

The architectural parts from the chapel include fragments of the colonnade.²⁷³ The impost capital of fig. 76 is a good example of sixth-century architecture. Of special interest is an Ionic capital, much discussed, which bears on opposite sides between volutes a Samaritan and a Greek inscription:²⁷⁴

- (1) In Samaritan: 'Blessed be His name forever.'
- (2) Εἰς Θεός. 'God is one.'

The excavators assert that the complex was damaged and restored in the period of the Samaritan revolt of 529 and of the Persian invasion of 614, but it is not clear whether there was archaeological evidence in support of this claim.

(3) *The Early Islamic Period*

This period has left its traces in the west and north part of the complex. They consist primarily of changes in the original design of the buildings: blocked doorways, destroyed paving, building material in secondary use.²⁷⁵ A group of tombs was discovered in the area of the villa. Vincent and Abel note that all tombs were similarly aligned, with the heads of the dead pointing to the west and facing southward, that is to Mecca.²⁷⁶ No small finds have been published in support of the date, but a rough chronology has been established by the fact that the tombs were covered by the Crusader church. Moreover, the tombs resemble those found, for instance, at Kh. Mazad, where they are securely dated (q.v.). To be noted also is a fragment of a small column of the type used for the decoration of mosques or tombs.²⁷⁷

(4) *The Crusader Period*

The best-preserved remains on the spot are those of the twelfth-century Romanesque church which partly re-used the apse of its Byzantine predecessor.²⁷⁸ Attached to this was a vaulted hall (22.55 x 10.85 m.) with two strong walls along the lines of the Byzantine

stylobate, reinforced by four heavy pillars.²⁷⁹ These supported four pointed arches with voussoirs on which rested the roof. The vault of a porch was carried by two free-standing pillars in front of the main entrance in the west, and by two others attached to the western wall of the church. Two side-entrances were inserted in the north and south walls in front of the apse. Various fragments contribute to a better understanding of the original design of the building: fragments of windows, cornices, imposts of pillars, bases, and paving stones with symbols.²⁸⁰ No pottery finds or coins are recorded by the excavators.

Conclusions

The following periods are attested at the site of Kh. el-Keniseh in ancient Emmaus-Nicopolis: Herodian-Early Roman (small finds only), Roman (villa urbana?), Byzantine (church with baptistery, oil press), Early Islamic (tombs), Crusader (church). No evidence has been produced of any later occupation. The same periods could be distinguished in surveys and excavations elsewhere in the area of the town and its vicinity. The water installations, tombs and wine presses investigated by Hirschfeld at the edge of the town belonged to the Roman and Byzantine periods. In the bath house at Sheikh Ubeid, excavated by Gichon, the same phases were attested, but this was also used in the Early Islamic and Mameluke periods. Epigraphic evidence reflects a military presence in the Roman period, confirming information provided by Josephus. It also substantiates the literary allusions to a mixed population which included Jews and Samaritans. It is possible that the Byzantine church-complex belonged to the monastery founded by Sabas in the sixth century.

The Hellenistic remains at Aqed will be treated separately, for these almost certainly represent the Seleucid fort mentioned in 1 Maccabees. The evidence of occupation in the Bar Kokhba war is of interest, for it provides firm evidence of the extent of the revolt westwards at least as far as the edge of the hill-country. It also raises the question of whether the rebels controlled the town of Emmaus.

Following the Islamic conquest the town saw a rapid decline which may have been connected with the plague mentioned in Muslim sources. Settlement was renewed only by the Crusaders.

54. **Tell el-Ful (Gibeah of Saul?)**

(Pl.55)

1720.1367

The site lies on an isolated hill-top, at 838 m. above sea-level, on the Jerusalem-Neapolis road, about

²⁷³ Figs. 75f.; Pl. xix; pp. 164-6.

²⁷⁴ *SHP* iii 64-79; Vincent and Abel, Pl. xxv, 1-2; fig. 105, p.236f.; 430.

²⁷⁵ 86f.; 163.

²⁷⁶ Fig. 43; Pl. xiii.

²⁷⁷ Fig. 73. Also: some fragments of painted pottery, fig. 49.

²⁷⁸ 32-55; Pls. ii-iii; cf. Enlart, *Monuments des Croisés*, ii (1928), 38f.

²⁸⁰ Figs. 61-3, 100-2. See the reconstruction, Pl. xxii.

5 km. N. of Jerusalem. The identification of places called Geva or Gibeah in the Bible is problematic and much discussed.²⁸¹

The site is rarely mentioned in later sources. Josephus refers to it as a place where Titus placed a temporary camp while marching from Samaria to Jerusalem: '...he encamped in the valley which the Jews call "the Valley of Thorns" in their language, near a village named Gabath Saul, that is "Saul's Hill", some thirty stades distant from Jerusalem.'²⁸²

It is mentioned once in the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius: 'and there is another Gabatha in the territory of Benjamin where the house of Saul stood'.²⁸³ Jerome refers to it several times: in the translation of the *Onomasticon*,²⁸⁴ and, most interestingly, in the letter to Eustochium (Paula's journey): 'In the city of Gabaa which was raised to the ground she paused for a while to remember her own sins...'²⁸⁵

The identification of Tell el-Ful with biblical Gibeah of Saul was first proposed by Robinson.²⁸⁶ It is one of the few sites in Palestine excavated (by Warren in 1868), before it was described in the *SWP* and by Guérin.²⁸⁷ Warren found the remains of a large

building. Substantial excavations were undertaken in 1922-3 and 1933.²⁸⁸ Further excavations were carried out by W.F. Albright in 1964.²⁸⁹ L.A. Sinclair summed up the stratigraphy of the site as follows: I. A Pre-Fortress period (12th century BC); IIA-IVA (11th-5th centuries BC and the Persian period), fortresses. IVB. (3rd-2nd centuries), fortress; V (1st century BC-1st century AD) settlement. A settlement of the Persian period was excavated on the east slope and tombs of that period were uncovered at the southern base of the mound. Sinclair notes that there seem to be indications that the mound was occupied during the Maccabean period, but more precise data are needed in order to determine the stratigraphy and chronology of this period. In the Early Roman period there was a flourishing village, perhaps destroyed in the First Jewish Revolt.

The primary importance of the site with its fortress falls in the pre-Roman periods. Occupation was apparently not resumed after the First Revolt. Neither the literary sources nor the excavations suggest that the site was occupied in the Byzantine period.

55. Gezer

1425.1407

'It is one of the few remarkable bastions which the Shephelah flings out to the west ... It is high and isolated, but fertile and well watered, a very strong post and striking landmark'.²⁹⁰ Gezer is situated 8 kilometres south-southeast of Ramle, situated at the edge of the foothills of Judaea. The site affords a splendid view across the coastal plain. To the North the road to Jerusalem passes through a fertile valley 2.5 km. broad, which links the coastal plain with the valley of Ayalon. Clermont-Ganneau, who discovered the site in 1873, describes Gezer's excellent water-supply: the magnificent spring of 'Ain Yardeb, the spring of

²⁸¹ For recent scepticism: J.M. Miller, *Vetus Testamentum* 25 (1975), 145-66, who proposes identifying Geva of Benjamin / Gibeah of Benjamin / Gibeah of Saul with modern Jeba'. See also *TIR* s.v. Gabath Saulis, 127.

²⁸² Josephus, *BJ* v 2,1 (51): στρατοπεδεύεται κατὰ τὸν ὑπὸ 'Ιουδαίων πατρίως 'Ακανθων αὐλῶνα καλούμενον πρὸς τινὶ κώμῃ Γαβᾶθ Σαούλ λεγομένη, σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο λόφον Σαούλου, διέστων ἀπὸ τῶν 'Ιεροσολύμων ὅσον ἀπὸ τριάκοντα σταδίων.

²⁸³ Eusebius, *On.* 70,11f: καὶ ἄλλη Γαβαθα κλήρου Βενιαμίν, ἐνθα ἦν ὁ οἶκος Σαούλ.

²⁸⁴ Jerome, *ibid.*, 71,12: 'sed et alia Gabatha in tribu Benjamin, ubi fuit domus Saul'.

²⁸⁵ Jerome, *ep.* 108, 8, ed. Labourt, vol. v, p.166: 'In Gabaa urbe usque ad solum diruta paululum substitit recordata peccati eius...' Id., in *Sophoniam* i, 15.16 (CCSL 76A, p.673): 'Silo, ubi tabernaculum et arca testamenti domini fuit, vix altaris fundamenta monstrantur. Gabaa illa civitas Saulis usque ad fundamenta diruta est.'

²⁸⁶ Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, i, 577 f.

²⁸⁷ *SWP* iii, 158-160; Guérin, *Samarie* i, 188-190. Note that several scholars, writing long after Warren's work on the spot, denied that there was an ancient settlement on Tell el-Ful: L. Féderlin, *RB* (1906), 271; F. Hagemeyer, *ZDPV* 32 (1909), 4-6.

²⁸⁸ W.F. Albright, *AASOR* 4 (1924); id. *BASOR* 52 (1933), 6-12; L.A. Sinclair, *AASOR* 34/35 (1960), 5-52.

²⁸⁹ L.A. Sinclair, *BA* 27 (1964), 52-64; P.W. Lapp, *BA* 28 (1965), 2-10. See also the summary in *NEAHL* ii, 445-8, s.v. Gibeah and N. Lapp, *AASOR* 45 (1978).

²⁹⁰ G.A. Smith, *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, 153f.

'Ain et-Tannur, dried up in his time, and 'Ain el-el-Bothmech, which was less important.²⁹¹

Gezer is first mentioned on the walls of the great Temple of Amon at Karnak among the cities listed by Thutmose III (c. 1490-1436 BC).²⁹² It is then mentioned frequently in the Amarna letters. There are complaints by the neighbouring rulers about the behaviour of the king Milkilu,²⁹³ who complains himself about other neighbours.²⁹⁴ There is a letter from the pharaoh to Milkilu about a commercial transaction.²⁹⁵ Of particular interest for the subject of this book is a letter by the vassal prince in Jerusalem, who complains about the lack of control exercised by the Egyptian authorities. His main enemies are Milkilu, prince of Gezer, Lab'ayu of Shekhem, and Tagu, whose domain apparently lay south of Carmel. Among other statements, he claims that his last caravan, which contained tribute and captives for the king was attacked and robbed near Ayalon, presumably by the men of Milkilu of Gezer and the sons of Lab'ayu (of Shekhem). The king of Gezer was ruler of Ayalon.

The last Egyptian source to mention Gezer is the Victory Hymn of Merneptah (about 1208 BC): 'Plundered is the Canaan with every evil; Carried off is Ashkelon; seized upon is Gezer; Yanoam is made as that which does not exist; Israel is laid waste, his seed is not'.²⁹⁶

Gezer lay at the periphery of Jewish territory and was incorporated rather late. Joshua is reported to have defeated the king of Gezer,²⁹⁷ without expelling the inhabitants.²⁹⁸ It is listed as a Levitical city.²⁹⁹

²⁹¹ Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, ii, 249.

²⁹² ANET, 242; perhaps also in an inscription from the time of Thutmose IV: Ibid. 248.

²⁹³ EA, no. 250, ANET, 485 f.; EA, no. 254, ANET 486; EA nos. 287, 289 f., ANET 488 f. On Gezer in the Amarna letters: J.F. Ross, *Bull. Museum Haaretz* 8(1966), 45-54.

²⁹⁴ EA, nos. 270 f., ANET 486 f. Milkilu's successor: EA, no. 292, ANET 489 f.

²⁹⁵ EA no. 287, 50-60, translated in ANET³, 488, discussed also in Part I, above.

²⁹⁶ ANET 378.

²⁹⁷ Joshua 10.33.

²⁹⁸ Ibid. 16.10.

After conquering Jerusalem David defeated the Philistines 'from Geva until you come to Gezer'.³⁰⁰

Solomon built a number of forts on key-sites: Jerusalem, Hazor, Megiddo and Gezer. Gezer had been attacked and captured by Pharaoh [Siamun], king of Egypt, who had burnt it to the ground, put its Canaanite inhabitants to death, and given it as a marriage gift to his daughter, Solomon's wife.³⁰¹ Gezer thus became a significant border town.³⁰²

From there (sc. Gezer) Shishak ascended via Ayalon and Beit Horon to Gibeon, which is north-west of Jerusalem. Therefore Pharaoh Shishak went up to the hill country in 927 BC by the ascent of Beit Horon.³⁰³ After the division of the Kingdom Gezer belonged to the Kingdom of Israel.³⁰⁴

A relief of Tiglath-pileser III depicting a campaign in Philistia in 734/3 shows the siege and capture of a city called Ga-az-ru.³⁰⁵ It is assumed that this is Gezer.³⁰⁶

In 1 Maccabees we read that, following his first successful encounter with the Seleucid troops, Judas Maccabaeus pursued them as far as 'Gazer, the plains of Idumaea, Azotus and Jamnia'.³⁰⁷ Gezer is mentioned again in a similar context. In the battle of Adasa the enemy was routed and they chased them a

²⁹⁹ Joshua 21.21; 1 Chron. 6.

³⁰⁰ 2 Sam. 5.25; 1 Chron. 14.16: 'from Gibeon to Gezer'. As noted in Chapter I, it may be inferred that the Beit Horon road was used.

³⁰¹ 1 Kings 9, 15; 17.

³⁰² According to Nadav Na'aman Gezer became a border town as a result of these transactions.

³⁰³ 1 Kings 14, 25-8; 2 Chron. 12, 1-12; topographical list preserved in the Amon temple at Karnak, discussed by Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible* (revised ed. 1979), 323-30, esp. 325f.

³⁰⁴ 1 Chron. 7, 28.

³⁰⁵ R.D. Barnett and M. Falkner, *The Sculptures of Assur-Nasir-Apli II ... Tiglath-Pileser III ... Esarhaddon ...* (1962), 112.

³⁰⁶ For the remains of this period: R. Reich and B. Brandl, *PEQ* 117 (1985), 41-54.

³⁰⁷ 1 Macc. 4.15.

day's journey all the way from Adasa to Gazara'.³⁰⁸ This was one of the famous pursuits along the Beit Horon road.

In the books of the Maccabees Gazara is first mentioned as a place of significance when it is listed among the towns that were fortified by Bacchides during his campaign in 160 BC.³⁰⁹ It is mentioned together with, and as comparable to Beth Zur and the Acra. In 142 Simon the Maccabee besieged and captured Gazara.³¹⁰

'In those days he invested Gazara³¹¹ and surrounded it with his army. He made a *helepolis* [siege tower] and brought it up against the city, made a breach in one of the towers and captured it ... Simon ... expelled them [sc. the townspeople] from the town and purified the houses in which there were idols and thus he entered, singing hymns and songs of praise. He banished everything that was impure and settled men in it who kept the law and he strengthened it and built a house in it for himself.'

Then followed the capture and purification of the Acra in Jerusalem where Simon lived himself. 'And Simon saw that John, his son, was a man and he made him commander of all his forces and he lived in Gazara'.³¹² In 2 Maccabees the capture of Gazara, refuge of Timotheus, is ascribed to Judas Maccabaeus, a claim which is incompatible with the plausible account in 1 Maccabees. It has therefore been suggested that 2 Maccabees actually refers to Iazer in Transjordan,³¹³ or, alternatively, that it has a confused chronology, the result of obfuscation on the part of

Jason of Cyrene.³¹⁴ In a later passage 1 Macc. states that Simon fortified 'Jaffa on the sea and Gazara which is on the border of Azotus'.³¹⁵ This seems redundant and it is hard to understand how our Gezer could have been said to be situated on the border of Azotus. It is possible that another place is meant here.³¹⁶

John Hyrcanus was still at Gezer when the pretender Ptolemy attempted to kill him following the murder of his father, in 135/4.³¹⁷ A decree of the senate reported by Josephus probably belongs to this period.³¹⁸ This grants a request that 'Jaffa and its harbours, Gazara and Pegai [i.e. the later Antipatris] and other cities and places that Antiochus had taken from them be restored to them.'

Next we should turn to a passage concerning Vespasian's activities in the spring of 68, at the time of the First Revolt.

'Vespasian who blockaded those in Jerusalem on all sides built camps in Jericho and Adida and placed garrisons from the Roman and allied troops in both. He also sent Lucius Annius to Gerasa with a unit of cavalry and a large body of infantry. He stormed the town, took it and killed a thousand youth ... Since the war now encompassed all the hill-country and the coastal plain, those in Jerusalem were cut off in all directions.'³¹⁹

³¹⁴ So Abel, loc.cit.; J.C. Dancey, *A Commentary on 1 Maccabees* (1954), 17 f.

³¹⁵ 1 Macc. 14, 34.

³¹⁶ However, Abel, *Les livres des Maccabées*, 258 n., rejects this suggestion.

³¹⁷ 1 Macc. 16, 19.

³¹⁸ Josephus, *Ant.* xiii 9, 2 (260-6); cf. Schürer, i. 204 f.

³¹⁹ Josephus, *BJ* iv 9, 1 (486-8): 'Ο δὲ Οὐεσπασιανὸς πανταχόθεν περιτειχίζων τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐν τῇ Ἱεριχοῖ καὶ ἐν Ἀδίδοις ἐγείρει στρατόπεδα καὶ φρουροὺς ἀμφοτέραις ἐγκαθίστησιν ἐκ τε τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ καὶ συμμαχικοῦ τάγματος. πέμπει δὲ καὶ εἰς Γέρασα Λούκιον Ἄννιον παραδοῦς μοῖραν ἱππέων καὶ συχνόους πεζοῦς. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐχέφθου τὴν πόλιν ἐλὼν ἀποκτείνει μὲν χιλίους τῶν νέων... (490) καὶ διειληφότος τοῦ πολέμου τὴν τε ὀρεινὴν ὅλην καὶ τὴν πεδιάδα πᾶσαν οἱ ἐν τοῖς

³⁰⁸ 1 Macc. 7, 39; 45; Jos., *Ant.* xii 10, 5 (406-11). The site of Judas Maccabaeus' last battle, near his camp at Elasa, may have been to the south of modern Ramalla, south-west of al-Bira, cf. Bar-Kochva, *Judas Maccabaeus*, 386-8.

³⁰⁹ 1 Macc. 9, 52.

³¹⁰ 1 Macc. 13, 43-8; cf. Jos. *Ant.* xiii 6, 7 (215-7); *BJ* i 2, 2 (50). Cf. F.-M. Abel, *RB* 35 (1926), 515-7.

³¹¹ See the critical apparatus in Abel, *Livres des Maccabées*, 173: Γάζαρα (R F) avec Joséphe et non Γαζάραν (K), ni Γαζαν de tous les mss.

³¹² 1 Macc. 13, 53.

³¹³ So, most recently, B. Bar Kochva, *Judas Maccabaeus* (1989), 512, and cf. Abel, *Livres des Maccabées* (1949), 415 n.

This cannot be Gerasa of the Decapolis. According to Josephus, *vita* 341f. the Decapolis supported Rome and many of the local Jews evacuated Gerasa early in the war.³²⁰ Moreover, Josephus makes it clear that, as a result of the capture of this place and the surrounding villages, Jerusalem was under total blockade. We must therefore look for a settlement on a road to Jerusalem.

In the sequel we are told of the activities of 'Simon bar Giora a man from Gerasa'.³²¹ According to Josephus, Simon bar Giora was first based in Acrabatene with the approval of the leadership in Jerusalem. He was then dismissed, went to Masada and returned with followers to Acrabatene where he fortified a village Ain or Nain. Since Simon bar Giora was a native Gerasene and was also active in Acrabatene it has been suggested that there existed a village named 'Gerasa' in Acrabatene. This then would have been the place of origin of Simon bar Giora. This would also have been the place conquered by Lucius Annus later in the war, as described above. This is a double postulate for we do not know that there really was a Gerasa in Acrabatene and Josephus nowhere tells us that Lucius Annus conquered a village in this toparchy. Simon bar Giora did not fortify a place called Gerasa, but Ain or Nain.

Yet many scholars accept the suggestion that this Gerasa is to be identified with a village called Jureish, north-east of Jerusalem (G.R.180.167).³²² No ancient site has been recorded at Jureish, let alone one with walls that could contain a thousand men, although we have not seen the site ourselves. Moreover, the modern village lies far from the main Neapolis - Jerusalem road in mountainous country, so it cannot be claimed that its capture would have contributed to a blockade of Jerusalem.

Despite claims to this effect, references to Talmudic literature do not show that there was a

Gerasa west of the Jordan.³²³ There is therefore no evidence for the existence of a Gerasa west of the Jordan and the only support for the identification of Jureish with this place is the vague similarity of the name.

Josephus writes about Annus' campaign as if it was directed against an important target. It is questionable whether we are justified in simply postulating another Gerasa 'somewhere' in Acrabatene and then selecting a random village with a name which sounds right. The 'Gerasa' conquered by Lucius Annus was a town with more than a thousand young men, with walls, and surrounding villages. Josephus does not say it was in Acrabatene. He says, however, that Jerusalem was cut off from all directions as a result of its capture. It must therefore have been a place on or very near a main road. If there was such a place somewhere in Acrabatene we would have to accept that it was never heard of again, before or since. Moreover, Gerasa is *not* mentioned in connection with Simon bar Giora's activities in the war, but only as his place of origin.

Reland has offered a persuasive solution: for the name of the town taken by Lucius Annus we should read 'Gezara', i.e. Gezer.³²⁴ There is some support, unknown to Reland, in the earliest edition (Augsburg 1470) of Rufinus' (ancient) Latin translation: 'Mittit autem gesaron'. This translation has some authority, particularly as regards place-names, because it was transmitted independently of the Greek text. This is a satisfactory solution, for Gezer was an important site on the Lydda-Jerusalem road. It was no longer a significant town in this period, but in the war it would still have offered the best refuge available in the region, even if in this period occupation had moved off the mound proper onto the plains surrounding the site, as stated in a recent archaeological publication (see below). The place regained some importance in the Byzantine period.³²⁵

Ἱεροσολύμοις τὰς ἐξόδους ἀφῆρηντο.

³²⁰ *RJ* ii 18.5 (480).

³²¹ Josephus, *RJ* iv 9.3 (503 ff.): υἱὸς ἦν Γιώρα Σίμων τῆς Γερασσηνὸς τὸ γένος...

³²² Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer*, p.61, s.v. Gerasa II = Jureish GR 180.167, notes without question mark: 'Birth place of zealot leader Simeon Bar-Giora, destroyed by Vespasianus, probable place of origin of Joshua the Gerasene'. Note also O. Michel and O. Baumstark *Flavius Josephus: De Bello Judaico*, ii 1, 228 n.180. A. Schalit, *Namenwörterbuch zu Flavius Josephus* (Leiden 1968), 34.150.

³²³ B.T. 'Eruvin 21b; Soferim i 2, ed. Higger, p.97 and other passages do not mention a 'R. Joshua the Gerasene', but 'R. Joshua Hagarsi' which is better interpreted as 'the man who acquires knowledge'. Lamentations Rabbah 3,3 cited in this connection in fact mentions 'Seger of Arabia'. Note also B.T. 'Eruvin 19a: 'If paradise is ... in Arabia its entrance is Beth Gerem'. Some versions have 'Geres'. It appears that Gerasa in Arabia is mentioned in Talmudic sources unlike the presumed Gerasa west of the Jordan.

³²⁴ H. Reland, *Palaestina ex monumentis veteribus illustrata* (1714), ii. 808.

³²⁵ It is mentioned by Hierocles, *Synecdemus* 719, 10. Georgius Cyprius 1019.

Cuneiform Inscriptions

Two cuneiform documents, dated 651 and 649 BC were found in excavations at Gezer.³²⁶

Boundary Inscriptions

This is a well-known series of nine bilingual inscriptions which read in Greek: ΑΛΚΙΟΥ and in Hebrew: THMGZR.³²⁷ The discovery of these inscriptions proved the identification of the site with ancient Gezer. Recently two similar inscriptions were found on the north-east slope of the Tel.³²⁸ These read: ΑΛΕΞΑ and ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΥ. The inscriptions almost certainly indicate the border between the property of Alkios and the town of Gezer.³²⁹ If the inscriptions do indicate the boundary between the property of Alkios and Gezer, there is no longer any ground for the assumption that Gezer had become a private estate belonging to an individual rather than a town with its own territory. Whenever the inscriptions were set up, whether in the Hasmonaean or the Herodian period,³³⁰ it is clear that Gezer was at that time a town with jurisdiction over its territory and not a village or an estate.

The Gezer graffito

CII 1184; L. Boifo, *Iscrizioni greche e latine per lo studio della Bibbia* (1994), 121-5.³³¹

³²⁶ B. Becker, *JEOL* 27(1981), 76-89.

³²⁷ Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, ii, 224-75; recent summary: R. Reich, *Eretz Israel* 18(1985), 167-79 (Heb., English summary); discussion: Ben-Zion Rosenfeld, *IEJ* 38 (1988), 235-45; R. Reich, *IEJ* 40 (1990), 44-46; J. Schwartz, *ibid.* 47-57. The first four were discovered by Clermont-Ganneau. Three are recent discoveries.

³²⁸ J.D. Seger, *IEJ* 22 (1972), 160 f.; Reich, *op.cit.*, p.175 f.

³²⁹ As argued most recently by Reich, *op.cit.*

³³⁰ Dates proposed: the Hasmonaean period, i.e. late second century BC, according to Reich and Schwartz, *op. cit.*, or the Herodian period, i.e. late first century BC till mid first century AD, according to Rosenfeld, *op.cit.* There is no reliable evidence.

³³¹ First published by R.A.S. Macalister, *The Excavations of Gezer, 1902-1905 and 1907-1909*, i (1912), 210-13, fig. 100. Cf. F.-M. Abel, *RB* 35 (1926), 515-17.

Παμπρα Σίμωνος / κατοπάζη (?) πῦρ / βασιλείου.

'Pampra(?): that fire may hound Simon's palace!'

This is an inscription cut in cursive lettering on a fragment of a building stone which probably belonged to the palace of Simon the Maccabee at Gezer, found in Macalister's excavations in 1905. It is the oldest document relating to one of the Maccabees outside the books of the Maccabees. The text, particularly line 2, is not certain. As it stands it appears to be a curse written down by a prisoner with some Greek who was forced to participate in the construction of the palace. The meaning of Παμπρα or Παμπρα[ς] is not clear.

Inscribed weight

R.A.S. Macalister, *PEFQS* (1908), 281 f.

L ΔΓ ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΟΥΝΤΟC
CWCΠΑΤΡΟΥ ΜΤ or ΜΓ or Μ(ΝΑ) ΔΓ

Ossuaries

In tombs near the site five ossuaries were found with Hebrew inscriptions.³³²

Eusebius, *Onomasticon* 66,21 reports that Gazer 'is now called Gazara, a village belonging to Nicopolis, four miles to the north'.³³³

One of the famous battles of the Crusaders was the battle of Montgisart, in 1177, where Saladin was routed by Baldwin IV the Leper. Montgisart was also the location of a monastery of St. Catherine of Mongisart.³³⁴ Clermont-Ganneau has proposed identifying Mont Gisart with Tell el-Jezer (Gezer).³³⁵

³³² CII 1176-8; 1181 f.

³³³ Γαζέρ ... καὶ νῦν καλεῖται Γαζάρα κώμη Νικοπόλεως ἀπέχουσα σημείοις δ' ἐν βορείοις. Lat.: 'Nunc Gazara villa dicitur in quarto milliario Nicopoleos contra septentionem'. The distance is approximately right, but Gezer is WNW rather than north of Emmaus.

³³⁴ Rozière, *Cartulaire*, 130 [1158]; 134 [1160]; *Les archives de l'Orient Latin* (Paris 1884), ii 143 [1169]

³³⁵ Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine* ii, 257; Clermont-Ganneau first argued for the identification of Mont Gisart with Tell Gezer in *R4O* i 1 (1888), 351-91; 401. Note also Rainaldus de Montegisardo, mentioned in a charter of 1185

This is very likely although there is so far no definite proof.³³⁹

There are scattered references to Tell el-Jezer in the Arab tradition, listed by Clermont-Ganneau.³³⁷

Archaeological Remains

The identification of biblical Gezer with Tel Gezer was first proposed by Clermont-Ganneau and later proved by his own discovery of the first of the boundary inscriptions that mention the name of the city.³³⁸

Since R A S Macalister's first excavations at Gezer (1902-1909) the site was investigated more intensively than any other site of ancient Israel. It also became a training and research centre of archaeological methodology in the Holy Land.³³⁹ The results of this investigation cover almost all of the periods represented in Israeli archaeology.³⁴⁰

From 1902 till 1909 R A S Macalister dug broad (up to 10 meters) east-west trenches across the mound, revealing 9 strata with 7 general periods called by him Pre-Semitic, Semitic I-IV, Hellenistic and Roman-Byzantine, published in: *The Excavations of Gezer* 1-3 (London 1912). A Rowe excavated west of the Acropolis in 1934.³⁴¹ Since 1964 the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, has systematically explored the site. The excavations were directed by G E Wright (1964-1965), W.G. Dever (1966-1971, 1974-1990) and J.D. Seger (1972-1974).³⁴²

Delabède, *Chartes de Terre Sainte* (1880), xliii, p. 92.

³³⁹ AR ii, 257, numerous skeletons found at the south-western extremity of Tell el-Jezer 'apparently buried after a battle'. However, there were many battles were fought near Gezer.

³⁴⁰ *Archaeological Researches*, ii, 251-3.

³⁴¹ C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale* 1, loc. cit.; *Archaeological Researches*, ii, 224-7; RB 8 (1894), 109-117.

³⁴² W.D. Dever & H.D. Lance, eds. *Manual of Field Excavation - Handbook for Field Archaeologists*, Jerusalem 1978.

³⁴³ For a detailed summary William G. Dever, *Excavations II*, 140-505, plan on p. 496.

³⁴⁴ *IEJ* 67 (1935), 49-53.

The following summary of the archaeological remains is based on the publications of Macalister, Rowe, Iliffe, Dever, *NEAEHL*, already cited, Seger, Iliffe, and Reich.³⁴³

The Chalcolithic period (stratum XXVI) - thirty-fourth century BCE.

The Early Bronze Age I (stratum XXV) - not fortified
The Early Bronze Age II (strata XXIV-XXIII)

The Early Bronze Age III (stratum XXII) - decline, tombs, gap in occupation.

The Middle Bronze Age (stratum XXI, ca. 1800 BCE) - the greatest expansion and flourishing of the site, the first city fortifications dating to the MB IIIB-C period: an inner wall of 400 m with rectangular towers, and a triple gate. To this phase must be attributed the famous 'High Place' discovered by Macalister. A row of ten monoliths, ca. 3m high, were erected in a north-south line, inside the inner wall of the mound. Large quantities of material were unearthed from dwellings and tombs belonging to this phase. The end of it coincides with the first campaign of Thutmose III (ca. 1468 BC).

Late Bronze Age I - decline

Late Bronze Age II - revival, associated with the el-Amarna period of Egyptian rule in Canaan. An outer wall was added to the site.

Late Bronze Age IIB - 13th century BC - decline and destruction at the end of the 13th century BC, perhaps associated with the campaign of Pharaoh Merneptah (as suggested by a sundial cartouche bearing this pharaoh's name, found by Macalister). This would imply destruction before the coming of the Philistines.

The Iron Age I: the Philistine period (strata XIII-XI) and a weak post-Philistine/pre-Solomonic period (strata X and IX) came to an end in a violent destruction, probably due to an Egyptian campaign referred to in 1 Kings 9:15-17.

The Iron Age II: the Israelite level (stratum VIII, 10th

³⁴² W.G. Dever, *et al.*, *Gezer 1*, (Jerusalem 1970); *Gezer 2*, (Jerusalem 1974); *Gezer 4*, (Jerusalem 1986); S. Gitin, *A Ceramic Typology of the Late Iron II, Persian and Hellenistic Periods at Tell Gezer 1-2 (= Gezer 3)*, Jerusalem 1990.

³⁴³ J.D. Seger, *Biblical Archaeologist* 39 (1976), [142-4] 143; J.H. Iliffe, *PEQ* 67 (1935), 185; R. Reich, *IEJ* 31 (1981), 48-52. Note also W.D. Dever, *JIS* 33 (1982), 19-34.

century BC), called by Macalister the 'Maccabean Castle'. The most important structure is the four-entry-way city gate recognized by Y. Yadin as a typical Solomonic gate (as at Hazor and Megiddo). A palace and a casemate wall may be also added to this phase. Among smaller finds, the famous 'Gezer calendar' representing one of the earliest Hebrew inscriptions also belongs to the Solomonic era. This phase was probably destroyed by Shishak, ca. 924 BC.

Strata VII (9th cent. BC, the Solomonic gate rebuilt as a triple gate), VI (gate destroyed by Tiglath-pileser, 733-732 BC, V (8th-7th centuries, Babylonian destruction, 587-586 BC) reflect the tempestuous times in the Holy Land after Solomon.³⁴⁴

To the short period of the reign of Josiah (640-609 BCE), when Gezer probably belonged to the Kingdom of Judah, belong the remains of the double gate built over the earlier Solomonic gate.

The Persian Period (stratum IV): Macalister's 'Philistine tombs' were redated by Iliffe and attributed to the Persian period.³⁴⁵

The Hellenistic Period (strata III-II): some remains, uncovered already by Macalister could be attributed to the early Hellenistic period (3rd century BCE, stratum III), such as seal impressions, coins and pottery, and stamped handles. Macalister's assignment of some monumental architectural remains to what he called the 'Maccabean Castle' was shown by Y. Yadin to have been the Solomonic gate (see above). However, the area of the gate was used and partly overbuilt by the Hasmoneans (Simon). A Greek graffito already mentioned was found in the vicinity of the gate. Excavations carried out in 1972 by J.D. Seger in Field VII revealed remains of domestic architecture dated by him to the second century BC. The area investigated is located to the west of Macalister's 'Maccabean Castle'.³⁴⁶

The remains comprise three separate living units, arranged around a central courtyard (fig. 1), with kitchen and subterranean drainage channel. Folded small oil lamps and coins point to the second half of the 2nd cent. BC. A stamped handle (fig. 2) "of the Rhodian type" (?) bears the Greek inscription CIMIOY. A lead plaque referring to an *agoranomos* has already been mentioned. Concluding these finds, Seger emphasizes the lack of evidence of 'the keepers of the law' as the

Hasmoneans were called in the Books of Maccabees. This settlement was occupied until the beginning of the 1st century BC. Thereafter the settlement moved, according to Seger (p. 144), into the plain surrounding the site.

In a recent publication Reich identified six *miqva'ot* (ritual baths) in Macalister's report, suggesting that Gezer was inhabited by Jews.³⁴⁷

The Herodian Period is almost not represented, apart from some enclosure walls found in field II and Macalister's 'Syrian bath'. The date of the boundary inscriptions is relevant in this connection.

A large underground hiding complex was found in Macalister's excavations. There were no finds to help in dating it, but it is of the same type as many others discovered in recent years which are firmly dated by coin-finds and pottery to the first and second centuries AD.³⁴⁸

56. Gibeon (Al Jib)

(Fig. 10; Pl. 20, 45)

1676.1396

The site of Gibeon is notable for having the finest water supply in the region. It occupies the strongest position on the plateau east of the Beit Horon ascent and is passed by every one who takes that route to Jerusalem.

Literary Sources

Gibeon is one of the cities mentioned in the Bible (e.g. Joshua 9.3 ff.; 18.25). In 2 Samuel 2.13 mention is also made of 'the pool of Gibeon'. Joshua 10.1-15 contains the first description of many battles along the Beit Horon road, when Joshua is said to have commanded the sun to stand still 'and he said in the sight of Israel, Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon; and thou, Moon in the valley of Ayalon.' We are told that the enemy was defeated at Gibeon and then pushed down the road as far as Azekah and Makkedah. In the Septuagint Gibeon appears as Γαβαων or Γαβαωθ.³⁴⁹

In 927 BC a military expedition was carried out by Pharaoh Shishak in Palestine (1 Kings 14.25-8; 2 Chron. 12.1-2). An inscription preserved in the

³⁴⁴ R. Reich, *PEQ* 117 (1985), 41-54.

³⁴⁵ J.H. Iliffe, *PEQ* 67 (1935), 185.

³⁴⁶ J.D. Seger, *Biblical Archaeologist* 39 (1976), [142-4] 143.

³⁴⁷ R. Reich, *IEJ* 31(1981), 48-52.

³⁴⁸ A. Kloner and Y. Tepper, *Subterranean Hide-outs in the Judean Shephelah* (1987, Heb.), 100-103.

³⁴⁹ For references: Abel, *GP*, ii, 335 f. and cf. A. Demsky, *BASOR* 212 (1973), 26-31; *TIR*, s.v. Gabaon, 126f.

Amon Temple in Kamak contains a long topographical list which includes Gezer, ??, Rubute, Ayalon, Gatim, Beit Horon, Gibeon.

Josephus gives the distance from Jerusalem as 40 *stadia* in *Ant.* vii 9,7(283) but as 50 *stadia* in *BJ* ii 19,1 (517). The latter passage describes Cestius Gallus' march from Lydda past Beit Horon to Gibeon (Gabaon), where he placed his camp. Eusebius, *On.* 66,13 identifies Gibeon with a village four miles west of Beit El. It is not clear which site is meant. In 48,9, however, the present site is mentioned as a village seven miles from Aelia on the road to Emmaus: Βηρῶθ. ὑπὸ τὴν Γαβαὼν. καὶ ἔστι νῦν κώμη πλησίον Αἰλίας κατιόντων ἐπὶ Νικόπολιν ἀπὸ ζ' σημείων.

Peter the Deacon, P2, briefly mentions Gibeon: 'Not far from Jerusalem is Gibeon, which was captured by Joshua, and sixty stades from Jerusalem is Emmaus (i.e. Nicopolis)...' This is almost certainly based on the work of Bede who used the lost part of 'Egeria's Travels' (381-4).

Gibeon is mentioned again in the same decade as Egeria, in the account of Paula's journey to Jerusalem (385-6): 'From this [Nicopolis] she passed on and climbed to Lower and Upper Beit Horon, cities which were founded by Solomon, but later destroyed in the disasters of war; seeing on her right Ayalon and Gibeon, where Joshua the son of Nun fought against the five kings, and uttered his command to the sun and moon; and condemned the Gibeonites to become drawers of water and hewers of wood because of the deception by which they tricked him when they asked to become allies.'³⁵⁰ This seems to imply that Gibeon was an existing village at the time, as it was a century before in Eusebius' days, for Paula's next stop was Gibeah and of this it is explicitly stated that it was razed to the ground. Like the previous passages, it shows that the village of Gibeon was one of the prominent landmarks on the way from Jerusalem to Emmaus-Nicopolis.³⁵¹

Hüttenmeister and Reeg, *Die antiken*

³⁵⁰ Jerome, *ep.* 108,8, ed. Hilberg, CSEL, iv, 314: 'atque inde [sc. from Nicopolis] proficiscens ascendit Bethoron inferiorem et superiorem, urbes a Salomone conditas, et varia postea bellorum tempestate deletas, ad dextram aspiciens Aialone, et Gabaon, ubi Jesus filius Nave contra quinque reges dimicans, soli imperavit et lunae: et Gabaonitas ob dolos et insidias foederis impetrati, in aquarios, lignariosque damnavit.' Also, Epiphanius, *Haer.* 46 (GCS 31, 209).

³⁵¹ Cf. B. Bagatti, *Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria* (1979), 89 f.

Synagogen in Israel, vol. i (1977), p.138 s.v. Giv'on, refer to the Targum on 1 Chron. 16,39 which mentions the synagogue at Gibeon. This therefore may be presumed to have existed at the time.

The Georgian lectionary from Jerusalem may contain a reference to a church at el-Jib but the identification is by no means certain.³⁵²

Yaquṭ describes al-Jib as lying between Bayt al-Maqdis (Jerusalem) and Nablus; 'there are here two forts called Upper al-Jib and Lower al-Jib and they are close to one another.'³⁵³

Gibeon is mentioned in various Crusader documents. A privilege regarding vineyards — of which there were many in this area — mentions a vineyard situated next to Gabaon.³⁵⁴ In 1099 a Crusader army marched from Lydda to Emmaus (Abu Ghosh). From there a small detachment of horsemen under Tancred and Baldwin de Burco made their way to Bethlehem and returned to Jerusalem. 'Next the army, keeping Gabaon to the left approached the city...' ³⁵⁵ Baha' al-Din describes Saladin's progress in 1192-93 from al-Quds to El-Djib and thence to Beit-Nouba and Ramla.³⁵⁶

Burchardus de Monte Sion (AD 1283) writes: De ista (sc. Gabaa Saulis) ad leucam parvam est Gabaon, civitas Benjamin, sita in eodem monte, unde et ibi dicitur fuisse excelsum maximum.³⁵⁷ It is not so much Burchardus' exercise in etymology as the identificati-

³⁵² *Le Grand Lectionnaire de l'Église de Jérusalem*, CSSO 205, vol. 14, M. Tarchnischvili (ed. and trans.), ii 11, no.985; 49, no.1341: refers to a church dedicated to St. Isidore in the village of Gevbale (or 'Gebali'). Other possibilities for identification have been suggested.

³⁵³ Yaquṭ ii, 170. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (1890), 464. R.D. Pringle, *Levant* 15(1983), 145, would like to identify Upper al-Jib mentioned by Yaquṭ with Nabi Samwil. This is unlikely since the latter place is mentioned separately by this author.

³⁵⁴ Röhrich, *Regesta*, no.271, 68 (1151).

³⁵⁵ Balduinus iii, *Hist. Nicaena vel Antiochena*, Ch. lviii (RHC Occ. v, 174).

³⁵⁶ Baha' al-Din, *Sirat-Salah al-Din* (1964), 222; RHC Or., iii, 322 f.

³⁵⁷ Burchardus de Monte Sion, ap. Laurent, *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quatuor* (Leipzig 1864), 76.

on that is of interest in the present passage.³⁵⁸

The endowment deed of 1552 cited several times above mentions the village of el-Jīb.³⁵⁹

The first western source to refer to and identify the place is Pococke, p.48: 'To the north we looked down [sc. from Nabi Samwil] into a very fine valley which I conjectured to be about ten miles lying from east to west, and five miles broad, and, according to the tradition, it seems to be the valley of Ajalon, in which the city of Gibeon was situated, and if so, this plain was the territory of the Gibeonites. There are two hills in it, beautifully improved: that to the west has two summits; on the northern one, there is a village called Geb, probably the ancient Gibeon on which the sun stood still ...'³⁶⁰

Robinson gives a brief description of el-Jīb and identified it with ancient Gibeon,³⁶¹ an identification now unanimously accepted following Pritchard's excavations in 1956, 1957 and 1959 which brought to light 31 jars stamped *gb'n*.³⁶²

Archaeological Remains

Gibeon was visited by numerous biblical scholars. Robinson noticed ancient remains and briefly describes the ancient water reservoirs. Guérin, *Judée*, i, p.385, thought he recognized the ruins of the Crusader church. These were subsequently described by the S.W.P. iii, 94-100 which also refers to the springs and 34 tombs. Bagatti, *Liber Annuus* 25 (1975), pp.54-72, surveyed the remains of the building said to be a church and identified them as a Byzantine church of the fifth or sixth century.

In 1981 D. Pringle and P. Leach of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem carried out a survey of the medieval remains in the Arab village of

al-Jīb.³⁶³

A major campaign of excavations was carried out by J.B. Pritchard on behalf of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania in 1956, 1957, 1959, 1960 and 1962.³⁶⁴ The site is spread over two low hills connected by a saddle. The southern of the two hills is Tel Gibeon, with the remains of settlement from EB onwards. On the northern hill, occupied by the modern village of el-Jīb, Bagatti and Pringle found remains from later periods: Roman (a cemetery), Byzantine, Crusader, and Ottoman. On the southern hill Pritchard found occupation from EB to LB, mainly represented by tombs. The first walled settlement, with a large pool, cut into the rock, developed in the Iron Age I. Gibeon reached its greatest expansion in the Iron Age II when numerous buildings covered the hill and a tunnel was cut from the town to the spring. In this period — as in the Crusader period — the town produced wine on a large scale, as attested by the remains of 63 rock-cut cellars which kept the wine at a constant temperature of 18° C. Finds included numerous jars, stoppers and a funnel which served to fill the jars. Some of the jars, meant for export, had handles inscribed '*gb'n*' and it was this discovery which finally decided the debate regarding the identification of the site.³⁶⁵ Many of these cellars were later reused as tombs, kilns or storage space.³⁶⁶

There is a gap in occupation between the 6th-2nd century BC and remains of the first century are still scanty, represented mainly by coin finds but there is a hoard of 23 coins of Alexander Jannaeus.³⁶⁷ From a total of 70 coins found in the trenches in the western part of the southern hill 33 were Hellenistic, including the hoard of coins of Alexander Jannaeus. There are substantial remains of settlement from the Roman period. Pritchard found remains of houses,³⁶⁸ and what is described as a bath, actually a small stepped pool.

³⁵⁸ Rorgo Fretellus lxx (Boeren, p.40), AD 1137, may be independently referring to al-Jīb in his reference to Gabaon as a place 7 miles from Jerusalem on the road to Neapolis, but it is more likely that he simply copied Jerome.

³⁵⁹ St.H. Stephan, *QDAP* 10 (1944), 184.

³⁶⁰ Pococke, *Description of the East and some other Countries*, i, 1743-48, 49. Compare the engraving made from the same spot in C. Wilson, *Picturesque Palestine*, i, 168.

³⁶¹ Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, i, 455-7.

³⁶² See below.

³⁶³ *Levant* 15 (1983), 141-177.

³⁶⁴ J.B. Pritchard, *The Water System of Gibeon* (1961); id., *Gibeon where the Sun Stood Still* (1962); id. et al., *Winery, Defences and Soundings at Gibeon* (1964); id., *EAEHL*, ii (1976), s.v. Gibeon.

³⁶⁵ J.B. Pritchard, *Hebrew Inscriptions and Stamps from Gibeon* (1959). Cf. N. Avigad, *IEJ* 9 (1959), 130-3; F.M. Cross, *BASOR* 168 (1962), 18-23.

³⁶⁶ Note also H. Eshel, *IEJ* 37 (1987), 1-17.

³⁶⁷ Pritchard, *Winery*, 23f., 40, 47-49; for the other numismatic finds, 52-64.

³⁶⁸ Pritchard, *Winery*, 40 and fig. 26.

partly cut into the bedrock and partly built of stone.³⁶⁹ It measures 1.80 x 2.20 m. and is built onto the walls of rooms. It has none of the characteristics of a Roman bath and is probably better identified as a ritual bath (*miqve*). This complex is dated by pottery and coins to the first century AD. However, Pritchard's report does not make clear how the level marked by the coins of Alexander Jannaeus is distinguished from the level of the so-called Roman houses.

The pottery from the latter phase, published by Pritchard, is typical of the Herodian-Early Roman period (1st century AD):³⁷⁰ cooking pots, juglets, pilgrim flasks, oil-lamps and a stone vessel, similar to the material found at Kh. Mazad (q.v.). The coins also fit this pattern: Herod the Great (3 coins), Valerius Gratus (1), Pontius Pilatus (1), Antonius Felix (4), Herod Agrippa (10), and Domitian (1).

Gibeon appears to have been yet another settlement which existed in the first century AD and came to an end in the period of the First Revolt (see Kh. Mazad and Kh. Daliya in this Gazetteer). It is conceivable that the settlement was abandoned following the march of Cestius Gallus, who placed his camp there, as noted above. The site was not re-occupied until the third century. Some of the early wine-cellars were reused at that time, one of them being transformed into a monumental tomb.³⁷¹ The former wine cellar now served as an underground chamber reached by a number of steps. Eleven loculi were cut into the floor and several arcosolia were carved out of the walls.

The walls of the tomb are covered with a mural which consists of a fresco combined with stucco. The bas-relief of stucco, a strip 65 cm. deep from the ceiling down to eye-level, was applied on the coloured wall, following which the entire surface was painted again. The stucco was applied as a paste or fixed onto the wall with iron nails.³⁷² The frieze depicts winged figures of genii, garlands decorated with ribbons and oval medallions, a fine example of a 'peopled scroll'. The ensemble is unique in Palestinian art and may belong to the artistic milieu of the end of the third century.³⁷³

West of the tomb a columbarium was cleared.³⁷⁴ It seems to be older than the tomb and has around 200 niches of 20 cm. x 30 cm. x 20 cm.

The pottery from this complex is mainly represented by a interrelated group of lamps.³⁷⁵ Some of these lamps are made in two parts: the lower part has a ring-base, sometimes with potters' marks; the upper is decorated with volutes, circles, triangles and a hydra design. This type of lamp was popular in the late third and the fourth centuries.

In this level Pritchard found the following coins: one each of Gallienus, Constantine, and one of his successors. The American excavations have uncovered no later remains of settlement on this part of the site, but some later intrusions and coins are assigned by Pritchard to the Byzantine period. Sporadic numismatic finds cover the period from the 12th to the 19th centuries.

As already noted, the later periods of settlement have been found primarily on the northern hill which has been built over by the modern village. Bagatti found a few Roman tombs, but the periods primarily represented are Late Byzantine, Early Islamic, Crusader and Ottoman.³⁷⁶ The structures of these periods have been surveyed by Bagatti and by Pringle,³⁷⁷ who discuss the architectural remains in their reports, but do not record small finds such as pottery and coins.

Pringle distinguishes two phases. The remains of the first, also described by Bagatti,³⁷⁸ comprise a large barrel-vaulted chamber and some smaller vaulted chambers. The masonry may be described as follows: the ashlar of the walls and vaults are well dressed, the doorways are without rebates, they have stone lintels with semi-circular lunettes above. There is a small round window and barrel-vaulting with parabolic profile springing from the backs of blind arches. Pringle has analyzed these features and concluded that they are best compared with structures dating between the fifth and eighth

³⁶⁹ Op. cit., 41, fig. 25.

³⁷⁰ Op. cit., fig. 38, 12-22.

³⁷¹ Op. cit., 29-31.

³⁷² Pritchard, *Winery*, p. 31. The nails are visible in fig. 74 where they are holding together parts of a human figure.

³⁷³ Pritchard, *EAEHL* ii, 449, dates it around AD 300.

³⁷⁴ Pritchard, *Winery*, figs. 14-17; 80-81.

³⁷⁵ Op. cit. 31 f., fig. 49.

³⁷⁶ *LA* 25 (1975), 54-72, esp. 54 f.

³⁷⁷ Bagatti, op. cit.: D. Pringle, *Levant* 15 (1983), 142-60.

³⁷⁸ Pringle, op. cit., 147-54, figs. 2-4; Bagatti, op. cit., 60-5.

centuries.³⁷⁹

The interpretation of these structures, however, is less clear. Robinson observed them in 1838 and thought they might have belonged to a castle.³⁸⁰ Others saw in the barrel-vaulted building a church and dated it to the Crusader period, mainly because of the shape of the vault. Bagatti, pp.67-72, assigned it to the 5th or 6th century. Pringle has pointed out that the only argument in favour of the identification of the building as a church is its orientation and the position of the entrance in the west wall. He points out further that Byzantine churches in Palestine, Transjordan and Syria never have barrel-vaulted naves. Recognizing that information on Byzantine Gibeon is meagre he reaches no firm conclusion, but he notes that it would have occupied a significant position along a main road at that period as at all times. Various possibilities which he considers and rejects are: a monastery, a road-station, an inn, a bath house, a villa or centre of an estate.

We agree with Pringle in his contention that the arrangement of the chambers around the vaulted hall at el-Jib has close analogies with the lay-out of Umayyad palaces³⁸¹ and we tend to conclude that the structure as a whole looks Early Islamic rather than Byzantine, even though there are specific details which occur in the Byzantine period. If the building is indeed Umayyad it may have been an estate building, the dwelling of a sheikh, which, surrounded perhaps by poorer buildings, would have controlled the vicinity.

In a later phase, as described by Pringle, 158-60, the earlier structures underwent alterations: walls were thickened, doors blocked and splayed pointed-arch windows and a painted arched door frame were inserted in earlier doorways in rooms C and D.³⁸² This is typical of Crusader architecture. This designation would fit the historical circumstances very well, for in the Crusader period the area north of Jerusalem functioned as the agricultural hinterland of the city and the structure may then have been a manor house and rural administrative centre. It must be noted, however, that these dates have been determined only by architectural analysis and there is as yet no corroboration based on datable small finds.

³⁷⁹ Op.cit., 155f.

³⁸⁰ *Biblical Researches*, i, 455.

³⁸¹ Op.cit., 158.

³⁸² The windows were inserted in the northern doors of rooms C and D and the door in the western doorway of room C; Pringle op.cit., 158, fig. 4.

Conclusions

The investigations carried out at Gibeon/el-Jib in the past century and a half have shown the existence of a settlement from the Early Bronze Age to the Middle Ages. The varying prominence of the remains in different periods naturally reflects actual changes in the importance of the place, but also the biased focus of archaeological investigation. The large-scale excavation carried out in Gibeon had the Biblical period for its target, a tendency reinforced by the circumstance that the post-biblical remains are mostly built over by the modern village.

It is clear, however, that in the Roman period Gibeon was an important station near one of the two main roads from the plain to Jerusalem, the Beit Horon road. As such it occurs in sources from the Roman, but not from the Byzantine period. Although there are no remains to show that this was a substantial settlement in the Byzantine period, some sherds and coins of this period are evidence of some sort of presence. Several other sites in the immediate vicinity of Gibeon were occupied in the Byzantine period: Bir el-Biyar with the remains of a church,³⁸³ Bir Nabala, 'Id, and Sha'ab Siyag, all of which are agricultural settlements (see the relevant entries).

It seems clear that Gibeon, which had all the qualities required for a strong town in the Iron Age, lost its importance as a stronghold in the later period, and particularly in the Byzantine period with its diffuse settlement pattern. The control of the main roads to Jerusalem was no longer achieved by the occupation of a strong tactical position right on the road, but was exercised by the provincial authorities. It is not known which of the other settlements in the region were equipped with road-stations or inns, but there was nothing at Gibeon which would have equipped it better for the provision of travellers and pilgrims than any other site in the area, although the spring at Gibeon would have been an advantage to travellers in all periods.

After the Crusader period, the Beit Horon road played a secondary role and Gibeon, although mentioned occasionally, did not rise to prominence, an impression which is again reinforced by the absence of significant remains of the Mameluke period. In the Ottoman period el-Jib developed into a substantial

³⁸³ M. Noth, *ZDPV* 66 (1943), 37, n.1, observing that Gibeon was the significant site in the area, has suggested that the Byzantine remains at Kh. Bir el-Biyar (q.v.) were, in fact, part of the larger settlement-area of Gibeon. It is questionable whether this is the right approach if Gibeon itself was unimportant in the Byzantine period.

wine presses have been seen.³⁸⁷

village

1450.1486

Gimzo (Jimzu)

57.
(Pl 38)

This is a village on a hill-top on a secondary road south of the main road between Lydda and Beit Horon, one kilometre off the modern highway.

Literary Sources

Gimzo is mentioned in 2 Chronicles 28.18 as one of the cities of Judah.³⁸⁴ It occurs in Talmudic sources as the place of origin of a certain Nahum: BT Sanhedrin 108b; JT Pe'ah 8; 21b.

The identification, first proposed by Robinson, is not in doubt because of the similarity of the name of the village.³⁸⁵ The site lies on a hill-top and is almost totally built over by ruined Arab houses and military installations.

van de Velde notes: 'Jimzu lies on an eminence and makes quite a show at a distance. From this place a road branches off to Wady Suleiman, ascending it towards Jerusalem.'³⁸⁶ Clermont-Ganneau, *AR*, ii, 481, was told that below the mosque there was 'another chamber that is more ancient, perhaps the synagogue which the Jewish itineraries mention as being there in the Middle Ages.'

The *SWP*, ii, 297, s.v. Jimzu notes: 'On the east are cisterns and on the west a well by the road.' In *Alon* 4 (1953), 5, we are told of a hill at the eastern edge of the village, which is said to have served as necropolis in the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods. The tombs are described as 'shafi-graves with arched niches.' These, then, would appear to be of Byzantine date.

When visiting the site (the first time was in 1984) we could not distinguish any ancient structures. However, we did notice re-used stones of ancient appearance and collected datable pottery-sherds: from the Iron Age, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Crusader, and Manduke periods. Nearby, at 147.150, ritual baths and

Gitta (Geththa; Geth)

??

Josephus, *Ant.* v 1,22 (87): [cf. Joshua 19,41 ff. describing the territory of Dan]: 'the western part of the plain from Azotos to Dora, including all Iamneia, Gita and from Akkaron to the mountains.'

Ant. ix 13,3 (275) [cf. 2 Kings 18,8]: '...the King [i.e. Hezekiah] attacked the Philistines and, after defeating them, occupied all the enemy's cities from Gaza to Gitta.'³⁸⁸

Eusebius, *On.* 73,2-4: Γεθθά. ἐνταῦθα μετήνεγκαν τὴν κιβωτὸν ἀπὸ Ἀζωτοῦ. καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ μεγίστη κώμη, ἥ καλεῖται Γιθθάμ, μεταξύ ἀνιόντων ἀπὸ Ἀντιπατρίδου εἰς Ἰαμνίαν.

Jerome, *comm. in Jon.*, praef.: 'Geth quae est in Ofer ... quamquam alii iuxta Diospolim, id est Lyddam, eum et natum et conditum velint, non intelligentes hoc quod additur Opher ad distinctionem aliarum Geth urbium pertinere, quae iuxta Eleutheropolim sive Diospolim hodie quoque monstrantur.'

Madaba Map: Γεθ ἡ νῦν Γιττα, μία πότε τῶν ἐ' σατραπίων near Lydda and <Bet>odegana, west of the line Lydda - Iamnia.

J. Doubdan, *Le voyage de la Terre-Sainte* (Paris 1657), 53: [After passing the 'Mosque of the Derwish' outside Jaffa he saw] 'un peu plus loin du mesme costé de main droite la Place de la Ville de Gets, Patrie du Geant Goliath, qui n'est plus à present qu'un Village que nous ne pouvions bien voir à cause qu'il estoit presque nuit....'

E. Roger, *La Terre Sainte* (Paris 1646), 25, says Geth is four leagues south of Yazur.

Josephus' references do not help in establishing the location of the site, although it is clear that he was thinking of a place near the sea, not far from Jamnia. From Eusebius it is clear that in his time

³⁸⁴ This does not reflect historical reality in the period of the two Kingdoms, but that in which the Chronicles were written.

³⁸⁵ Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, ii, 249.

³⁸⁶ C.W.M. van de Velde, *Memoir to accompany the Map of the Holy Land* (Gotha 1858), 241. van de Velde mentions it as a village on the road from Lydda to Beit Horon.

³⁸⁷ *ESI* 7-8 (1988/89), 81-3; also: *TIR*, s.v. Gamzo, 128f.

³⁸⁸ Note also *Ant.* xiv 15,10 (450); *BJ* i 17,2 (326), referring to a place Githa or Githa in Idumaea or Judaea which was fortified by Machaeras. Also: Polybius ap Stephanus Byzantius 208.10, referring to 'Gitta, a city in Palestine'.

there was a large village Giththa on the road from Antipatris to Iamnia. Jerome mentions a site Geth, near Eleutheropolis or Diospolis. It is clear that the Madaba map refers to the same site.³⁸⁹ The map shows it as lying somewhat S-E of B[et]odegana (= Beit Dajan, Beth Dagan) and east of the Sanctuary of Jonah. The latter is undoubtedly Tel Yonah (T. Yunis, G.R. 1249.1560), on the coast 4.5 km. south of Jaffa.³⁹⁰ Nineteenth century maps do not provide us with any suitable place name in the region between Yavneh/Jamnia, Lydda and Jaffa. The evidence from the two French travellers, however, suggests that there was a village 'Geth' or 'Geth' not too far from Yazur (Azor, q.v.) in the seventeenth century. It is possible that there was an ancient site in this area.³⁹¹

58. Giv'at Ram (es Sheikh Badr; Binyanei Ha'Umah) 1693.1326

(Pl.32)

This is presumably identical to the site named Kh. Khamfsh or Khamfsh in the *SWP* and el Fakhûra in the files of the *D.A.M.* In the 1950's a legionary tile factory and fort were excavated here, before the construction of the modern convention centre, the Binyanei Ha'Umah. The tiles have been published by Dan Barag,³⁹² but the excavations themselves have remained unpublished.³⁹³ Our efforts to obtain information proved fruitless. Further excavations have been carried out recently in another part of the same



³⁸⁹ Thus G. Schmitt in R. Cohen and G. Schmitt, *Drei Studien zur Archäologie und Topographie Altisraels* (1980), 92 f., *contra* B. Mazar, *IEJ* 4 (1954), 227-35.

³⁹⁰ C. Schick, *PEQ* (1889), 7 f.; *Department of Antiquities, Geographical List of the Record Files 1918-48* (1976), 81; F.-M. Abel, *JPOS* 20 (1946), 8 f., who saw Byzantine and mediaeval material, which reinforces suggestions that this is also the site of the *ecclesia Sancti Jonae extra Jaffam*, mentioned in a Papal bulla of 1218 (De Rozière, *Cartulaire* 897; 909). See also the discussion by Schmitt, *op.cit.*, 112 f. (with incorrect Grid Reference).

³⁹¹ For suggestions: Schmitt, *op.cit.*, 114 f.

³⁹² D. Barag, *BIB* 167 (1967), 244-67. for the pottery; M. Herschkovitz, *EI* 19 (1987), 314-25.

³⁹³ For a brief and unsatisfactory note, M. Avi-Yonah, *BIES* 15 (1950), 19-24, 6 f. (Heb.); also: *IEJ* 18 (1968), 196f.

site.³⁹⁴ This must have been a key site, 2.5 km. from Jerusalem, on a low hill-top, overlooking the Roman road to Jaffa, not far from the descent to Motza (Qaluniyeh).

The published reports indicate settlement in four periods:

I The middle and second half of the first century.

Intensive quarrying left its traces in various parts of the site. Foundations of buildings were laid on structures cut out of the rock. Plastered cisterns and storage rooms belong to this period. These may well be connected with the rapid expansion of the city of Jerusalem in the reign of Herod Agrippa I. The excavations in 1992 revealed further remains of this period in the north-eastern part of the site (area B1; *op.cit.*, figs. 73f.). A built up cistern and channels contained material from the period before 70 and afterwards. In the northern part of the site (area A) remains of an oil-press and of a leather workshop were excavated, dated by coins of year two of the First Jewish Revolt (*op.cit.*, 65). In the southern part of the site (areas B2 and B4) a large pottery production complex was uncovered, containing several pottery workshops, which operated both before and after 70. Malka Herschkovitz (*op. cit.* n. 11) has shown that some pottery types of the Herodian period were used and imitated by the Roman garrison.

II The Legio X Fretensis, 70 - 3rd century.

Structures which had been destroyed in the Jewish war were restored and used for similar purposes by the Roman garrison. Cisterns, channels, and especially the pottery workshops were expanded. On the western part of the hill (area D) a building was constructed with strong walls and a plan reminiscent of barracks. Many stamped tiles and bricks of the tenth legion were found on the spot (*op.cit.*, 66). Between areas A, B2-3 and D the remains of an oil-press operated by a screw, and a floor made of broken bricks date these structures to the Roman period.

The most important element of this complex was the large military pottery workshop, built partially on the remains of the smaller structure of the previous (Herodian) period, excavated by Avi-Yonah. It consists of pits for the preparation of the clay, a row of potters' wheels, a section for the preparation of bricks and tiles, and a series of rectangular pottery kilns (figs. 73 and 76). The pottery found on the spot includes round tiles for the *suspensurae* of hypocausts.

³⁹⁴ B. Arrubas & H. Goldfuss, *Archaeological News (Hadashot Arkheologiyot)* 100 (1993), 63-67, figs. 73-78.

trapezoid bricks for arches, and plain and round tiles, including figurative antefixes (fig. 78). Large numbers of stamps of the Tenth Legion of various different types were found.¹⁹⁵ Two clay stamps were also found, one with the letters LXF, the other with a rosette motive (fig. 77). As observed by the recent excavators, this is the first site of its kind discovered in the eastern part of the Empire. This stage apparently came to an end with the departure of the legion for Aela, in the second half of the third century.¹⁹⁶

III The Fourth to Seventh Centuries

The Byzantine period is well represented in all parts of the site. Avi-Yonah discovered a Christian basilica and monastery in what is now described as areas B2-3 and D respectively.¹⁹⁷ The basilica measured 17.5 x 14 m. had one apse and two lateral rooms. Mosaic floors were unearthed everywhere in these buildings. A smaller chapel was attached to the south wall. It had an apse built of bricks taken from the earlier Roman factory, one of them with the stamp of the Tenth Legion. The chapel was decorated with floral mosaics one of them inscribed: + Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θε(ὸς) τοῦ Ἀγίου Γε[ωργίου] μνήσθητι τοῦ [καρ]ποφορή[σαντος].

The excavations in 1992 uncovered a burial complex situated between areas B2, B3 and D (fig. 73). Steps led down through a vaulted corridor to two arcosolia. All the walls were built of ashlar. The presence of varied building techniques, taken together with the evidence of the small finds show that the complex was in use over a long period. There is no material later than the second half of the seventh century (op.cit., 66). West of this structure and north of the Roman barracks (area D) remains of a monastery were found. Fine pavements, marble liturgical furniture and decorated architectural items, all as yet unpublished, testify to the high artistic level of the workmanship of the church and monastery.

IV Early Muslim and Mameluke

The excavations in 1992 encountered some remains of the Early Muslim and Mameluke periods. The military building and the tombs were re-used in the eighth century, as shown by new walls, pottery and coins.

To sum up, the remains uncovered on this site belong to four periods, namely Herodian, Roman, Late Roman/Byzantine, and Early Muslim. As compared with the other excavated sites discussed by us, this one stands out because of its intensive use by the Roman army between 70 and the end of the third century. In this period the site clearly functioned as an outpost of the legionary *castra* in Jerusalem. In the earlier and later periods, the occupation is reminiscent of the pattern encountered at the other excavated sites which were clearly connected with the roads to and from Jerusalem, when the city served as the goal of pilgrimage for numerous travellers.

Giv'at Shaul (Ras 'Amar)

This is a site north-west of a ridge which separates it from Giv'at Shaul (Kh. al Atrash). On the north slope of the hill of Ras 'Amar rescue excavations, carried out in the autumn of 1987, revealed agricultural installations and a rectangular building.¹⁹⁸ The pottery dates to the second century BC. In the vicinity are nine tombs, cut into the rock. Six of these are on the east slope of Giv'at Shaul, part of them dating to MB II, but most to the Early Roman period.

59. Giv'at Ze'ev

1652.1413

Near the Giv'at Ze'ev cross-roads, where the Roman road continues to the south-west, two sites are listed in *AS Benjamin* which we have not visited.

Site no. 158, 16660.14165; 18 dunams; p. 30*: 'ruin; terraces; cistern. MB-81%; Iron II-few sherds; P(?) -few sherds; Byz-11% Els-5%; 96 sherds; Cf. 149f. (Heb.).

Site no. 159, p. 30*; 16680.14145; 7 dunams. concentration of sherds; ancient road; wine-presses; plastered cistern; threshing floor. Byz. sherds. Cf. 150: 'Along the south edge of the site runs an ancient road [the Beit Horon road, see chapter II], 7.0 - 8.5 m. broad. Large kerbstones along both edges. Paving stones of irregular size are visible.'

60. el Habs

1478.1480

See discussion s.v. Kh. Zackariye

61. el-Haditha (Hadid, Adida)

1456.1523

(Pl. 57)

This is a site occupying a commanding position on a hill-top, situated at the edge of the plain and overlooking Lydda and vicinity. It straddles a

¹⁹⁵ For the stamps found in the fifties: Barag, op.cit.

¹⁹⁶ Avi-Yonah, op.cit., 21.

¹⁹⁷ Fig. 73. Avi-Yonah, op.cit., 22; Ovadiah, *Corpus*, no. 70 a/b; plan: Ovadiah and C.G. de Silva, *Supplement*, *Levant* 14 (1982), 139.

¹⁹⁸ S. Gibson, *Archaeological Newsletter* 93 (1989), 79 f. (Heb.).

branch of the Beit Horon road from the plain to Jerusalem, bypassing Lydda. The hill slopes steeply towards the North, West and South, and is linked by a saddle with the hill country to the East. The site was admirably suited for modest settlement and fortification, but less so for urban development in the Roman and Byzantine period, when Lydda, 5-6 km. to the south-west became one of the important towns of Palestine.

Literary Sources

Hadid occurs with Lod and Ono in the lists of returnees in Ezra 2, 33; Nehemiah 7, 38. Ibid, 11, 34, it is described as inhabited by members of the tribe of Benjamin. Simon the Maccabee (143/2-135/4 BC) 'built up Adida in the Shephelah and fortified it, erecting gates and bars'.³⁹⁹ This was merely one element among various activities aimed at controlling access to Jerusalem: the conquest of Gezer, Beit Zur, Jaffa, and the fortress in Jerusalem itself. At the time of the expedition into Judaea made by Tryphon, Simon descended from Jerusalem and 'made his camp at Adida on the edge of the plain'.⁴⁰⁰ The parallel passage in Josephus' *Antiquities* describes it as 'a town on a hill below which lies the Plain of Judaea', descriptions which both fit the site under discussion.⁴⁰¹

About 85 BC the Nabataean king Aretas III gained possession of Damascus and from there he invaded Judaea and 'defeated Alexander Jannaeus near Adida'.⁴⁰² The place next played a military role during Vespasian's suppression of the First Jewish Revolt. After capturing Lydda, Vespasian left the legion V Macedonica at Emmaus (q.v.). Following the subjection of Idumaea, he returned to Emmaus and then, 'cutting off those in Jerusalem from all sides, placed garrisons consisting of legionaries and

auxiliaries in camps at Jericho and Adida'.⁴⁰³ Thus army units blocked the single road to Jerusalem from the East through Jericho, and both major routes from the West: the Lydda - Emmaus - Jerusalem road and the Lydda - Beit Horon - Jerusalem road. The legion at Emmaus, the regional headquarters, would further have controlled the Ayalon Valley and the smaller unit at Adida/Hadid the plain around Lydda.⁴⁰⁴ Hadid occurs twice in the Mishnah: as one of the towns surrounded with walls since the days of Joshua,⁴⁰⁵ and as the place of origin of a R. Yakim.⁴⁰⁶

The sources listed so far merely establish Adida as a place on the edge of the plain and controlling a road to Jerusalem. The identification of Adida/Hadid with el-Haditha is clear from Eusebius and Jerome: 'Adiathaim of the tribe of Juda. There is also a village Adia near Gaza, and another, Aditha, near Diospolis, east of it'.⁴⁰⁷ Finally it appears on the

⁴⁰³ Josephus, *BJ* iv 9,1 (486): 'Ο δὲ Ούεσπασιανὸς πανταχόσε περιτειχίζων τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐν τε τῇ Ἱεριχοῖ καὶ ἐν Ἀδίδοις ἐγείρει στρατόπεδα καὶ φρούρους ἀμφοτέραις ἐγκαθίστησιν ἐκ τε τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ καὶ συμμαχικοῦ τάγματος.

⁴⁰⁴ A. Schlatter, *ZDPV* 19 (1896), 221, claims the unit at Adida would have been superfluous and therefore chooses to read 'Abila', assuming this would refer to a town north of Livias. Schlatter fails to make it clear what useful purpose a unit would have fulfilled in investing Jerusalem, if it was based twenty km. east of Jericho. The internal criticism of Josephus on this point has been taken up again by C. Möller and G. Schmitt, *Siedlungen Palästinas nach Flavius Josephus* (1976), 5f. who unsuccessfully search for a suitable candidate south-east of Jerusalem and then proceed to argue in favour of Schlatter's theory. It is unwise to correct a good reading in the Greek MSS into a bad one, merely because the former does not suit one's conception of how Vespasian ought to have acted.

⁴⁰⁵ M. Araklin 9:6; the other towns mentioned are the old fort at Sepphoris, the citadel of Gush Halav, Old Yodfat, Gamala, Gedor, Ono, and Jerusalem.

⁴⁰⁶ M. Eduyot 7:5.

⁴⁰⁷ Eusebius, *On*. 24, 23f.: 'Αδιαθαῖν (Jos. 15.36) φυλῆς Ἰούδα. λέγεται δὲ τις κώμη <'Αδία> περὶ τὴν Γάζαν, καὶ ἄλλη 'Αδιθα περὶ Διόσπολιν ἐν ἀνατολαῖς. Jerome, *ibid.* 25, 29-31: 'Adithaim in sorte tribus Iudae. dicitur autem et quaedam villa Adia iuxta Gazam. et alia Aditha circa Diospolim, quasi ad orientalem plagam respiciens.'

³⁹⁹ 1 Macc. 12,38: Καὶ Σίμων ὠκοδόμησε τὴν Ἀδίδα ἐν τῷ Σεφηλα καὶ ὠχύρωσεν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐπέστησε θύραν καὶ μοχλοὺς.

⁴⁰⁰ 1 Macc. 13,13: Σίμων δὲ παρενέβαλεν εἰς Ἀδίδοις κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ πεδίου.

⁴⁰¹ Josephus, *Ant.* xiii 6,5(203): ...εἰς Ἀδδίδα πόλιν, ἣ τις ἐπ' ὄρους κειμένη τυγχάνει ὑπ' ἣν ὑπόκειται τὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πεδία.

⁴⁰² Josephus, *Ant.* xiii 15,2 (392): ...καὶ περὶ Ἀδίδα χωρίον μάχη νικήσας Ἀλέξανδρον... In spite of occasional doubts there can be no question that Hadid near Lydda is meant. Shortly before Aretas' campaign Antiochus XII marched from Damascus to Arabia through the coastal plain of Judaea: *Ant.* xiii 15,1 (390). Cf. F.E. Peters, *JAOS* 97(1977), 263-75, esp. 266.

Madaba Map east of Lydda: 'Αδιαθιμ ἡ νῦν 'Αδιθα. These sources together firmly establish the identification. We have found no references in post-Byzantine sources.

Archaeological Remains

Guérin seems to have been the first traveller to identify the site and notice its antiquity.⁴⁰⁸ In 1927 Alt commented upon the antiquity of the remains on the surface. He noticed much Bronze Age and early Iron Age pottery. According to him later periods were absent on the western part of the site and mainly concentrated further south-east, towards the saddle.⁴⁰⁹ Ory observed foundations, column fragments, remains of mosaics, cisterns, pools, tombs and caves. In the south-eastern part of the site he discovered a mosaic floor with fine decorations, Nilotic scenes, and two inscriptions.⁴¹⁰ Finally, the remains of what seems to be a church are reported to have been seen on the site.⁴¹¹

We surveyed the site in June of 1984. There are three areas to be distinguished: (I) the *tel* itself; (II) the steep slopes of the hill near the top. (III) the slopes further from the top which fall away gently towards the north-east.

(I) The Tel has the shape of an irregular, east-west oriented, ellipse of 200 x 100 m. We noticed sections of a substantial wall, with a face of large boulders and a fill of pebbles. It may be assumed that the wall encompassed the entire hill top. On the west the preserved width of the wall was around 6 m. and it was here strengthened by a sturdy supporting wall. Towards the north, sections of actual fortifications are preserved. The pottery found on the surface is Iron Age, Hellenistic, Herodian, Byzantine and Islamic. Further north by north-west substantial remains of the Byzantine remains are visible (see below, II). Most of the hill top is covered by the remains of the abandoned Arab village and these in turn have been destroyed by recent afforestation, a combination which makes archaeological exploration impossible.

⁴⁰⁸ Guérin, *Samarie*, ii, 64-7: 'Il n'en subsiste plus actuellement qu'un quinzaine de citernes, un petit birket de forme oblongue, ainsi que plusieurs tombeaux et caveaux pratiqués dans le roc.'

⁴⁰⁹ A. Alt, *Pib* 24 (1928), 71f.

⁴¹⁰ Later published by M. Avi-Yonah, *IEJ* 22 (1972), 118-122.

⁴¹¹ A. Ovadia and C.G. de Silva, *Levant* 13 (1981), 217, no. 18.

(II) The largest concentration of foundations, rock-cuttings, cisterns and other finds occurs on the north slope of the tell. A remarkable feature is a large winery cut in the rock which comprises the following elements: in the middle is a large round cistern, surrounded by smaller cisterns to east and west. Three rectangular cells are arranged radially south of the large cisterns and, finally, there is a number of smaller holes of regular shape. This type of installation was quite common in the Byzantine period and in recent years many of them have been found in Israel. Further west we saw smaller installations and cisterns. A large ancient quarry on the western edge of the slope was used in the Byzantine period for the construction of tombs of the familiar type, consisting of a shaft with two arcosolia.⁴¹² During a later visit we found that the remains were even more extensive than we had noticed at first. They extend over an area of 35 dunam, but have been damaged seriously. Many wells, tombs and foundations are still visible. Pottery: EB II, MB II, Persian(?), Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, Mameluke, Ottoman.

(III) Further north-east we saw cuttings and quarries, graves and much pottery on the surface. This is predominantly Byzantine, but further eastward we collected sherds of the Islamic period. Most of the Byzantine cisterns north of the tell have been preserved in their original state, while those to the east and south have often been transformed into wells strengthened with concrete. It is clear that the Byzantine settlement extended mostly over the slopes from north-west to north-east of the tell. Note, however, that the mosaic mentioned above was found to the south-east of the hill.

(IV) South-west, at 1451.1522, we noticed rock-cut tombs, cuttings in the rock. Pottery: Persian(?), Roman, Byzantine, Ottoman. Still further to the west we saw quarries, a well, and a tomb. Pottery: IA II, Roman.

South-east of the tell, some 300 m. from the modern Modi'in - Lydda (Lod) highway we found a section of an ancient road, some 80 m. long. It was paved with large slabs and we noticed kerbs along the southern edge. This almost certainly represents a road from Modi'in to Jaffa passing north of Lydda.

To sum up: near the ancient tel we found pottery of the Iron Age, and of the Hellenistic, Herodian, Byzantine and Islamic periods. North-west, north, and north-east of the hill, Byzantine pottery predominates. Essentially then, the archaeological remains seen on the surface reflect occupation in the periods represented also in the literary sources. To be

⁴¹² See the entry on Modi'in.

Madaba Map east of Lydda: 'Αδίαθιμ ἡ νῦν 'Αδίαθ. These sources together firmly establish the identification. We have found no references in post-Byzantine sources.

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⁴¹² See the entry on Modi'in.

noted in particular are the remains of a strong town wall, also mentioned in the Mishnah. It is clear that Hadid was a fairly strong fort in the Iron Age and perhaps still in the Hellenistic period. What happened in the Roman period we do not know, but it may have been abandoned. In the Byzantine period it developed into one of the numerous prosperous rural settlements in the region. We did not find any remains of the temporary Roman army camp established there by Vespasian. However, the character of the site and the remains of an ancient road found nearby clearly indicate why the site was of military importance, both in the wars of the Maccabees and in the First Revolt.

62. Kh. Halayil el Muhammad 1536.1455
(Fig. 6)

This is a large site about 500 m. south-west of Kh. Kafr Rut. We visited the site on July 1984 and December 1985. On top of the hill, in the middle of the site are the remains of a square building (4.70 m. x 4.50 m.), built of well dressed stones. This spot allows a view of all surrounding sites (Shilta, al Burj, Daliya, Kafr Rut).

Ancient remains are visible immediately south of the ancient road. Here there are numerous graves, mostly shafts with two arcosolia hewn in the sides of the shaft. Two rectangular buildings of good masonry -- the two bottom rows have bosses -- seem to represent the remains of mausolea. To the south foundations of buildings, agricultural installations, cisterns and other remains are visible on the surface. The pottery is predominantly Byzantine.

It is possible that two neighbouring sites belong to this settlement. These are recorded as:

(1) *AS Benjamin*, No. 122, p.26*; 112 (Heb.) was part of this settlement or connected with it: 'M.R. 15395.14530 (unnamed) Traces of buildings of dressed stones; vault; oil-press weights; terraces; cisterns; cupmarks. Hell -22%; Rom-39%; Byz-34%; EIs-single sherd; Med-single sherd; 41 sherds.

(2) *AS Benjamin*, No. 4, p.13*; 32 (Heb.); M.R. 15395.14520; 1.5 dunams. Traces of buildings; central building with barrel vault; possibly K. Hamdallah of DOA 1976:107. Rom-8%; Byz-89%; EIs - single sherd; 37 sherds.

The site represents a substantial agricultural settlement which existed in the Hellenistic and Roman periods and developed further by the road-side in the Byzantine period.

63. Tel Hamid 1399.1458

This is a large Tel with a surface of 55

dunam, one of the key sites in the area. It has been suggested that this is Biblical Gabaton. Pottery: Chalcolithic, EB, MB, LB, IA I, II, Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Ottoman.

64. el Hammam, s.v. Modi'in.

65. Kh. Harmush (Kh. Hermeshit; Ne'ot Qedumim) 1476.1507

This is an extensive area of ancient remains on a hill north of the road, about two kilometres north-west of the Modi'in area. Much has been destroyed by later terraces. The area is now being transformed into a park, Ne'ot Qedumim.

We visited the site in June 1984 and noted remains of ancient terraces and some building foundations and cisterns, as well as numerous agricultural installations. A wine-press hewn in the rock is well preserved. A number of tombs with arcosolia suggest a Byzantine date and the same is true for the pottery we collected. Tile-fragments may indicate that a substantial building once stood on the site.

Archaeological surveys and excavations have been carried out on the site since 1988, and preliminary results of three seasons have so far been published.⁴¹³ A brief report mentions the discovery of a chapel, several ritual baths (*miqva'ot*), six wine presses, the remains of an olive press, tombs, cisterns and an underground hideout.

Ritual Baths

Two baths were found in 1988 in the northern part of the site. One was partly cut out of the rock. Seven steps led down to the bath. To the east 12 rock-cut steps led to a road. The second bath was entirely cut out of the rock and the water-supply system was preserved very well. The water was collected on a large rock-cut surface, ran through a hole into a small basin and from there through a channel into the bath. Closer examination in 1989 led to the conclusion that the bath had not been finished, perhaps because it was thought that the rock ceiling might collapse. No finds have been published which might help in dating these installations. Usually, however, such baths date to the period of the Second Temple.⁴¹⁴

⁴¹³ *ESI* 7-8 (1988/89), 81-83; 9 (1989/90), 141-3; 10 (1991), 123f.; *Archaeological Newsletter* 101-2 (1994), 72f. (Heb.).

⁴¹⁴ E.g. E. Netzer, *Qadmoniot* 42-3 (1978), 54-9 (Heb.).

The Chapel

In 1990 a chapel was excavated in the north-eastern part of the site. It is a rectangular room (8.4 x 6.2 m.) with two doors in the south-west. Fragments of a colour mosaic floor have been preserved. In front of the western wall a fragment was found bearing an elongated cross in a red frame and probably the letters Alpha and Omega.

Agricultural Installations

These include one oil- and four wine-presses. One of the wine-presses, situated near the eastern slope of the site, was cleaned. It consists of a treading surface (2.5 x 2.5 x 0.4 m.) and a collecting vat (1.3 m. deep). The pottery collected dates to the Late Roman and Byzantine periods. Two further wine-presses were excavated in 1989 in the north-eastern part of the site. One of these was very large and elaborate, consisting of a treading surface (4.5 x 4.5 x 0.6 m.) with a white mosaic floor and a square crushing hole in the centre. To the east were two collecting vats, cut in the rock, which were connected by an underground channel. At the north and south edge of the installation were two large recesses (?) with plastered walls and mosaic floors. These may have served for the storage of grapes. A cave a few metres south of the press, probably served as wine-cellar. The second wine-press, smaller than the first, was connected by a channel with a sedimentation pit and from there through a pipe to a collecting vat of about 2,400 l. A fourth press was excavated in 1990 near the chapel.

A large oil-press was excavated in 1989 and 1990 on the north slope of the hill. The installation (14.2 x 11.2 m.) was completely cut out of the rock. It consists of two rooms: one, on the west side, has a mosaic floor and served for crushing the stones (11.2 x 4 m.). In the other, to the east, the actual pressing took place. All the necessary components were present: the base for the screw and the beam, holes in the wall to receive the beams, and rock-cut channels to convey the oil to a small collecting basin. Small finds include a small bone implement and a complete lamp of the Byzantine period. In 1990 this installation was cleaned. It proved to be part of a large building with entrances in the north and south and several storage caves. Small finds were few, but comparison of the press with other installations suggest a Byzantine date.

North and west of this installation seven stall cribs (?) were excavated. Two of these were rock-cut, the others were free-standing stones. Another rock-cut complex is described by the excavators as a burial place. It consists of an anteroom with steps, a courtyard and a room. However, the usual characteristic elements of a tomb are absent, such as *loculi*, *arcosolia*, benches, etc. It may therefore be

better to leave the original function of the structure open.

So far only a few remains of dwellings have been found. It seems clear that at some stage an east-west street crossed the site.

Conclusions

The remains at Hermeshit are typical of many Palestinian settlements in antiquity, especially in Judaea and the vicinity, from the Herodian period onwards. Elements which are distinctive features for specific periods help in tracing the development of occupation on such sites. Thus religious baths are typical of settlements of the end of the period of the Second Temple, while the wine- and oil-presses found at the site are characteristic of Byzantine settlements, and so is the chapel which helps in determining the chronology and religious affinity of the inhabitants.⁴¹⁵

This is one of the agricultural settlements which developed along the road.

The site is from the Byzantine period.

66. Kh. el Hawanit (Fig. 10) 1717.1373

This is an ancient site at the point where the road to Beit Horon branches off from the Jerusalem - Neapolis road. It is now an area of urban development and nothing remains to be seen on the spot.

It was surveyed by C. Kuhl and W. Meinhold.⁴¹⁶ They claim to have found the remains of a road-station of about 60 m. by 40 m. However, they did not find any remains of interior walls. They also observed cisterns and, to the south, foundations of a building measuring 9 m. x 9 m. which they considered to be a guard-tower. Further southward a vaulted construction of the Moslem period was seen. The pottery found in the northern complex was ascribed to the Late Roman, Byzantine and later periods.

It must be admitted that the identification of these structures with a road-station, accepted without reservations by many later scholars, rests on tenuous grounds. H. Vincent published a fragment of what may have been a milestone further south (Mile III).⁴¹⁷ He states that Germer-Durand had seen an anepigraphic fragment one mile to the north of the fragment from

⁴¹⁵ Cf. M. Fischer, *Actes du XI^e Congrès International d'Archéologie Chrétienne 1986* (Paris) 1787-1807.

⁴¹⁶ *PJb* 25 (1929), 114 f., Pl. 1-3.

⁴¹⁷ *RB* 10 (1901), 96-100.

Mile III, at a site named Kh. Kuta or Kh. 'Aqab en Nifāq, apparently half a kilometre south of Kh. el Hawanit.⁴¹⁸

A. Alt suggests that Kh. el Hawanit should be identified with the location named 'TO TETAPTON' on the Madaba Map.⁴¹⁹ This identification was accepted by Kuhl and Meinhold who were in search of road-stations and had no doubt that they had found what they were looking for, at this site as elsewhere. Their conclusions are now generally accepted, quite without justification, as we argue elsewhere as well.⁴²⁰

It is by no means certain that TO TETAPTON and TO ENNATON of the Madaba map are to be sought on the Jerusalem - Beit Horon road. In fact, F.-M. Abel made a good case for identification with other sites (Motza and Abu Ghosh) in an article published at the beginning of the century.⁴²¹

To sum up: the remains described by Kuhl and Meinhold almost certainly are Byzantine, but need not be a road-station, nor is the site necessarily to be identified with TO TETAPTON of the Madaba Map.

67. Kh. Heit Zeidan 1532.1378

This is a large field of ancient remains south-east of Yalu. When visiting the site February 1985 we noted ancient terraces and numerous agricultural installations, including four wine-presses in a row cut into the rock. On the northern slopes of the area a number of burial-caves are to be seen.

This site appears to have been a Byzantine rural settlement.

68. Kh. Hiba (Fig.12) 1504.1395

This site consists of ancient ruins between Imwas and Yalu, which were extensively terraced and built over in later periods.

It is mentioned by *SWP*, iii, 114. Clermont-

⁴¹⁸ Op. cit. 99. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, i, 283 did not see Milestone iv although he paid particular attention to milestones on this and other roads.

⁴¹⁹ *PJb* 23 (1927), 23.

⁴²⁰ See also below, the entry on Latatim. For 'TO TETAPTON' as road-station see e.g. M. Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer*, 1976, 102, *THR* s.v. TO TETARTON, 251.

⁴²¹ *Oriens Christianus* N.S. I (1911), 77-82, see entries s.v.

Ganneau, *AR*, ii, 94 noticed 'broken-down walls, foundations, rock-hewn caves and a large well built of masonry, after the manner of those at el Beiyāra and el Heli'. These are structures from the Mediaeval period, as we now know. He also discusses 'Ras el Ekra', a hill situated quite near 'Amwās to the north-north-east of it, and separated from it by the Khallet el Hammām. This rocky hill contains several ancient tombs, and seems to have been one of the burying-grounds of old Nicopolis.' Clermont-Ganneau describes in detail one of the tombs.⁴²² This was a rock-hewn cave with steps leading down to the chamber with a trap-door at the entrance. Each of the walls had an 'arcosolium' over a burial-recess. Opposite the entrance a fragmentary Greek inscription could be seen which suggested a Christian burial. This probably was an older tomb reused in the Byzantine period.

R.W. Hussein notes in his report to the *D.A.M.* (8-1-1945): '...to East remains of ancient road running from East to West.' In June 1984 we saw this road over a length of more than 600 m. It runs on an embankment supported on the north by a retaining wall built of large boulders. In one spot the southern kerbstones are still visible. The road descends gradually from West (Emmaus) to East (Yalu).

At the site we saw ancient foundations and a number of installations hewn in the rock. These include a wine-press entirely preserved, as well as a burial-cave a few metres to the west. Mosaic tesserae and Late Roman pottery point to a Byzantine date.

This appears to be a Byzantine settlement.

69. Kh. Hirsha (Kh. Horesh) 1547.1372

This is a substantial site on the western slopes of the hills between Nahal Itla and Nahal HaHamishah. It lies about three kilometres west of Beit Thul, on the road to Yalu and Beit Nuba.

The *SWP*, iii, 114 mentions foundations at this site. A detailed description is given by Clermont-Ganneau, *AR*, ii, 68-71. He pays particular attention to the water-works on the spot (p.70, figs. A-B), consisting of cisterns and aqueducts cut in the rock, with a mosaic floor nearby,⁴²³ and notably, 'an immense subterranean reservoir'. It measures 14.80 m. x 13 m. x at least 8 m (height) and has four openings in its ceiling and an aqueduct which would allow the water to be let out. Besides this there is in the neighbourhood a group of ruins of houses with fragments of arched bays, stones with bosses, among these 'a fine carved

⁴²² Op. cit., 95-97, figs. on 94, 95 and 96.

⁴²³ For the mosaic floor: Avi-Yonah, *MPP*, no. 205.

lintel bearing a Greek cross in a circle or a crown.' There is also a tomb with three arcosolia. All these finds point to the existence of an important settlement in the Byzantine period.

We visited the site together with Yuval Shahar, Yigael Tepper and their team.

The site was a Byzantine settlement.

70. Kh. Hitan el Snubar 1564.1391

This is an ancient site north of Wadi Qatana (Nahal Somer) on one of the alternative routes from Beit Nuba to al Qubeiba. The existence of the site was first pointed out to us by Yuval Shahar, Yigael Tepper and their team.

When visiting the area in April 1985 we saw ancient remains, including a rock-cut wine-press. There were also fragments of pillars which may have been milestones. We did not, however, find any trace of an ancient road in the area.

71. Kh. Hitan el War 1584.1383

This is another ancient site north of Wadi Qatana (Nahal Somer) on the alternative route from Beit Nuba to Qubeiba mentioned in connection with the previous site. We learned about the existence of this site also from Yuval Shahar, Yigael Tepper and their colleagues. At the site a series of rock-cut steps was seen which may belong to an ancient road. There was also a fragment of a pillar, possibly a milestone.

This seems to be a rural settlement of Byzantine date on an ancient road.

72. Kh. Huriya (Fig.6) 1540.1460

This is a Muslim sanctuary named after the prophetess Sittna Huriya, built on an ancient site. It is near Kh. Kafr Rut.

Guérin, *Samarie*, ii, p.395 f. writes that after leaving Shilat, 'we moved first to east-south-east, then eastward; the remains of an ancient road are clearly recognisable.' Twenty-five minutes later and after descending and climbing 'we reached a plateau where the remains of the same ancient road continued to be visible.' Ten minutes later he reached Kh. Huriya where he noticed the remains of ancient buildings constructed with stones of considerable size, one of them, fifteen paces square, he thought, could have been a 'tour de défense'. He also records seeing large tesserae, two ancient reservoirs and some twenty rock-

cut cisterns.

SWP, iii, 103 only mentions the sanctuary: '...a ruined Mukâm called el Hûriyeh or Umm Rûsh.' Clermont-Ganneau, *AR*, ii, 472, noticed ancient remains: 'el Hûriyeh, with important ruins, to the west of Seffa; about two-thirds of an hour from Jimzû.'

Husseini visited the site on behalf of the *D.A.M.* in 1933. He refers to foundations of buildings, remains of a tower, a pool with rock-cut steps, an oil-press and cisterns. He defined the pottery as Roman and Arab glazed ware. Kochavi, *Survey 1967*, 235, no.231 discussed this site together with Kh. Kafr Rut.

M. Fischer, with a team from the Department of Classics of the University of Tel Aviv, carried out a survey and excavations at Kafr Rut and neighbouring sites in February of 1980. In the northern part of Kh. Huriya they found remains of a large building with columns buried in the earth. This may have been a church. When visiting the site in July 1984 we noticed remains of walls, rock-cut installations, tombs, and a quarry. The pottery was defined as Byzantine, Early Islamic, Crusader.

We further observed that this site is less rich than neighbouring Kh. Kafr Rut. To the north we saw a quarry, an agricultural installation, and remains of the ancient main road, making for Kh. Daliya.

AS Benjamin, Site No. 13, pp.14*; 38: 'Traces of buildings; ruins of sheikh's tomb; large rock-cut reservoir. Byz-22%; Els-few sherds; Med-37%; Ott-30%; 83 sherds.'

The site was occupied in the Byzantine, Early Islamic, and Crusader periods.

73. Kh. Ibn Awad (also named: Kh. el Rujum) 1556.1450

This site comprises ancient ruins about two kilometres north-east of Beit Sira on the road to Beit Horon.

SWP, iii, 114 records: 'Traces of ruins.' *AS Benjamin*, No. 15, pp.15*; 39: '2 dunams. Ruin; building stones incorporated in fences; Byz - 37 sherds.'

This must have been one of the minor agricultural settlements which developed along the road in the Byzantine period.

74. Kh. 'Id (Kh. Salma, Kefar Salama) (Fig.10) 1674.1403

Literary Sources

1. 1 Macc. 7,31
2. Josephus, *Ant.* xii 10,4 (405)
3. Eusebius, *On.* 152,4; Jerome, 153,4 (Klostermann) writes:

'Salem civitas Sicimorum quae est Sychem. Sed et alia villa ostenditur usque in praesentem diem iuxta Aeliam contra occidentalem plagam hoc nomine.' Eusebius discusses the place mentioned in Gen. 14,18, which is to be identified with Sikhem (Shekhem, Nablus) and mentions another 'Salem', a village west of Jerusalem. It should be noted that, in the language of Eusebius and Jerome, 'west of' can mean anything from north-west to south-west.

Sources 1 and 2 describe the first engagement between Judas and Nicanor at a 'village called Kapharsalama' (Macc.) or Khapharsalama (Josephus). Nicanor was defeated and withdrew to Jerusalem. According to these sources this was followed by the battle at Adasa (see the relevant entry). The parallel source, 2 Macc. 14,16 mentions a preliminary skirmish at 'Dessau', thought to represent a scribal error for 'Adasa'. It is a matter of dispute whether one, two or three battles were actually fought (see our entry on Adasa). Abel has pointed out that 'Kapharsalama', i.e. Kefar Salama must be sought somewhere north, or north-west of Jerusalem, whether we are faced with one engagement or more.⁴²⁴ This is clear from the fact that Judas, before the battle, was based in Gophnitica and Nicanor afterward is reported to have fled to Jerusalem. Abel and F.M.J. Lagrange before him were told that the site now known as 'Id was also named Kh. Selma.⁴²⁵ This clearly could have been 'Kefar Salem/Shalem' or 'Salama' in the past.

This is a hill-top site, overlooking the Jerusalem - Beit Horon road, north-west of Jib (Gibeon) and some three kilometres west-north-west of northern Kh. Adasa (see air photograph, Pl.47). It is a very suitable candidate and could also fit the reference made by Eusebius to a village 'west of' Jerusalem.

The site is mentioned in *SWP*, iii, 106: 'Heaps of stones, quarried rock, rock-cut cisterns, and on the east rock-cut tombs with *loculi*.' M.-J. Lagrange was

⁴²⁴ F.-M. Abel, *RB* 43 (1934), 366; also: *GP*, ii, 293 s.v. Capharsalama; *Les Livres des Maccabées*, 139, revising earlier proposals made in *RB* 33 (1924), 376. Chr. Möller and G. Schmitt, *Siedlungen Palästinas nach Flavius Josephus* (Beihefte zum TAVO, B14, 1976), 126 f. discuss additional literature. Abel's proposal was accepted by B. Bar-Kochva, *Judas Maccabaeus*, 356, 358; also: *TIR* s.v. Caphar Salama, 99.

⁴²⁵ *RB* 3 (1894), 140.

told that the site was named Kh. Selma and observed 'rather important ruins... One sees cut stones, fragments of columns, beautiful cisterns, one of them with steps.'⁴²⁶ G. Dalman, *PJB* 8 (1913), 18 discusses and rejects a proposal to identify the site with Biblical Beeroth. He describes some ancient walls, but did not think it was an important site. Abel noticed 'a reservoir and rock-cut tombs, cisterns and fragments of columns, a wall of good masonry, many sherds.'⁴²⁷

AS Benjamin, Site No. 160, p. 30*; 151: '16 dunams. Ruin; terraces; ashlar and dressed stones in secondary use; cisterns; cemetery on eastern slope. P(?) -4%; Hell-11%; Rom-14%; Byz-57% Els-14%; 149 sherds.'

We visited the site in March 1985. It is now occupied once more and modern houses appear to have destroyed the ancient foundations seen by previous visitors. However, the ancient quarries and rock-cut tombs were still visible. We inspected seven of the latter and a well-preserved wine-press. The tombs consist of a rock-cut entrance passage leading to the doorway of a cave with *loculi*. In two instances rock-cut steps lead down to the doorway. Such tombs are typical of the period of the Second Temple. Independent confirmation of this date was visible in the form of fragments of ancient Hebrew lettering above the entrance to one of the tombs. The tombs are all on the northern and eastern slopes of the hill, while the wine-press is on the east slope. On the top of the hill the remains of a columbarium could be seen, but otherwise there was very little left there.

We collected Byzantine pottery and a few Roman sherds.

The site appears to have been occupied in the Byzantine period and perhaps also in the Roman period, but the tombs clearly belong to the period of the Second Temple. As *AS Benjamin* also reports some Hellenistic pottery, this supports the suggestion that it may be the village mentioned in Source 1 and 2. The Byzantine remains support the possibility of identification with the village mentioned by Eusebius.

75. **Jaffa (Joppa, Joppe, Yafo)** 1265.1623
(Fig.4; Pl.1,3,10,37)

'Iope Phoenicum, antiquior terrarum inundatione, ut ferunt, insidet collem praeiacente saxo, in quo vinculorum Andromedae vestigia ostendunt. colitur illic

⁴²⁶ Loc.cit.

⁴²⁷ *RB* 43 (1934), 366.

fabulosa Ceto.⁴²⁸

Jaffa is one of the few sites on the Palestinian coast with a natural harbour,⁴²⁹ though not a good one, for there are reefs in the sea which made it dangerous for ships in bad weather.⁴³⁰ Yet the fact that it was the only harbour until the construction of Herod's port of Caesarea, made possession of the town a matter of vital importance. Several authors indicate how those who controlled Jaffa with its harbour could harass their enemies: '...and indeed the Jews have used this place as a port when they reached the sea, but clearly the ports of robbers are only robbers' dens.'⁴³¹ Josephus observes that there was no harbour between Dora and Joppa before the construction of the port of Caesarea, so that all ships sailing along the coast of Phoenicia to Egypt had to stay out in the open sea when they were threatened by wind from the west.⁴³²

Sited on a headland about 45 m. high, with steep slopes towards the sea, Jaffa enjoys a strong position.⁴³³ It has a good water supply from two springs to the north-east. Another advantage of the location lies in the fertility of its territory. A few kilometres south of Jaffa lies a belt of sand dunes more than six km. wide, which does not allow cultivation of profitable crops and makes communications difficult. Jaffa itself, however, has easy access to the good alluvial soils deposited by the Ayalon River and before the expansion of the modern city was famous for its

orange groves.⁴³⁴ Across these lands runs the road to Lydda, which also lies on similar soil, unlike Ramle which, as its name implies, is situated on sandy ground.

Jaffa, therefore, is the southernmost point on the shore which has a good link with Jerusalem. This was an essential point in its favour when Jerusalem was the capital of the country,⁴³⁵ but not the only advantage of the site, for the history of the town as a port goes back much further than the Israelite period. There is a reasonable amount of information extant about the history of the town, especially in the post-Byzantine periods. We have summarized this here in order to give a picture of the various stages of decline and revival of the site from the seventh to the twentieth century, which is not readily available in this form elsewhere.

Literary Sources

A siege of Joppa under Thutmose III (about 1490-1436 BC) is described in an Egyptian papyrus.⁴³⁶ In a satirical letter of the end of the thirteenth century BC the town appears as a typical harbour-city, with travellers in search of women, and criminals who exploit them.⁴³⁷ If Iapu, mentioned in the Amarna letter no. 365, is indeed Joppa, this shows that it was the centre of the Egyptian administration from where taxes were levied as far north as the Jezreel Valley.⁴³⁸

⁴²⁸ Pliny, *NH* v 69: 'Phoenician Iope, older than the flood, as they say, lies on a hill, while in front is a rock on which they show the marks of the chains of Andromeda; there is a cult of legendary Ceto.'

⁴²⁹ Diodorus i 31,2, writes in the first century BC: 'The voyage along the coast of this sea [sc. the Egyptian sea] is very long, and any landing is particularly difficult; for from Paraetonium in Libya as far as Jope in Coele-Syria, a voyage along the coast of approximately five thousand stades, no safe harbour is to be found except Pharos.'

⁴³⁰ As described graphically by Josephus, *BJ* iii 9, 3 (419-423).

⁴³¹ Strabo xvi 2,28 (759).

⁴³² Josephus, *BJ* i 21,5 (409). Josephus ignores here the anchorage Apollonia, north of Jaffa, for which see the entry in the *NEAEHL*.

⁴³³ Jaffa, siting and vicinity are best illustrated on aerial photographs: Kedar, *AP*, 86f.; 96-9.

⁴³⁴ Cf. S. Tolkowsky, *The Gateway of Palestine* (1924), Appendix iii: The Origin of the Jaffa Orange, 178-181.

⁴³⁵ Strabo xvi 2,28: 'Then one comes to Jope ... Here it was, according to certain writers of myths that Andromeda was exposed to the sea-monster; for the place is situated at a rather high elevation — so high, it is said, that Jerusalem, the metropolis of the Judaeans, is visible from it; and indeed the Judaeans have used this place as a seaport when they have gone down as far as the sea;' (trans. L.H. Jones, LCL). The erroneous statement that Jerusalem is visible from Jaffa is repeated in xvi 2,34. The *Letter of Aristaeas*, 115, also states that Joppa, together with Ashkalon, Gaza and Ptolemais, serves as port for Jerusalem.

⁴³⁶ P. Harris 500, verso I-III; translation in *ANET*³, 22f. See also T.E. Peet, *JEA* 11(1925), 225; S. Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents* (1984), 121.

⁴³⁷ P. Anastasi I (BM 10247); translation in *ANET*³, 478.

⁴³⁸ N. Na'aman, *EI* 15 (1981), 141.

Joppa remained outside the Israelite boundary.⁴³⁹ A letter addressed by Hiram of Tyre to Solomon, cited in the Chronicles describes Jaffa as port for Jerusalem: 'And we will cut wood out of Lebanon, as much as thou shalt need: and we will bring it to thee in flotes by the sea of Joppa; and thou shalt carry it up to Jerusalem'.⁴⁴⁰ This reflects the reality of the period in which the Chronicles were written, rather than that of Solomon's times and it may have been valid also for the period of the kingdom of Israel. Jonah the prophet set sail from Joppa in a ship going to Tarshish.⁴⁴¹ In Sennacherib's time (704-681) Joppa and neighbouring Beth Dagon (q.v. Beit Dajan), Banai Barqa (Benei Beraq) and Azuru (Yazur, q.v.) belonged to the territory of Philistine Ashkelon, rather than Ashdod.⁴⁴²

In the days of Zerubbabel lumber for the Second Temple was transported to Jerusalem via Joppa: 'They gave money also unto the masons, and to the carpenters; and meat, and drink, and oil, unto them of Zidon, and to them of Tyre, to bring cedar trees from Lebanon to the sea of Joppa...'.⁴⁴³ Joppa, however, remained outside Jewish territory, for on his sarcophagus Eshmunazar of Sidon claims to have received 'Dor and Joppa, the mighty lands of Dagon, which are in the plain of Sharon' from the Lord of Kings (the Persian king).⁴⁴⁴ This is significant, for the presence of Sidonians in Joppa is attested in later literary sources.

The next piece of evidence is the fourth-century work known as the *periplus* by Pseudo-Scylax. In the description of the Palestinian coast Dor is

mentioned as a city of the Sidonians and Ashkelon as a city of the Tyrians, and seat of a royal palace.⁴⁴⁵ The text is corrupt, but there certainly was a reference to Jaffa, as shown by the reference to Andromeda:

Δώρος πόλις Σιδωνίων. [Ὀππὴ
πόλις. ἐκτε]θήναί φασιν ἐνταῦθα
τὴν Ἀνδρομ[έδαν τῷ κήτει.
Ἀσκά]λων πόλις Τυρίων καὶ
βασίλεια.

Perhaps the wording of Pseudo-Scylax should be explained as a reference to an actual settlement of Phoenicians. For Dor, indeed, there are other literary sources which describe it as a Phoenician town.⁴⁴⁶

The city is mentioned next in connection with the campaigns of the Diadochi.⁴⁴⁷ In the third century it was a port where Greek merchants and officials resided, as shown by the Zenon papyri.⁴⁴⁸ An interesting inscription, recording the dedication of a statue of Ptolemy IV Philopator by a priest of the king is dated ca. 217-214 and belongs therefore to this period.⁴⁴⁹

Jaffa is mentioned next in connection with the

⁴⁴⁵ Pseudo-Scylax, *Geographi graeci minores*, ed. C. Müller, i, 79; Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, iii, no. 558, 8-12.

⁴⁴⁶ Claudius Iolaus in Stephanus Byz., s.v.; Josephus, *Vita* 8 (31); *C. Ap.* ii 9 (116). For Dor see now E. Stern, *Dor-Ruler of the Seas* (1994).

⁴⁴⁷ Diodorus xix 59,2; 93,7. In the latter passage Jope is mentioned as one of the four important cities captured and lost again by Antigonus.

⁴⁴⁸ *P.Cairo* 59011 mentions Jaffa, Bethanath and Philadelphia and refers to frankincense and myrrh. *P.Cairo* 59093 from 257 BC mentions a man named Krotos who 'is waiting in Jaffa for an opportunity of exporting ... and mattresses'. It also mentions Menekles of Tyre 'who had brought some slaves and merchandise from Gaza to Tyre and landed them in Tyre for transshipment without notifying the Customs officers and without having a permit to export the slaves', which got Menekles in trouble. It is clear that Gaza and Tyre were more important ports than Jaffa, but Jaffa may also have profited to some extent from such coastal trade. *P.S.I.* 406 deals with the slave trade and mentions Ptolemais, Amman, Pegai (?), Jope, the Hauran and the Nabataeans in this connection.

⁴⁴⁹ L. Boëto, *Iscrizioni greche e latine per lo studio della Bibbia* (1994), No. 4, pp. 61-6; *SEG* xx 467.

⁴³⁹ As deduced by Aharoni, *LB*, 18 from Josh. 19,46: (the inheritance of the children of Dan) 'And Merjarkon and Rakkon with the border before Japho.'

⁴⁴⁰ 2 Chron. 2, 15.

⁴⁴¹ Jonah 1,3.

⁴⁴² *ANET*³, 287: stele describing the king's campaign against Phoenicia, Philistia and Judaea; cf. Aharoni, loc. cit.

⁴⁴³ Ezra 3,7.

⁴⁴⁴ *CIS* i, 3, pp. 9-20, ll. 18-20; translation: *ANET*³ 662. For Dagon: Philo of Byblos fr. 809, 23: Δαγῶν ὃς ἐστὶ σιτῶν, with comments by A.I. Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos, A Commentary* (Leiden 1981), 15, 190. E. Dhorme, 'Les Avatars du dieu Dagon', *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 138(1950), 129-144, esp. 132: Dagon was a local god of Philistia; U. Oldenburg, *The Conflict between El and Baal* (Leiden 1969), 47-57.

revolt of the Maccabees.⁴⁵⁰ The inhabitants of Joppa invited the Jews living among them to embark on boats which they provided. The Jews agreed unsuspectingly, and the people of Joppa then sank the boats, drowning hundreds of Jews. In revenge Judas Maccabeus set the harbour of Joppa on fire, burnt the ships and killed whomever he could, but did not succeed in entering the town. When he heard that the people of Jamnia intended to do the same he punished them in a similar manner. These events must have taken place in 163-2, but the chronology is not quite certain.⁴⁵¹ The language of the passage makes it clear that the Jews were not citizens with full civic rights in these towns, but resident foreigners.⁴⁵²

The links between Joppa and Phoenicia are brought out by several authors, where it is clear that their information is relevant to the Hellenistic period rather than their own.⁴⁵³ Diodorus, writing in the first century BC, describes the town as part of Syria-Coele.⁴⁵⁴ Strabo is still more explicit: 'There are authors who transfer Ethiopia also to Phoenicia in our region and who say that the adventures of Andromeda took place in Jope, and yet these things are not told in ignorance of geography but in the form of a myth.'⁴⁵⁵

Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. 'Ιόπε.⁴⁵⁶ 'Jope is a city of Phoenicia near Jamnia, according to Philo, but according to Dionysius it belongs to Palaestina'.

Dionysius Periegetes (first half of the second century AD). '[The Phoenicians] inhabit Jaffa and

Gaza, as well as Elais and archaic Tyre and the lovely land of Berytus, Byblus near the shore and flowery Sidon.'⁴⁵⁷ According to Pliny, *NH* v 70, Jope is one of the ten toparchies of Judaea.⁴⁵⁸ In the parallel list in Josephus, Jamnia and Joppe are mentioned separately at the end, to indicate that they are not in Judaea proper.⁴⁵⁹ It is therefore not to be assumed that Joppe really had the status of a toparchy which, in its proper sense, indicates the administrative organization of a territory which was not attached to a place with city-status.

The Hasmonaean in their quest for a link with the sea consistently aimed at control of Jaffa. In 147-6 BC Jonathan expelled the garrison of Demetrius II from the town.⁴⁶⁰ Some time afterwards Simon the Maccabee captured the city, established a garrison there and expelled its inhabitants.⁴⁶¹ He made it his sea port⁴⁶² and fortified the town.⁴⁶³ In the subsequent struggles Jaffa again appears as a major target for the various parties.⁴⁶⁴ The city remained in Jewish hands, however,⁴⁶⁵ since it is attested as being under Jewish control during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus.⁴⁶⁶

In the first century BC the town changed hands several times. Pompey took it from the Jews.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁵⁷ Dionysius Periegetes ap. K. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores* ii. 160, Stern, iii. 32, no. 503, whose translation is quoted here.

⁴⁵⁸ Pliny, *NH* v 128 describes Paria (unidentified) as lying off Jope in the Phoenician Sea.

⁴⁵⁹ Josephus, *BJ* iii 1.5 (56).

⁴⁶⁰ 1 Mace. 10. 75f.

⁴⁶¹ 1 Mace. 12. 33-4, 13. 11-12.

⁴⁶² 1 Mace. 14. 5.

⁴⁶³ *ibid.*, 34.

⁴⁶⁴ 1 Mace. 15. 28-30, 31. 35; *Ant.* xii 8.3 (246) and cf. Schürer, *History*, ii. 112.

⁴⁶⁵ Josephus, *Ant.* xii 15.4 (395), lists it among the cities held by the Jews under Alexander Jannaeus. Note that this is another passage implying that Jaffa was in Phoenicia, for, while Josephus describes these cities as belonging 'to the Syrians, Idumaeans and Phoenicians', the only two that fit the last category are Apollonia and Jaffa.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ant.* xii 15.4 (395).

⁴⁶⁷ *Ant.* xiv 4.4 (76); *BJ* i 7.7 (156).

⁴⁵⁰ 2 Mace. 12. 3-6.

⁴⁵¹ Cf. C. Habicht, *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit*, Band 13. 2. *Makkabäerbuch* (1976), 261f. K. Brügmann, *Hellenistische Reform und Religionsverfolgung in Judäa* (1983), 51-60, esp. 56 f. See also B. Isaac, *Israel Exploration Journal* 41 (1991), 132-44.

⁴⁵² 2 Mace. 12.3 τοὺς οὖν αὐτοῖς οἰκούντας Ἰουδαίους and *ibid.*, 8: (Jamnia) τοῖς παροικοῖσιν Ἰουδαίοις; see Habicht *op. cit.*, 264.

⁴⁵³ As observed by M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* i, 473.

⁴⁵⁴ Diodorus i 51.2, cited above.

⁴⁵⁵ Strabo i 2. 88. For the association of Jaffa with *Andromeda* above. Pseudo-Scylax. Full references in Stern, xii in index, 128. See also Conon the *Nea* together apud Stern vol. i no. 145, 383.

⁴⁵⁶ *Scriba* vol. ii 143f, no. 327 with commentary.

and Caesar restored it to them.⁴⁶⁸ Antony gave it to Cleopatra with the other coastal towns.⁴⁶⁹ Subsequently it passed to Herod⁴⁷⁰ and then to Archelaus.⁴⁷¹ After the latter's deposition, it was incorporated into the province of Judaea. These events, however, did not alter the ethnic composition of the population, which remained predominantly Jewish. Peter is recorded as having spent several days in the house of Simon the Tanner in Jaffa, after his visit to Lydda and before travelling to Caesarea.⁴⁷² The harbour of Jaffa (*limina shel Yafo*) is mentioned in a Talmudic source referring to this period, which relates how Nicanor's gates for the Temple in Jerusalem were brought from Alexandria and saved through a miracle during a storm at sea.⁴⁷³

Some of the events in the First Revolt clearly show the military significance of Jaffa's harbour. Cestius Gallus destroyed Jaffa early in the war of AD 66.⁴⁷⁴ It was soon re-occupied by Jews expelled from various cities, who used it as a base for harassing the shipping between Egypt, Phoenicia and Syria.⁴⁷⁵ It was conquered again by Vespasian who left a garrison of cavalry and some infantry on the hill. The infantry was to remain on the spot and guard the camp, the cavalry to ravage the neighbourhood and destroy the villages and small towns in the territory of Jaffa.

A coin from the time of Elagabalus bears the inscription ΦΛΑΥΙΑC ΙΟΙΙΙΗC.⁴⁷⁶ The least this could indicate is that the town received an honorary title in the Flavian period. However, since we know that it was destroyed in the First Revolt the name may well imply some form of re-foundation and resettlement, which may have taken place at the same time as the foundation of the new city of Flavia

Neapolis (Shechem).⁴⁷⁷ It would be natural to assume that following these events the population of the town was predominantly gentile. Yet this does not seem to have been the case. An inscribed weight from the reign of Trajan mentions an *agoranomos* named Ioudas, son of Tozomos(?). This almost certainly an indication that local government in the early second century was still in Jewish hands. The presence of a substantial Jewish population is clear from the discovery of a considerable number of Jewish epitaphs at Abu Kabir near Jaffa.⁴⁷⁸ These are partly Hebrew and partly Greek.

The Jewish population of Jaffa is also attested in Talmudic sources which mention four scholars as coming originally from Jaffa or as being active there (this cannot be determined). They are R. Ada,⁴⁷⁹ R. Nahman,⁴⁸⁰ R. Tanhum⁴⁸¹ and R. Pinhas.⁴⁸² Two of these can be dated: R. Ada belonged to the third generation of Palestinian amoraim, i.e. the late third century, R. Pinhas belonged to the fourth generation, i.e. early fourth century. In spite of the existence of a good, artificial harbour at Caesarea and the destruction of Jerusalem as capital of the country, Jaffa is still mentioned as a harbour in Talmudic sources⁴⁸³ and by Cyril of Alexandria (d.444): '...a port for goods to be

⁴⁷⁷ Mentioned somewhat anachronistically by Josephus, *BJ* iv 8,1 (449); Pliny v 14/69. Neapolis also used an era which begins in AD 72/3. Like Jaffa, Shechem was destroyed in the revolt, but unlike Jaffa, Neapolis was indeed a new city and it is therefore natural that its foundation was commemorated with more emphasis than the reconstitution of Jaffa. See also S. Applebaum, *Scripta Classica Israelica* 8/9 (1985-88), 138-144.

⁴⁷⁸ Frey, *CII* 892-960.

⁴⁷⁹ B.T. Megilah 17b; B.T. Ta'anit 17b. His son, R. Hiya is mentioned in J.T. Megilah iii 74b.

⁴⁸⁰ Genesis Rabbah 43 d, ed. Theodor - Albeck, p.557.

⁴⁸¹ Pesiqta deRav Kahana vii, ed. Mandelbaum, 122.

⁴⁸² Leviticus Rabba xx 10, ed. Margolies, 467; J.T. Pesahim i 27c. In the MSS and the printed edition and parallels there are variant names: R. Yudan of Jaffa, R. Nehemia of Jaffa, R. Nahman of Jaffa, R. Johanan of Jaffa.

⁴⁸³ Above, on the gates of Nicanor, M. Demai i, 11 referring to produce taken from a ship at Jaffa or Caesarea; M. Nedarim 3, 6, which mentions the journey from Acre to Jaffa by boat as a short trip.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ant.* xiv 10,6 (205).

⁴⁶⁹ *Ant.* xv 4,1 (95).

⁴⁷⁰ *Ant.* xv 7,3(217); *BJ* i 20,3 (396).

⁴⁷¹ *Ant.* xvii 11,4 (320); *BJ* ii 6,3 (97).

⁴⁷² *Acts* 9, 36-43; 10, 9-23.

⁴⁷³ J.T. Yoma iii 41a. For the gates, Schürer, *History*, ii (1979), 57f.

⁴⁷⁴ *BJ* ii 18,10 (507-9).

⁴⁷⁵ *BJ* iii 9, 2-4 (414-31).

⁴⁷⁶ *BMC Palestine* 44; cf. xxivf.; Pl. v/7; cf. Kindler and Stein, *Bibliography*, 157-9.

shipped from Judaea mostly to cities in the East'.⁴⁸⁴

Despite the mention in *Acts*, Christianity does not seem to have come early to Jaffa. At the council of Nicaea (325) it is not yet represented,⁴⁸⁵ and it is listed only at that of Ephesos (431).⁴⁸⁶ It may not have been a prosperous or substantial city in this period. Jerome, in his translation of Eusebius' *Onomasticon*, 111, 25, calls it an '*oppidum*', a term which indicates something that is more modest than a '*civitas*' or an '*urbs*'. Epiphanius (392) describes it as mostly in ruins:⁴⁸⁷ 'And here they of Judea were accustomed to embark - I mean, from Jope - for it was their port.'

Jerome, in his description of Paula's pilgrimage, mentions the association of Jaffa with Andromeda with an apologetic note, but places the miracle of Dorcas at Diospolis instead of Jaffa.⁴⁸⁸ This miracle is mentioned first by Theodosius (before 518):⁴⁸⁹

'From Diospolis it is twelve miles to Joppa, where Saint Peter raised Tabitha and where the whale cast up Iona. From Ioppe to Caesarea Palaestina it is thirty miles.'

The existence of a tomb of Tabitha is suggested by the wording of the Piacenza Pilgrim (about 570): 'Leaving Jerusalem I went down to Joppa, where rests Saint Tabitha also named Dorcas'.⁴⁹⁰ A church of St. Peter is mentioned in the

eight century.⁴⁹¹

Jaffa was not normally the port of arrival for Muslim pilgrims to Palestine in the early Islamic period, and there is therefore no description of the town in this period.⁴⁹² However, when the harbour of Caesarea fell out of use, Jaffa gradually reverted to its former position as the best natural seaport of the country south of Mt. Carmel, and the foundation nearby of a new capital, Ramle, enhanced its significance. Yakubi, writing in AD 891, mentions Jaffa as a small town which had become the principal commercial centre, being the port of Ramle.⁴⁹³ Muqaddasi (second half of the tenth century) describes it as

'A small town on the sea; she is, however, the supply-house of Filastin and the port of Ramle; she has a citadel and an iron gate towards the sea, and the harbour is new'.⁴⁹⁴

As noted in Part I, there are several references of a somewhat different kind from the pilgrims' accounts to be found in the letters of mediaeval Jewish traders published by S.D. Goitein, said to date to about the mid 11th century.⁴⁹⁵ Jaffa is referred to as 'the port of Ramle', a centre for the silk trade where exorbitant customs duties are levied.⁴⁹⁶ Mention is also made of olive oil and flax processed in Jerusalem and sent to Jaffa.⁴⁹⁷

In 1099 Jaffa was taken by Godfrey of Bouillon.⁴⁹⁸ The town, its fortifications and harbour

⁴⁸⁴ Cyril of Alexandria, in *Jonam* i 3 (PG lxxi 605C): ἐπίνειον δὲ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπὶ ναυτιλίαν ἰοῦσι καὶ εἰς πόλεις μάλιστα τὰς πρὸς ἡώ.

⁴⁸⁵ H. Gelzer et al. (ed.) *Patrum Nicaenorum Nomina* (1898), 10, 12. Neighbouring Iamnia and Lydda are both represented, although these too had a substantial Jewish population.

⁴⁸⁶ As noted by Tolkowsky, 73. It is not represented at Chalcedon (451), but appears on the lists of the synods held at Jerusalem in 518 and 536: Abel, *GP* ii, 199f.

⁴⁸⁷ Epiphanius, *Treatise on Weights and Measures* (Synac version), 75f.

⁴⁸⁸ Jerome, *ep.* 108.

⁴⁸⁹ Theodosius, *de Terra Sancta*, xxv, ed. Tobler and Molinier, 71: 'De Diospoli usque Ioppen millia duodecim, ubi Sanctus Petrus resuscitavit Tabitham et cenus iactavit Iona. A Ioppe usque Cesaream Palestine millia triginta (...).'

⁴⁹⁰ Piacenza Pilgrim, 46, *CCSL* 175, 152.

⁴⁹¹ Hugeburc, *The Life of Willibald* (around 780), ed. O. Holder-Egger, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* xv (1), (1887), 99: 'ibi est ecclesia sancti Petri apostoli, et illic suscitavit viduam sanctus Petrus, qui fuit nominata Dorcas.' The church is mentioned again by Daniel Hegoumenos (1106-7) in B. de Khitowo (ed.), *Itinéraires russes en Orient* i 1 (1889), 9; J. Raba, *Russian Travel Accounts on Palestine* (1986, Heb.), 55.

⁴⁹² Tolkowsky, Chapter VI.

⁴⁹³ Yakubi, *Geography* (Leiden 1861), 117.

⁴⁹⁴ M. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (1906), 174.

⁴⁹⁵ S.D. Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders* (1973).

⁴⁹⁶ *Op.cit.*, 45 f.

⁴⁹⁷ *Op.cit.*, 108 f.

had been destroyed before its evacuation by the Fatimid garrison.⁴⁹⁹ With the aid of the Pisans all were quickly rebuilt, for Jaffa was to serve as one of the important ports for the Crusaders in Palestine.⁵⁰⁰ The most important community in Jaffa under the Crusaders became that of the Pisans.⁵⁰¹ Although it was far smaller than the main coastal cities, Tyre, Acco and Ascalon, it was, as always, the one nearest Jerusalem.⁵⁰² However, Theoderic (1172) tells:

'Wherever the ships of pilgrims may have landed them, they are all obliged to repair to the harbour of this city [i.e. Acco] to take them home again on their return from Jerusalem'.⁵⁰³

A quarter of the city of Jaffa was administered by the Holy Sepulchre. The city became a county capital and bishopric under the jurisdiction of the archbishopric of Caesarea.⁵⁰⁴ Later, however, the metropolitan church of St. Peter was donated to the church of the Holy Sepulchre.⁵⁰⁵ Being the major harbour supplying the Crusaders, it was attacked and besieged again and

again,⁵⁰⁶ but each time the city was saved with help from elsewhere.⁵⁰⁷ In 1102 the harbour was visited by a violent storm, vividly described by the pilgrim Saewulf. Out of thirty large ships, all laden with pilgrims and merchandise, only seven were saved, a piece of information which shows both the activity of the port at this time and the lack of safety for ships at anchor.⁵⁰⁸ It may be noted that Theoderic counted eighty ships in the port of Acco in 1172.⁵⁰⁹ The second half of the twelfth century seems to have been a prosperous period for Jaffa. According to Benjamin of Tudela there was only one Jew there in this period.⁵¹⁰

After the battle of Hittin in 1187, Jaffa surrendered to Saladin's troops only to be evacuated and, like other strongholds, demolished, with the arrival of Richard the Lionheart after the battle of Arsuf in 1191.⁵¹¹ The importance of Jaffa for the passage of pilgrims is clearly brought out in the Chronicle of Richard's Crusade. After the battle of Arsuf Saladin retained Ascalon and it would have been natural to make an attempt to capture that city. However, 'the French ... recommended that Joppa should be restored, because it furnished a shorter and easier route for pilgrims going to Jerusalem. The acclamation of the multitude seconded the opinion of the French'. The Chronicle considers this an unwise decision.⁵¹² In 1197 Jaffa was recaptured by the Fatimid troops and the walls were razed.⁵¹³ In 1228 the Christians returned to the city and began to repair the walls. Between 1250 and 1253 Saint Louis further repaired and streng-

⁴⁹⁸ Tolkowsky, Chapter VII: Jaffa under the Franks; brief summary of Jaffa in this period: C. Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés* (1928), 134f.; F.-M. Abel, *JPOS* 20 (1946), 6-28; for the status of Jaffa under the Crusaders: H.E. Mayer, *IEJ* 35 (1985), 35-45.

⁴⁹⁹ Jacques de Vitry, *Historia Hierosolymitana* in *Gesta Dei per Francos* (Hannover 1611), i 22; William of Tyre, viii 9, *RHC Occ.* i, 336f.

⁵⁰⁰ Albertus Aquensis vii 12 (*RHC Occ.* iv, 515): 'Joppen ... reaedificari murisque constituit muniri, quatenus illic portus navium fieret, et ab hac ceteris Gentilium civitatibus locus esset resistendi ac nocendi.' Cf. H. Hagenmeyer, *ROL* 8 (1901), 318f. For the site and function of the castle: Abel, *JPOS* 20 (1946), 20.

⁵⁰¹ Abel, *JPOS* 20, 13-5; for the properties of other communities: 8 f.

⁵⁰² Benjamin of Tudela (AD 1173), 31, ed. Adler, 21 and John Phocas (AD 1177), *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* 9, PG 133, col. 933, note that most pilgrims to the Holy Land arrive at Acco.

⁵⁰³ Theodericus, *de locis sanctis*, iii 40, trans. A. Stewart, *A Guide to the Holy Land* (1986), 59.

⁵⁰⁴ Lequien, *Oriens Christianus*, iii, 1291f. Cf. H.E. Mayer, *IEJ* 35 (1985), 40-5; cf. G. Beyer, *ZDPV* 68 (1951), 159-62; 185-7.

⁵⁰⁵ Röhrich, *Regesta*, 17, no. 75 (from 1114); cf. Abel, *op.cit.*, 21 f.

⁵⁰⁶ Albertus Aquensis viii 68; x 31; xi 58 (*RHC Occ.* iv); Fulchre, 42; William of Tyre xi, 24 (*RHC Occ.* i, 495f.).

⁵⁰⁷ Cf. Tolkowsky, 87ff.

⁵⁰⁸ The Travels of Saewulf, in T. Wright (trans.), *Early Travels in Palestine* (1848), 34-6. We have not seen the edition by M. d'Avezac, *Relation des voyages de Saewulf à Jerusalem et en Terre Sainte pendant les années 1102 et 1103* (Paris 1839).

⁵⁰⁹ Theoderic, *loc.cit.*

⁵¹⁰ Benjamin of Tudela (1170) 43, ed. Adler, 27.

⁵¹¹ *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* iv 23, ed. Stubbs, 280; Ambroise, *L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, ed. and tr. G. Paris (Paris 1897), 183; 407. Cf. the entries on Latrun. Yazur etc.

⁵¹² *It. Reg. Ric.* iv 26, trans. *Chronicles of the Crusades* (London 1848), 247.

⁵¹³ Ernoul, Chapter xxvii.

thened the fortifications.⁵¹⁴ In 1268 Baibars took the city and expelled the Crusaders for good.

The geographer Abulfeda (1321) describes Jaffa as a small fortified coastal town with a famous harbour. He relates that it had once been a great fortress and important market city, the main port for ships sailing to and from Palestine.⁵¹⁵ This apparently reflects the state of affairs before the destruction of the city by the Mamlukes. Shortly afterwards Jacobus de Verona (1335) says he found the city entirely in ruins. Its former splendour could be recognized, but it was now abandoned.⁵¹⁶ Ludolph de Suchem (1350) again describes it rather differently: 'Going on from Ascalon, one comes to Joppa, an exceeding ancient and beautiful city standing on the sea-shore.' He says pilgrims could not land at the port because it had been destroyed out of fear of a Crusader invasion.⁵¹⁷

It is not quite clear when Jaffa was turned into the desolate place so often described by pilgrims from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. The first known to us who refers to the place as totally destroyed is Nicolas de Martoni (1394-5),⁵¹⁸ who says not a single building was intact. There were only the vaults underneath the ruined castle where merchants from Ramle kept their goods. He attributes the destruction to the Saracens, but there is no concrete information who precisely was responsible.⁵¹⁹

The impressions of pilgrims upon their arrival at Jaffa are discussed above, in Part I. The features noted are always the same. Jaffa was destroyed apart from three vaulted structures, usually described as caves, where stores were kept and travellers locked up till they received permission to proceed to Ramle. On the hill one or two towers were all that remained of the fortifications.⁵²⁰ de la Brocquière (1432-3) comments on the dangers of the harbour.⁵²¹ From Felix Fabri we learn that the sojourn in the cave itself was worth a seven year's indulgence, an indication how bad an experience this was for the pilgrims.⁵²² The lands in the vicinity were not cultivated and the region suffered from piracy.⁵²³ In the first half of the sixteenth century there was a brief period of very modest growth and development which came to an end with the earthquake of 1546.⁵²⁴

The first good illustrations were made by

Church. Tolkowsky tentatively attributes the destruction to Peter I, king of Cyprus, who ravaged the coasts of Palestine and Syria in 1367.

⁵¹⁴ William of Tyre, cont. xxiv, ii, 440; Lord de Joinville's *Memoirs of Louis IX, King of France* in: *Chronicles of the Crusades* (Tr. Colonel Johnes, London 1848), 486-9. Cf. Abel, *JPOS* 20 (1946), 10 f.

⁵¹⁵ Abulfeda, *Tabula Syria*, ed. and tr. I.B. Koehler (1760), 80. For this period: Tolkowsky, Chapter VIII.

⁵¹⁶ Jacques de Verona, *Liber Peregrationis*, ed. R. Rohricht, *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 3 (1895), 180: 'Joppe autem fuit nobilissima civitas super collem sita, magna muris et edificiis ornata, sed a Saracenis totaliter dirupta et omnia edificia in mari [sic] projecta, et nulla domus est ibi et nullus ibi habitator, nisi vi custodes Saraceni.'

⁵¹⁷ Ludolph von Suchem, ed. F. Deycks (Stuttgart 1851), 50; *PPTS* (1893), 65.

⁵¹⁸ Nicolas de Martoni, *Pèlerinage à Jérusalem*, ed. L. Le Grand, *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 3 (1895), 624-5.

⁵¹⁹ Tolkowsky, 129, cites *Le Saint-Voyage de Jérusalem*, by le Baron d'Anglure, 1395 (Paris 1858), 80f. which we have not seen. This pilgrim relates that the only place where they could find shelter for the night was in the abandoned chapel of the St. Peter's

⁵²⁰ William Wey (1458-1462), *The Itineraries of William Wey ... to Jerusalem* (London 1857), 57f.; Anonymous, *Le voyage de la Sainte Cité de Hierusalem*, ed. C. Schefer (Paris 1882), 57, 60f.; Hans Werli von Zimmer (1483), in S. Feyerabend, *Reyssbuch des heiligen Landes* (Frankfurt 1584), 128f.; Johan Graff zu Solms (1483), *ibid.*, 57; B. de Breydenbach (1483-4), *Sancta Peregrinatio* (Spira 1502), no page no.; L. Rauwolf (1573-6), *Aigentliche Beschreibung* (Laugingen 1583), 312; Johan Helffrich (1583), *Kurzer und Wahrhafter Bericht* (Leipzig 1581), D V.; Martin Seusenius (1602/3), *ZDPV* 26 (1903), 23f.; G. Sandys (1610), *A Relation of a Journey* (London 1615), 153;

⁵²¹ Bertrandon de la Brocquière, *le Voyage d'Outremer*, ed. C. Schefer (Paris 1892), 9f.

⁵²² Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae ...* (ed. 1556, repr. in Berlin, no date), 26f.; *PPTS*, vol. i, 1 (London 1892), 224.

⁵²³ Seusenius, loc.cit.

⁵²⁴ B. Lewis, *Necati Lugal Armagani* (1969), 435-46, citing Ottoman documents. In 1525-6 there were 27 households, between 1533-9, 33 households, in 1548, 44. This was followed by a steep decline in 1556-7 when there were only ten left.

Zuallaert, reproduced here (Pl.3).⁵²⁵ In 1651 Doubdan counted thirty or forty poor houses, most of them near the harbour and a few on the hill. The towers were guarded by a few poor Turks and Arabs on behalf of the Pasha of Gaza. The old vaults had collapsed. Doubdan gives a description of the remains of the mediaeval fortifications. He did not succeed in identifying the church.⁵²⁶ In the mid-seventeenth century Franciscan monks established themselves in Jaffa. They first built a shelter for pilgrims which was pulled down,⁵²⁷ but in 1654 the Latin Hospice was founded. Cornelis de Bruyn (1673-83) published good engravings which show a mosque and a few buildings, among them the hospice.⁵²⁸

In the eighteenth century Jaffa recovered somewhat.⁵²⁹ The Ottoman authorities made an effort to enhance security by stationing 100 soldiers under 10 officers with artillery in the old fort which was refurbished (1703).⁵³⁰ This measure failed to suppress the piracy along the coast, but the following decades still saw some increase in trade.⁵³¹ van Egmont and Heyman (1700-1723) write about Jaffa:

'At present this place rather resembles a village than a town; most of its inhabitants are Arabians and live in extreme poverty, except those concerned in the soap and cotton

manufactures.'⁵³²

They stayed in the convent of the Greeks on the shore which 'seems to have been a part of the arsenal for the galleys'. There was also an Armenian convent.

When Richard Pococke arrived at Jaffa there was a Latin convent to receive European pilgrims, said to have been the house of Simon the Tanner.⁵³³ There was a small garrison 'but they are of little use in the country against the Arabs...' Pococke, who visited the country in 1737-40 describes it as a modest export harbour: 'They have a great trade at Joppa in soap which is not only made here, but likewise at Jerusalem, Rama and Lydda, though commonly sold under the name of Joppa soap, and it is from this place that Aegypt is chiefly supplied; it is made of the oyl of olives and ashes. They also export great quantities of cotton in small boats to Acre, to be ship'd off for other parts.'⁵³⁴ In the middle of this century Jaffa had between five and six thousand inhabitants as compared with one thousand in Ramle.⁵³⁵

Jewish travellers, of course, would not find lodging in the Latin convent at Jaffa. R. Jacob bar David Zant therefore built a hostel for them where they could stay up to three days.⁵³⁶ Several Jewish travellers of this period complain about the sum demanded from them upon disembarkation at Jaffa.⁵³⁷ This was a period of official corruption and extortion, depredations in frequent warfare and Bedouin attacks.⁵³⁸ When Niebuhr visited Jaffa in 1766 he counted between four

⁵²⁵ J. Zuallaert (1586), *Le très dévot Voyage de Jerusalem* (Antwerp 1608), Book iii, 3-6, contains one of the better descriptions.

⁵²⁶ J. Doubdan, *Le voyage de la Terre-Sainte* (Paris 1657), 504 f. with an extensive review of the history of the city: 496-504.

⁵²⁷ de Thévenot (1655), *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant* (Paris 1665), i, 416; *Travels* (London 1686), i, 208: 'The Franciscan Friars had made some Rooms there for the convenience of Pilgrims, but they had an *Avanie* put upon them, saying, That they would have built a Fort to Command the Countrey, and all was thrown down again.'

⁵²⁸ Cornelis de Bruyn, *Reyzen door den Levant* (Delft 1698), *Voyage au Levant* (Paris 1714) Chapter 46, 248f. His illustrations give an impression of how much of the Crusader work was still extant.

⁵²⁹ Tolkowsky, 138 ff.; A. Cohen, *Cathedra* 34 (1985), 60-4 (Heb.).

⁵³⁰ Cohen, op.cit., 61f. with nn. 12 and 13.

⁵³¹ Cohen, op.cit., 63.

⁵³² van Egmont and Heyman, *Travels through part of Europe, Asia Minor, the Archipelago, &c.*, (London 1759), 297.

⁵³³ Richard Pococke, *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries*, i-iii (London 1743-48), vol. i, 2.

⁵³⁴ R. Pococke, *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries* (London 1745), ii, 1, p.3. Cf. Cohen, op.cit., 61, n.9, citing French diplomatic correspondence from the beginning of the century.

⁵³⁵ Cohen, op.cit., 63, citing French sources in n.16.

⁵³⁶ R. Simhah from Zalze in Ya'ari, 393.

⁵³⁷ Loc.cit.; R. Moshe the Jerusalemite (1769), *ibid.*, 429, claims Jews avoid Jaffa for this reason, but this apparently was not always the case: see for instance the account of Benjamin from Jerusalem, the Karaites (1785/6), ap. Eizenstein, 215; Ya'ari, op.cit., 467, 475.

⁵³⁸ Extensively described by Tolkowsky, loc.cit.

and five hundred houses with four mosques.⁵³⁹ The harbour was neglected. There were now houses on the citadel and the Crusader castle had almost entirely disappeared. He saw 'two small castles'. Volney, who visited the town in 1783, says that 'as a sea-port and fortified town Jaffa is nothing, but it has the potential of developing into one of the most interesting places on the coast'.⁵⁴⁰ He notes its water supply and thinks the harbour could be improved. At that time some imports passed through the town: rice sent on to Jerusalem, merchandise handled by a French agent in Ramle, and pilgrims. Exports included spun cotton from all over Palestine. However, the local garrison consisted of thirty cavalry and infantry 'who barely sufficed to guard the two bad harbours and keep away the Arabs'. Volney notes that the vicinity of Jaffa had been pleasant, with large olive trees all around, but all had been destroyed in two recent sieges.⁵⁴¹ This was followed by another siege, that of Napoleon in 1799.

The development of Jaffa during the nineteenth century into an active port and a substantial city does not concern us here.⁵⁴²

Archaeological Evidence

The periods of occupation described above in the written sources are all attested by archaeological excavations. However, in spite of the importance of the site and the relatively large scale of the excavations carried out, no final report on the finds has been published so far.⁵⁴³ A brief summary of the available information is offered here. For reasons of space we cannot give readings of all inscriptions as we do for most sites.

Clermont-Ganneau is the first who provides information on the antiquities of the town.⁵⁴⁴ He publishes various items from the Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and Crusader periods. Among these several

fragments of Hellenistic stamped amphora handles and various inscriptions are particularly noteworthy. However, Clermont-Ganneau points out that many of the marble slabs, columns and inscriptions found in Jaffa in secondary use as building material came from Caesarea, from Acre, or even from Cyprus. It is therefore difficult to attribute such objects to any specific town. On the other hand, the Jewish funeral inscriptions from the cemetery of Abu Kabir which he was the first to publish are most important. Some of these were taken to various museums in Europe but returned to the Jaffa Museum a few years ago. The cemetery was later surveyed and partly excavated by J. Kaplan who confirmed the dating and typology, proposed by Clermont-Ganneau (1st - 5th century AD).⁵⁴⁵

Systematic excavations have been carried out since 1948, at all times subject to the restrictions imposed by the urban environment of Jaffa and Tel-Aviv.⁵⁴⁶ In 1948-50 and 1952 the first large scale dig was undertaken down to virgin soil.⁵⁴⁷ From 1955 J. Kaplan, sometimes with H. Kaplan, carried out various excavations in the town. Only a few brief notes and general descriptions have been published.⁵⁴⁸ It is clear that the occupation of the area of Jaffa did not follow a uniform pattern, but settlement concentrated in various places in different periods. As already noted, in the Roman and Byzantine periods the Jewish cemetery was at Abu Kabir, east-south-east of the town, while the gentile population was buried in the area of the Square of the Clock Tower, to the north-east.⁵⁴⁹ The following periods have been attested in the excavations according to the notes published by Kaplan:

I. Middle Bronze Age II (18th century BC to first half of the 16th century BC): The first enclosure dates from this period. Fortifications with *glacis*.

⁵⁴⁵ J. Kaplan, *IEJ* 24 (1974), 137f.; *EAEHL* ii, 534.

⁵⁴⁶ Plan: H. and J. Kaplan, *EAEHL* ii, 532 which omits area J in the south of the town and area Y (near St. Peter's Church).

⁵⁴⁷ P.L.O. Guy, J. Bowman and B.S.J. Isserlin, on behalf of the Department of Antiquities and the University of Leeds: Bowman, Isserlin and K. Rowe, *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical Society* 7 (1955), 231-50.

⁵⁴⁸ J. Kaplan, *The Archaeology and History of Tel-Aviv - Jaffa* (1959, Heb.); *Archaeology* 17/2 (1964), 270-6; *IEJ* 20 (1970), 225f.; 24 (1974), 135-8; *EAEHL*, loc.cit.

⁵⁴⁹ Kaplan, *EAEHL* ii, 534.

⁵³⁹ C. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung* iii (1837), 41.

⁵⁴⁰ C.-F. Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Égypte* (Paris 1787) ii, 302-6, esp. 305.

⁵⁴¹ For these sieges, see Cohen, *op.cit.*, 63.

⁵⁴² A recent study: R. Kark, *Jaffa -- A City in Evolution 1799-1917* (Jerusalem 1984, Heb.); also: Tokowsky, 153-63.

⁵⁴³ A summary: Hava and J. Kaplan, *EAEHL*, ii (1976), 533-40.

⁵⁴⁴ *Archaeological Researches*, ii, 130-148. Guérin, *Judee* i, 5-22, is not of interest in this respect.

2. *Late Bronze Age I* (Second half of the 16th to the end of the 15th century BC): The finds from this period include stone foundations and mud-brick walls with bichrome and monochrome Cypriot ware.

3. *Late Bronze Age II-B* (14th century BC): This period is represented by various buildings including a silo.

4. *Late Bronze Age II-A* (13th century and the first half of the 12th): To this period belongs a town gate from the reign of Ramses II.

5. *Iron Age*: This period is represented by finds of stone walls (8th century).

6. *Persian Period* (5th-4th cent. BC): Kaplan reports a wall of dressed masonry and great quantities of Attic pottery.

7. *Hellenistic Period* (particularly the 3rd century). From this period are the remains of a watchtower in Area A and a fragment of a Greek inscription in honour of Ptolemy IV Philopator (222-205)⁵⁵⁰ Many stamped amphora-handles are reported to have been found. If published these could contribute a good deal to our knowledge of the chronology and economy of the period.

8. *Hasmonaeen period* (second half of the 2nd century - 1st century BC). Despite the importance of Jaffa as the port city of Jerusalem only sporadic finds have been recorded from this period such as the remains of a wall in area A, a few isolated tombs dating to the reign of Alexander Jannaeus, (beginning of the first century BC),⁵⁵¹ and a hoard of coins from this period.⁵⁵²

9. *Herodian - Early Roman Period* (late 1st

⁵⁵⁰ B. Lifshitz, *ZDPV* 78 (1962), 82-4; Kaplan, *Archaeology* 17/2 (1964), 274, photograph; Boffo, *Iscrizione greche e latine* (1994), 61-5; SEG 20, 467.

⁵⁵¹ Kaplan, *IEJ* 24 (1974), 137f.

⁵⁵² A. Kindler, *IEJ* 4 (1954), 170-185. North of Jaffa and to the East, J. Kaplan claims to have found remains of a line of defence reportedly constructed by Alexander Jannaeus: Josephus *Ant* xiii 15,1 (389-91); *BJ* i 4,7 (99f.). It is by no means clear, however, that the two structures excavated were part of a line of defence: Kaplan, *Roman Frontier Studies* 1967 (1971), 201-5. The story told by Josephus is at least partly imaginary. As observed by B. Bar-Kochva, *Judas Maccabaeus* (1989), 458, n.27, it would have been futile to dig a trench south of and parallel to the Yarkon river.

century BC - late 1st century AD). This period is attested mainly in area C, near the harbour,⁵⁵³ and in area J.⁵⁵⁴ Remains of a house were uncovered, with rich finds such as *terra sigillata*, a bread or cheese stamp bearing the name Ariston in Greek, and coins. The building was later abandoned, perhaps in the First Revolt.

10. *Roman Period* (2nd - 3rd cent.). Houses in area C destroyed by fire date from this period.⁵⁵⁵ The stamp of the *agoranomos* Ioudas, mentioned above, was found here. Kaplan also refers to a coin hoard which has remained unpublished.⁵⁵⁶ He speculates that the destruction may have taken place during the revolt in the last years of Trajan's reign ('The War of Quietus'). As already noted, Jaffa issued coinage under Elagabalus (218-222).

11. *The Late Roman and Byzantine Periods*

This appears to have been a period of expansion. In area C three occupation-levels were encountered from the fourth to the seventh centuries containing substantial buildings with mosaics.⁵⁵⁷ The most significant feature of this period, however, are the cemeteries already mentioned. According to Kaplan, the Jewish cemetery at Abu Kabir extended over an area of almost 100 dunams (25 acres), which would make it one of the largest of the period known at present.

12. *Early Muslim Period*.

The Early Muslim Period is attested in all the excavated areas, but the brief notes published do not give any impression of the nature of the remains.

13. *Crusader Period*

While it is clear from the literary record that Jaffa was a prosperous town and an important harbour the archaeological remains are scanty as a result of the destruction in the subsequent periods. Clermont-Ganneau published a number of inscriptions and architectural fragments from this period, but he himself observes that these may have been brought from Caesarea in a later period.

⁵⁵³ Kaplan, *EAEHL* ii, 540.

⁵⁵⁴ Kaplan, *Archaeology* 17/2 (1964), 276; *IEJ* 20 (1970), 225.

⁵⁵⁵ Kaplan, *Archaeology*, loc.cit.

⁵⁵⁶ Kaplan, loc.cit.

⁵⁵⁷ Kaplan, *EAEHL* ii, 540.

14. *Mameluke Period*

Remains of this period occur everywhere in the town, but have not been investigated or recorded properly.

To sum up, while information on the history of the town, particularly in the post-classical periods is comparatively plentiful, the archaeological reports are so uneven that it is impossible to offer a history of the site and its development, particularly for the early periods. It can be said, however, that Jaffa was an important harbour city whenever Jerusalem prospered and this appears to be reflected in the archaeological remains as well.

76. **Kh. Jifna** 1603.1418

AS Benjamin: site no. 141, p. 141 (hebr.), 28*: '5 dunams, a central building with agro-industrial installations (oil-press) and a large amount of water cisterns (10). Pottery divided among Hellenistic (13%) Roman (a few sherds) and Byzantine (82%).' This corresponds with our impression during a visit to the site. The site is described by Y. Shahar and Y. Tepper in Appendix I to Part II.

77. **Kh. al Jubeia** 1640.1330

This is an ancient site south of the old road from Qaluniya to Qastal (fig. 17). It is mentioned by the *SWP*, iii, 116 which records 'traces of ruins'.

C. Schick visited the site and describes it as 'the site of an ancient city now used as a vineyard'. He saw several fragments of oil-presses, some of them *in situ*, and fragments of ancient mills. His description suggests that the remains belonged to the well known type of agricultural settlements of the Byzantine period. The files of the *D.A.M.* (1929) record: 'a camp of ruins of buildings, a press, piers and cisterns'.

This may be a Byzantine settlement.

78. **Kh. al Judeira** 1588.1416

This is an ancient site, two and a half kilometres east of Beit Liqva on the road to Beit Inan and al Qubeiba (fig. 18).

SWP, iii, 116, s.v. Kh. el Jedeir records: 'Foundations and pillar shafts'. Baramki mentions the site in a report (31-10-1928) and refers to the same finds as the *SWP*, adding a mosaic floor.

Bagatti, *el-Qubeibeh*, p. 209, mentions

numerous cisterns, caves and foundations of what may have been a church. He saw white, red and green tesserae and so-called 'candelabra' oil-lamps and a coin of Constantinus. These finds support Bagatti's suggestion of a Byzantine date. We visited the site on 8-2-1983 and observed remains of column bases and marble pieces reused in the terraces; arcosolia tombs, typical of the Byzantine period.

AS Benjamin, Site No. 136, p. 27*: 'Ruin; buildings; cisterns; oval reservoir; traces of steps; terrace walls; tesserae; burial caves to west of ruin; traces of building at 15840.14125. remains of column bases and marble pieces reused in the terraces; arcosolia tombs, typical of the Byzantine period. P(?) - two sherds; Hell-8%; Rom-14%; Byz-73%; EIs-3%; 150 sherds.'

The site is Roman and, particularly, Byzantine, while earlier material is represented.

79. **Kabbara** 1623.1341

This is a prominent hill near Dir el Banat, south of the modern road to Jerusalem and north of the ancient road. *SWP*, iii, 102 records: 'Kebâra, large heaps of stones on a knoll above the main road; perhaps, as the name signifies, an ancient kiln.' Clermont-Ganneau, *AR*, ii, 57, notes a tomb hollowed out in the rock.

When visiting the site (on 23-3-1984) we found the top of the hill entirely built over by a house with its gardens. We saw no ancient remains, but observed traces of the Roman road nearby. On German air photos made in 1917 traces very similar to those on the hill east of Ein Hemed may be distinguished (Pl. 31).

80. **Kh. al-Kafira** 1602.1375

This is a large site (15 dunams), far from the roads studied in the present work. It was occupied mainly in the Iron Age. Cf. *AS Benjamin*, Site No. 263, p. 41*; 209-211 (Heb.), photo, pottery (see also frontispiece).

81. **Kh. Kafr Rasiya** 1542.1411

We have not visited this site. It is listed in *AS Benjamin*, No. 124, p. 26*: 'ruin; coloured tesserae; agricultural installations; cisterns; burial caves; wine-presses in cave; oil-press vat and beam at foot of slope; ossuary fragment. Rom-2 sherds; byz-75%; EIs-22%; 130 sherds.' The pottery then is clearly Byzantine and Early Islamic. The fragment of an ossuary and few Roman sherds seem to point to a tomb of the Herodian

period which may have been connected with a farmstead, as often. This was overbuilt by the Byzantine period and reused by the Muslims.

82. Kh. Kafr Rut (Kh. Kafr Lut) 1540.1457
(Fig.6; Pl.41)

This is an ancient site on a hill not far from el Burj (Tittora, see the relevant entry). It controls both the main road between Modi'in and Beit Horon and the other ancient road which approaches Jerusalem over the Jifna ascent (see Part II, Appendix I).

Ancient Sources

1. Madaba Map: KA[...EPOYTA. This has been plausibly restored as KA[ΦAP] EPOYTA.⁵⁵⁸
2. The site is mentioned again in a number of documents of the Crusader period, which confirm that the Patriarch of Jerusalem granted the Church of the Holy Sepulchre possession of a number of villages between Lydda and Beit Horon: Git(h), Porphilia/Porphiria (i.e. Barfilya), Kefre(s)cilta (Shilta), and Capharuth/ Capharut.⁵⁵⁹ The latest reference is in a privilege from 1171.⁵⁶⁰

Credit for the identification of the site goes, as so often, to Clermont-Ganneau who was informed 'that Kefer Rût was also called Kefer Lût, "the Village of Lot". I had questioned him (a local man) as to this locality, because I identified it, rightly as I think, with the Cafaruth of the Crusaders.'⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵⁸ See H. Donner, *ZDPV* 81 (1965), 44-46. Donner carefully checked the mosaic following an attempt by K. Elliger, *ZDPV* 73 (1957), 125-128, to read [BE]EPOYTA (i.e. Beeroth). See also R.T. O'Callaghan, *Biblica* 32 (1951), 57-64. Donner's reading supersedes those of Kuhl and Meinhold, *PJb* 25 (1929), 110 f.: K[...EPOYTA, and of M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 5 (1936), 154; *EI* 2 (1953), 148; K[...EPOYTA. Avi-Yonah follows C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, ii, 1898, 169.

⁵⁵⁹ E. de Rozière, *Cartulaire*, no.26, 49 = Röhrich, *Regesta*, no.165, 41 (AD 1136); de Rozière, no.53, 100 from 1155, where Castellum Arnaldi is also mentioned (see entry on Yalu); no.144, 265 (1164); in the same document, 266, reference is made to the 'casalia Cafaruth et vetus Bethor' (i.e. Beit Horon); similarly: no.165, 279 (1167).

⁵⁶⁰ de Rozière, *Cartulaire*, no.181, 323 = Röhrich, *Regesta*, no.490, 129.

⁵⁶¹ *Archaeological Researches*, ii, 472.

Archaeological Remains

SWP, iii, 103 records: 'Remains of ancient ruins, extending over a considerable area... There are stones belonging to an ancient olive-press 7 feet high, 3 feet cross section, with grooves down the sides. There are foundations of good-sized masonry.'

The files of the *D.A.M.* contain a note by Baramki on the site: 'extensive ruins, foundations, ruined walls, caves, cisterns and a buried building to the south.' In a letter written in 1933 Baramki adds a correction: 'Kh. Huriyeh is identical with Kafr Rut. I have erroneously called it Kh. Huriyeh. Huriyeh is about half a kilometre north of Kafr Rut.'

The site was visited again by C. Kuhl and W. Meinhold.⁵⁶² These two scholars were interested in road-stations and they visited Kafr Rut because the occurrence of the site on the Madaba Map led them to believe that there was a road-station there. They mention a substantial wall at the northern edge of the site, running parallel to the road. The wall may have been ancient, but there is no evidence whatever that it belonged to a road-station.

The Survey of 1967 mentions the site together with Kh. Huriyeh: 'two neighbouring sites on top of a larger site of c. 30 dunam. Remains of many buildings of both dressed and unworked masonry. Part of the area is now under cultivation. Pottery: Roman, Byzantine, Mediaeval, Ottoman'.⁵⁶³

AS Benjamin, No. 10, p.14* (M.R. 15410.14585), 'Kh. Kafr Lut; 5 dunams. Domed building on top of moderate hill; dressed stones incorporated in terraces; cisterns. Hell and Rom-8% Byz-24%; Els-6%; Med-37%; Ott-15%; 62 sherds.'; 36 (Heb.). Note also the description of the neighbouring, possibly connected site No. 5, at M.R. 15385. 14570, p.14*: 'Traces of buildings on hilltop; terraces; cisterns; burial caves. Byz-the majority; Els 15 sherds.'; p.33 (Heb.). Site 5 seems to have been a continuation of site 10, containing mainly cisterns and tombs as found often at the edge of Byzantine villages.

M. Fischer, with a team from the Department of Classics of the Tel Aviv University, carried out a survey and excavations at Kafr Rut and neighbouring sites in February 1980. Foundations of strong walls on the top of the hill were interpreted as belonging to a fortified farmstead which controlled the fields in the

⁵⁶² 'Römische Strassen und Strassenstationen in der Umgebung von Jerusalem, ii' *PJb* 25 (1929), 113 f. Pl.2,2.

⁵⁶³ *Survey 1967*, 235, no.231.

neighbourhood. Rock-cut tombs and agricultural installations were also observed. The pottery found on the site was assigned to the Byzantine, Early Islamic, Crusader, and Mameluke periods.

We visited the site again in 1984 and found the remains of a building on the top of the hill. All its walls are clearly visible. In addition we noted rock-hewn installations, cisterns and oil-presses. Only the Late Mediaeval or Ottoman wely is entirely preserved. The pottery finds confirmed the results of the previous survey with Byzantine, Early Islamic, Crusader (strongly represented) and a few Mameluke sherds. It must be emphasized that material from the Second Temple and Roman periods is completely absent. See also the description of the subterranean hide-out in Appendix II to the Gazetteer, below. The site has many Byzantine remains, some Early Islamic, many Crusader remains, and few remains of the Mameluke period. It should be noted that the periods which are well represented through pottery are also those which have left us a written record regarding the site.

83. Kh. Kefrata (Kefar Tab, thus erroneously on modern maps; Kh. esh Sheikh Suleiman; Nababta)⁵⁶⁴ 1461.1430

For extensive discussion of the name and identification of the site, see the entry on Daniyal. Here it will suffice to repeat that the usual identification of this site with a village named Kafr Tab and hence with ancient Ein Tab or Kefar Tavi is erroneous and misleading. This is an ancient site on the edge of the slopes which descend to Nahal Ayalon, opposite Qubab. Vegetation is extremely dense throughout the year and survey without clearing the site is, as a consequence, virtually impossible. The site has never been seriously studied.

SWP, iii, 117, s.v. Khurbet Kefrata records: "Modern ruins of a village with a Kubbeh. Rock-cut cisterns and vaults with round arches. [Note:] This place is called Kefr Tab on some maps, but special inquiry in 1881 showed the Survey spelling to be correct." The Survey Map shows both 'Kh. Kefrata' and the wely of 'Sheikh Suleiman'.

Clermont-Ganneau, *AR*, ii, 482 writes: 'I passed by Kefertâ or Kefr Tâ, a ruined spot on a hill that is surmounted by the sanctuary of Sheikh S'limân. M. de Saulcy thinks he has grounds for identifying it with the Kephâr Tab of the Talmud, but mistakenly in my opinion...'

⁵⁶⁴ This site is not to be confused with Kh. esh Sheikh Suleiman, G.R. 1520.1418.

The files of the *D.A.M.* of 1929 refer to Kh. Kufrata (Kh. esh Sh. Suleiman), ignoring the name of Kafr Tab: 'Vaulted rooms, ruined walls, rock-cut cisterns, rock cuttings.'

We visited the site twice, at different seasons (in February 1985 and in October 1985). We saw the features mentioned in the *D.A.M.* files and a number of ruined buildings grouped around the Moslem sanctuary. The architecture gave the impression of being Late Mediaeval or Ottoman. We could discern two phases of construction, but it was not clear which was earlier. At the edge of the site the pottery seems to be exclusively Byzantine. It is possible that this represents the earliest period of occupation of the site.

The site comprises mediaeval ruins; Byzantine sherds are present down the hill-side.

84. Kh. al Kunaiyisa (el Keniseh) 1461.1440

This is a large ruined village between 'Annaba and Kefrata.

Literary Sources

An endowment deed from 1552 mentions 'the whole village of al-Kanisa in the Ramleh sub-district'.⁵⁶⁵ As noted in the entry on Daniyal, any place with a church could have had this name (e.g. the place between Yehudieh and Lydda, *SWP*, map sheet xiii, Qi) and the topography is not very clear, so we cannot be certain that the present village is meant, but it is certainly a possibility.

SWP, iii, 103 records: 'Foundations and traces of ruins'. Clermont-Ganneau writes: 'Here were numerous ruins scattered over a plateau strewn with ancient potsherds, also caverns and tombs cut out in the rock'⁵⁶⁶ while he mentions a reservoir on p.473.

A. Shavit noticed pre-Hellenistic, Herodian, Early Islamic and Crusader sherds.⁵⁶⁷

We visited the site on 10-9-1985 and noted that the majority of the remains belong to the Late Ottoman period. However, remains of oil-presses and quarries and the pottery we collected show that the site was occupied in the Byzantine period.

⁵⁶⁵ St.H. Stephan, *QDAP* 10(1944), 184.

⁵⁶⁶ *Archaeological Researches*, ii, 482.

⁵⁶⁷ A. Shavit, *The Ayalon Valley and its Vicinity during the Bronze and Iron Ages* (MA thesis, Tel Aviv, 1992), 106f.

The site was occupied in the Byzantine and Ottoman periods.

85. **Kh. Kureikur** 1535.1475

This is a hill with an area of 900 m. x 300 m. which dominates the countryside south of Nahal Modi'in, about one kilometre north of the Roman road near Kh. Kafr Rut. A saddle divides the hill into two parts. The western part forms a sort of natural acropolis, while the eastern part is occupied by the ancient settlement and its installations.

SWP, ii, 337, s.v. Kh. Kureisinnah records: 'Traces of ruins'. Baramki visited the site on 17-12-1932 and reported seeing ruins of two buildings, foundations and rock-cut cisterns. Kochavi, *Survey* 1967, 235, no.229, mentions building stones in secondary use in field-walls and Roman and Byzantine pottery.

AS Benjamin, No.7, p. 14*, M.R. 15350.14750; 3.5 dunams. ruin on moderate hill; cisterns; oil-press (?); caves; quarries. P-13%; Hell-23%; Rom-13%; Byz-32% Med-6%; 31 sherds; pp. 33-5 (Heb.). The eastern part of the hill is listed under No. 8, J.R. 15380.14730; 2.5 dunams. Scatter of sherds. Byz, 14 sherds. Fischer, during his survey and excavations (below), did not find remains of the Persian period, nor are these represented on fig. 35 in AS Benjamin.

M. Fischer, with a team from the Department of Classics of Tel Aviv University, carried out a survey and excavations at Kafr Rut and neighbouring sites in February 1980, which included the present site. On the western part of the hill a few buildings and a large wine-press were seen. The pottery was almost exclusively Byzantine. On the saddle of the hill was a large building, measuring 30 by 10 m. It was divided into smaller rooms. The pottery found here was mainly Herodian. The function of the structure is not clear. The eastern part of the site was marked by extensive ancient quarries, wine-presses and tombs. Sarcophagi and components of oil-presses were clearly produced on the spot. The tombs are typical of the Byzantine period. On the northern slope of the hill are a number of rock-cut tombs with loculi. This type of tomb and the pottery picked up suggest a Herodian date.

In August 1983 H. Hizmi undertook a salvage excavation.⁹⁸ He reports finding a farmhouse from the Byzantine period with several rooms, a semicircular

courtyard and a cistern. Some of the Byzantine sherds were decorated with a cross. Note also the description of the subterranean hide-out on the site in the Appendix to the Gazetteer, below. When visiting the site in July 1984 we found most of the ancient site destroyed.

Different parts of the site appear to have been occupied at different times in the Herodian, Byzantine and Early Islamic periods.

86. **Kh. al Kurum** 1680.1365

This is an ancient site, about 300 m. south-east of Kh. el Burj, near Nabi Samwil. The ancient road from Nabi Samwil passed over the saddle between Kh. el Burj and Kh. el Kurum. The site is not listed in the files of the D.A.M. from 1929.

Bagatti, *el Qubeibeh*, p.229, refers to undetermined walls, Iron Age pottery and a coin of John Hyrcanus. We visited the site on 6-6-1985 and saw remains of ancient terraces, quarries and rock-cut tombs. The pottery was Iron Age and Byzantine. The site appears to have been occupied in the Iron Age and Byzantine periods.

87. **Kh. al Latatin** 1660.1417

This is a large site adjoining the ancient Beit Horon - Jerusalem road, where the ancient route to el Bireh branched off to the north-east. The site lies at the eastern point of the watershed between Wadi et Taka and Wadi Selman (fig.10).

The first traveller to record the site was Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, ii (third ed., London 1867), p.256. From Robinson's careful description of the location it is clear that he saw the site under discussion. As he saw it before the team of the SWP found it overgrown with a vineyard it is of some interest that he identified the remains as those of a village rather than a public building, let alone a road-station. SWP, iii, p.118 records traces of ruins.

G. Dalman, *PJb* 8 (1913), p.18 f. notes that the name of the place means 'lime-ovens'. He found at least one of those on the spot. In the western part of the site he saw a straight wall, 41.60 m. long. Further to the east was a rock-cut tank measuring 11 m. x 8.65 m. x 3 m. and, a little further away still, the ruins of a tower. Alt visited the site in 1926 and proposed identifying it with *To Ennaton*, although he noticed that it is several hundred metres away from the spot where

⁹⁸ H. Hizmi, *LA* 42 (1992), 289-96; cf. AS Benjamin, No. 8, 33f.

the ninth milestone should be.⁵⁶⁹

The site was studied by Kuhl and Meinhold.⁵⁷⁰ In the western part of the site they apparently saw a little more: an area of about 100 m. x 30 m. enclosed by a wall about 1.10 m. broad, with an entrance 4.50 m. wide formed by two walls which project inwards. They did not find any interior walls. Further east they give different measurements for the tank: 12 m. x 11 m. x 2.70 m. They also observed the tower which was 6.60 m. square with walls 1.60 m. thick.

Kallai, *Survey 1967*, p. 181, no. 112 refers to foundations and field walls. A hundred metres east of the site he notes one building of 12.5 m. x 15.5 m. next to a cistern, a pillar and rock-cut water reservoir, partly built, partly hewn from the rock. He reports collecting potsherds, some from the Persian period, but mostly from the Byzantine period.

AS Benjamin, Site No. 60, p. 19*: '4 dunams. Ruin: large building around cistern; scattered sherds. Rom-18%; Byz-76%; Els(?)4%; Med-single sherd; 68 sherds.' Cf. p. 60 (Heb.).

We visited the site several times, including 24-2-1983. In addition to the remains observed by earlier scholars, we saw the remains of a substantial building with a half-buried column in the eastern part of the site. This may have been a public building, perhaps identical with the building and column noted by Kallai. The site is rich in mosaic tesserae and the pottery is predominantly Byzantine and Early Islamic.

The Persian, Roman, Byzantine and Early Islamic periods are represented at the site. Byzantine material predominates.

Kh. al Latatin = TO ENNATON?

Dalman, in the notes cited above, writes: 'From [the existence of] these ruins it may be concluded that there was a road-fort (Strassenkastell) here in the Roman period. We may suppose that this was TO ENNATON of the Madaba Map.' He derives his conclusion that this was a road-station from a rather vague consideration of the local topography. It is indeed true that the site lay some nine Roman miles from Jerusalem.

Kuhl and Meinhold did not, in fact, produce any further evidence in favour of this theory, even though Alt claims that these two scholars clarified the

origin of the site as a road-station.⁵⁷¹ While we found their sketch plan of the site to be correct, their interpretation is by no means convincing. As in the case of Kh. el Hawanit (TO TETAPTON) these speculations have been uncritically accepted as facts in more recent publications.⁵⁷² As we have pointed out in our discussion of the latter site, it is by no means certain that these two road-stations marked on the Madaba Map really lay on the Beit Horon road. There is much to say for Abel's arguments in favour of sites on the road via Abu Ghosh.⁵⁷³

The ruins seen at the site do not justify any firm conclusions as to the character and function of the structures. It is no more than a possibility that this was a Byzantine road-station.

88. Latrun (Le Toron des Chevaliers)

(Fig. 12; Pl. 49)

1484.1375

This is a ruined Crusader fortress overlooking the Valley of Ayalon, 1.2 km. south-west of Imwas (Emmaus). It was an important stronghold in the period of the Crusades and is mentioned very frequently in the literary sources. Lying on the southern edge of the same ridge as Castellum Arnaldi it formed its natural complement: while the latter was a post on the road from Beit Nuba to al Qubeibah, the fort at Latrun controlled the road to Bab el-Wad.

Literary Sources

The earliest written reference to Latrun, as opposed to neighbouring Emmaus/Nicopolis, may be in the work of the Persian Muslim pilgrim Nassiri Khosrau, who mentions passing 'Khatoun' on his way from Ramle to Qariyet al-'Inab.⁵⁷⁴ This would have been in the mid-eleventh century. According to another view the place is not mentioned until the

⁵⁷¹ *PJb* 24 (1928), p. 15.

⁵⁷² See for instance M. Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer* (1976), p. 102; *TIR*, s.v. To Ennaton, p. 251.

⁵⁷³ *Oriens Christianus* NS 11 (1911), pp. 77-82. See the entries on Motza and Abu Ghosh, below.

⁵⁷⁴ Nassiri Khosrau, *Sefer Nameh*, p. 19; French translation by C. Schefer, 1881, p. 654; for the identification with Latrun, *ibid.* n. 1. This identification was first suggested by Clermont-Garneau, *Archaeological Researches*, i, p. 494, n. 2. F.-M. Abel and L.-H. Vincent, *Emmaüs, sa basilique et son histoire*, p. 364 f. believe another site is meant, Kh. Hatuleh, north of the road, near Bab el Wad. There is no proof for either proposal.

⁵⁶⁹ *PJb* 23 (1927), p. 25 f.

⁵⁷⁰ *PJb* 25 (1929), pp. 115-117, Pl. I, 3, 4-5.

twelfth century. Abel and Vincent assume that the various Arabic forms: en-Natrun, Latrun, el-Latrun, all derive from the Medieval 'toron, touron', Latin 'turo', an isolated hill.⁵⁷⁵ It occurs again in the work of Benjamin of Tudela (1160-1173): 'From there it is five parasangs to Bein Gavrin (*sic*, i.e. Beit Guvrin), ancient Maresha, where there are only three Jews. From there it is five parasangs to Toron de los Gaballeros which is Shunem and there are three hundred Jews there and from there it is three parasangs to Samuel de Silo...' ⁵⁷⁶

Abel and Vincent assume that the fortress was also named Castellum Arnulfi. In the work of Albert d Aix this is described as a fortress built in a prominent spot near Jerusalem at the border of the hill-country, in order to protect the region. In 1107 it was captured by the people of Ascalon who besieged Ramle.⁵⁷⁷ The walls were then destroyed. The identification is likely but not proved.

Yaqut's lexicon (thirteenth century) lists Al Atrun as 'a town near Ramlah in the Filastin Province.'⁵⁷⁸

Muslim authors record that in 1187 Saladin remained in Ascalon until the surrender of Ghazzah, en Natrun, Beit Djibril, towns which belonged to the Templars.⁵⁷⁹

The castle is mentioned frequently in connection with Saladin's campaign in 1191/2 when the primary issue was control of the routes from the coastal plain to Jerusalem. 'Imad al-Din, Saladin's private secretary, writes: 'The Sultan...encamped on a high hill besides al-Natrun, a fortress which pleases the mind and the eyes, and he gave orders to destroy it and

this was done.'⁵⁸⁰ Abu Shama writes about the same events: 'The sultan went to al-Natrun and encamped on a high hill. Natrun is a fortress which belonged to the Templars, but after it had been taken its walls and fortifications were ruined. The Sultan ordered them to be destroyed completely.'⁵⁸¹ Baha' al-Din explains why Saladin encamped at Latrun and not in the plain: his pack-animals needed to forage and if they had been allowed to do so in the plain near Ramle they would have been too close to the Franks who might then have carried them off.⁵⁸² The 'Itinerarium ... Regis Ricardi' quotes a letter from Saladin to his brother ordering the destruction of places which might serve the Franks as bases of operation. This included Toron.⁵⁸³

In December of the same year King Richard occupied the fortress for a while. He gave it up after three weeks because of great difficulties in bringing supplies. 'The Muslims did not cease to have the advantage over the enemy as long as he stayed at Natrun. They robbed the merchants on the roads and succeeded in capturing a great caravan which the Franks failed to regain.'⁵⁸⁴

In June of the following year the crusaders advanced again in preparation for an assault on Jerusalem which failed to be realized. They made their camps at Blanchegarde (Tell es-Safiyah, Tel Tsafit) and Latrun.⁵⁸⁵ The king moved ahead and planted his tent at Castellum Arnaldi. After a short time, however, it was realized that a siege of Jerusalem in summer would not be prudent and the Crusaders withdrew to the coastal road. Saladin followed, descending from Jib to Beit Nuba and thence to Ramle. He intended to besiege Jaffa, was repulsed and withdrew to Latrun.⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁷⁵ L.-H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Emmaüs, sa basilique et son histoire* (1932), 363-365 for extensive discussion of the name.

⁵⁷⁶ Benjamin of Tudela 45, ed. Adler, p.29. The reference to Toron derives from MSS REA. Adler excludes it from his text and mentions it only in the critical apparatus.

⁵⁷⁷ Albert d'Aix, x 14, *RHC Occ.*, iv, p.637: 'Hanc quippe victoriam Ascalonitae adepti...in terminos Ramnes reversi sunt in tubis et bucinis, in superbia magna castellum Arnulfi obsidentes, quod versus Iherusalem in montanis, ad regionem tuendam, jussu catholici regis muris et moenibus aedificatum prominebat.' See Vincent and Abel, *op.cit.*, p.362 f.

⁵⁷⁸ Yaqut, i, p.310.

⁵⁷⁹ 'Imad al Din, *RHC Or.*, iv, p.313. Baha' ed Din, *ibid.*, iii, p.99.

⁵⁸⁰ 'Imad al-Din, ed. Landberg (Leiden 1888), p.391.

⁵⁸¹ Abu Shama, *RHC Or.*, v 45. See also: Ibn al-Athir, *RHC Or.*, iia, p.52; *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* (ed. Stubbs), p.368 f.

⁵⁸² Baha' al-Din, *RHC Or.*, iii p.270 f.

⁵⁸³ *Itinerarium ... Regis Ricardi*, ed. Stubbs (London 1864), iv 23, p.280.

⁵⁸⁴ 'Imad el Din, *RHC Or.*, v, p.49.

⁵⁸⁵ *It. Reg. Ric.* v.49 (Stubbs, p.368f.); Ambrose, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte* ed. G. Paris, 1897, p.437; Abu Shama, *RHC Or.*, v, p.54.

⁵⁸⁶ Baha' al-Din, *RHC Or.*, iii, p.322 f. See also the entry on Beit Dagan in the Gazetteer. Cf. *RHC Or.*, v, p.75.

In September of 1192 a treaty was concluded and the two armies met at Latrun. A group of Muslim soldiers went for supplies to Jaffa, while large numbers of the Franks went up to Jerusalem as pilgrims, according to Baha' al-Din.⁵⁸⁷ On 23 September 1192 Saladin moved from Latrun to Nabi Samwil to visit his brother there.⁵⁸⁸

The same source informs us that the trip from Latrun to Jaffa could be made in two long, or three normal marches.⁵⁸⁹

In the following period Latrun served as the seat of a governor.⁵⁹⁰ In the course of the thirteenth century it was repeatedly used as base for operations.⁵⁹¹

In these centuries Latrun came to be identified with Modi'in, the home-town of the Hasmonaeans. The first occurrence of this identification seems to be in Fulcher of Chartre's 'History of the Expedition to Jerusalem' (AD 1127): 'From Lydda the troops marched in one day to the fortress named Emmaus which is next to Modin, the city of the Maccabees.'⁵⁹² William of Tyre describes the castle of Emmaus — later named Nicopolis — as lying halfway between Jerusalem and the sea. To him it was Emmaus of Luke, but 'also Modim the happy fort of the Holy Maccabees.' Nobe and Diospolis are mentioned in the same passage.⁵⁹³ Vincent and Abel point out that it was attractive to the Templars at Toron to site both Emmaus and Modi'in at their castle, since the Hospitallers laid claims to both holy places, siting Emmaus at Abu Ghosh and Modi'in at their castle at Zova. Robinson still believed that this tradition was

based on fact.⁵⁹⁴

Clermont-Ganneau made an interesting discovery in this connection.⁵⁹⁵ There are two Muslim shrines, respectively south and north of Imwas, named Sheikh Mu'al and Sheikh 'Obeid. At some stage these came to be identified with two famous generals at the time of the siege of Imwas who were then thought of as victims of the plague there, even though one of them was, in fact, buried across the Jordan. In Clermont-Ganneau's time the sanctuaries were still very much revered. However, as noted by Abel and Vincent, to the Christian Crusaders these became the tombs of the Maccabees, as appears from later accounts by Christians who were pleased to find Muslims respecting the sanctity of the Maccabees.⁵⁹⁶

For pilgrims in later centuries, misunderstanding the French origin of the name, Latrun became the home of 'the good thief' (Latro), who was crucified together with Jesus. Thus he appears first in the account of Denis Possot who visited the Holy Land in 1532: From Ramleh 'we travelled ten miles along a rather good road till the Castle of the Good Thief which is on the first hill of the desert. It is big but ruined...'⁵⁹⁷ Pietro della Valle was there in 1616 and saw the remains of ancient churches (at Imwas?).⁵⁹⁸ It became one of the regular sites for pilgrims. J.D. Doubdan (who travelled in 1651-52) was rather bewildered that a robber could have had such a splendid castle.⁵⁹⁹ All these travellers were also shown the presumed tombs of the Maccabee brothers nearby. Zuallart, in a drawing reproduced below, gives an impression of the site in 1586. A more sophisticated illustration was

⁵⁸⁷ *RHC Or.*, iii, p.349; v, p.80 f.

⁵⁸⁸ Abu Shama, *RHC Or.* v 82.

⁵⁸⁹ *RHC Or.*, iii, p.33.

⁵⁹⁰ *RHC Or.*, iii, p.365. Vincent and Abel, *Emmaüs*, p.370 point out that this is proof that the destruction ordered by Saladin could not have been very thorough.

⁵⁹¹ See the references in Vincent and Abel, *Emmaüs*, p.370 f. In 1262 we find Jean de Montfort mentioned as 'Seigneur de Toron': J. Delaville le Roulx, *Documents concernant les Templiers* (Paris 1882). Note also the reference to Latrun in the treaty of 1283: Röhrich, *Regesta*, no.1450, p.378 f.

⁵⁹² *RHC Occ.*, iii, p.354: 'Ipso die usque castellum quod Emaüs dicitur ambulaverunt, quod juxta se habet Modin civitatem Macchabaeorum.'

⁵⁹³ William of Tyre, viii, 1 (*RHC Occ.*, i, 1, p.320).

⁵⁹⁴ E. Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, iii (London 1867), pp.150-2.

⁵⁹⁵ Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, i, pp.491 ff. See also Vincent and Abel, *Emmaüs*, p.372 f.

⁵⁹⁶ *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 12(1909), p.36: 'Porro a montanis quoque Judee contra occidentem plagam in tercio decimo lapide est Modim oppidum Machabeorum, ubi et eorum sepulcra maxima a Saracenens veneracione coluntur' (AD 1463).

⁵⁹⁷ Denis Possot, *Le voyage de la Terre Sainte*, ed. Schefer, p.161.

⁵⁹⁸ *Viaggio di Pietro della Valle il pellegrino* (Roma 1650), 492.

⁵⁹⁹ J.D. Doubdan, *Le voyage de la terre sainte* (Paris 1657), 57 f.

produced by Cornelis de Bruyn in 1672-83.⁶⁰⁰

In the past century Guérin described the fortress and recognized it as a Crusader castle. He discusses the Arabic place name but refrains from speculating about the ancient identification (*Judée*, i, pp. 309-311).

SWP, iii, p.135 gives a description of the remains, but could not distinguish the plan. 'West of this site, near Howard's new hotel, is a rock-cut Jewish tomb, now shown to visitors as the Tomb of the Maccabees ... it has nine *kokim*. A second tomb exists in the ruins.' A striking impression of the view westward from Latrun as seen in the 1870's may be found in C. Wilson, *Picturesque Palestine, Sinai and Egypt* (New York 1881), i, p.195.

Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, i, p.498, 'Bir el Helu is situated a few minutes walk to the south-east of Latrun, at the bottom of a deep valley whose waters it collects. It is a true well of living water, not a tank — a great cylindrical well with a wide mouth, built of good stonework. It is covered by a vault, in which one sees two holes belonging to an ancient *beiyāra* once established there, with machinery for the irrigation of adjoining land...'

Einart published two twelfth-century capitals found at Latrun which, he says, must have come from a cloister or a porch.⁶⁰¹

Benvenisti gives a description of the site and argues that it represents a type which the Crusaders frequently built at crossroads. This is clearly true for the present castle as well, for it lies at the junction of three main roads.⁶⁰²

On one of our visits to the site we noticed remains of the old (Medieval and later) road which

passed the site.⁶⁰³

The site dates from the Crusader period, but Persian and Hellenistic material has been found on the spot.⁶⁰⁴

89. Lifta (Nephtoah)

1687.1337

This is a ruined village with ancient remains and a spring near the western approach to Jerusalem, north of the modern highway. It is built on terraces on the south bank of Nahal Soreq.

Literary Sources

Josh. 15.9, 18.15

Cyril of Scythopolis, *vita Sabae*, 67 (E. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis*, (1939), p.168,3).

Cyril refers to the year 520 when there was such a severe drought that not only the Spring of Siloa, but also the sources at Colonia and Nephtoah dried up.

There may be an early reference to the place in Egyptian papyri of the last quarter of thirteenth century BC. These mention a fort of Merneptah and the arrival of an officer from the 'Wells of Merneptah', a place located on a mountain range. It has been suggested that this might be a reference to the well of Me-nephtoah, the Waters of Nephtoah.⁶⁰⁵

Guérin, *Judée*, i, p.252-55, noted large stones, dressed with bosses and the remains of ancient structures among the houses of the village. In the valley he observed the ancient spring-basin and tombs cut in the rock.

SWP, iii, p.18 notes: 'A village of moderate size, perched on the side of a steep hill, with a spring to the south, on which side are rock-cut tombs. The spring is large.'

Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, i, 479 states that at Lifta there was an

⁶⁰⁰ Cornelis de Bruyn, *Reyzen door de vermaarde delen van Klein Asia* etc. (Delft 1698), 255: 'in de laatste komende, ziet men een vervallene kerk daar men goed water in heeft,' de Thevenot, as noted in the entry on Bet Lappya, confused Latrun (the Castle of the Good Thief) and 'Bethlakij'.

⁶⁰¹ C. Einart, *Les monuments des croisés* (1928), p.271 f., fig. 376 f. and Pl. 120.

⁶⁰² M. Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land* (1970), pp. 311, 314-316 f. See also the relief published by M. Ben-Dov in *Oadmomot* 7(1974), pp. 117-120, cf. B. Bapat, *Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria* (1979), p. 146 f.; D. Pringle, *Levant* 23 (1991), 88f.

⁶⁰³ Aerial photographs: Kedar, *AP*, 106f.

⁶⁰⁴ *NEAHEH* iii, 911-3 (M. Ben-Dov); Shavit, 91.

⁶⁰⁵ Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible*, ed. A.F. Rainey, 1979, p. 184, with n.155, where reference is made to F.V. Calice, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 6 (1903), 224; W. Wolf, *Zeitschr. f. d. Alt. u. Arch.* 60 (1933), 39 ff. We are not competent to judge the merit of this suggestion.

ancient *kenisch* (a church) called *El Jaffata*.

Bagatti, *el-Qubeibeh*, 231, points out that Lifta lay on the ancient track, traditionally named 'The Road of the Disciples', which led from Jerusalem past Beit Tulma and 'Ein Beit Suriq to Qubeibeh. Nearby he saw a fine cistern with Crusader masonry, perhaps the basin of the spring.

We have nothing to add to these observations.⁶⁰⁶ The construction over the well seems to be typical of the Crusader work found at so many road-sites.

90. Kh. al Louza

1658.1359

The site comprises ancient remains round a spring near Wadi Lozeh, between the larger sites of Beit Suriq and Beit Iksa (see the relevant entries). Together with Lifta and 'Ein Beit Suriq this was a site on the old secondary way which was called the 'Road of the Disciples', running from Jerusalem to al-Qubeiba.

Kh. al Louza appears as 'Baalasa' in Quaresmius' *Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio*.⁶⁰⁷ Quaresmius (1616-1625) apparently travelled from Jerusalem to Emmaus (Qubeibeh) by the 'Road of the Disciples', past a site which was almost certainly Beit Tulma and then saw a villa 'ruined and inhabited by a few people and cisterns to the left of the road next to Ephraim, named Baalasa.' He was told that this was the spot where Absalom killed Amnon. J. Doubdan (1651-2) also mentions this spot where he found a few ruins.⁶⁰⁸

The site merits a brief mention by Guérin, *Judée*, iii, p. 375, while *SWP*, iii, p. 119 notes: 'Remains of a small ruined hamlet in a valley.' Lagrange refers to ruins of two cisterns round the source and a 'castle' of the Crusader period which he considered to be part of a 'system of defence' together with the tower of Qaluniyeh, near the bridge.⁶⁰⁹

Further information may be found in Bagatti, *el-Qubeibeh*, p. 232 f., fig. 47. Bagatti considers that this is the spot which later pilgrims thought to be the

place where Jesus and his disciples met. He discerned caves, one of them an early tomb with a bench inside and a wall built of stones with bosses in front. He observes that these antedate the Crusader remains on the spot. Additional finds include: white tesserae and sherds which Bagatti assigns to the Roman and Crusader periods.

AS Benjamin, Site No. 295, p. 44*: 'Fortified farm building: vaults; ashlar masonry; tower; reservoir; wine-press. Byz-22%; Byz/EIs-6%; Med-27%; Ott-37%; 62 sherds.' p. 223 (Hebr.): 'East of the site, on the other side of the wadi is a path with rock-cut steps.' Cf. p. 223 (Hebr.): the cross-vaults and shooting holes point to the Crusader period.

This must have been one of the many crusader manor-houses found on major and secondary roads to Jerusalem.⁶¹⁰ (Compare the entries on Biyar, Qaluniyeh and others).

The site appears to date mainly to the Crusader period, but was also occupied in the Byzantine and Ottoman periods.

91. Lydda (Lod, Diospolis, Georgiopolis)

(Pl.25)

140-1.151-2

Lydda was a settlement in a central position, commanding the main intersection of the roads from Caesarea and Jaffa to Jerusalem, and from Caesarea southward. Unlike many other settlements, Lydda was important as a Jewish centre where the Jewish leadership institutions were active in one form or another in various periods. The importance of the Jewish settlement in Lydda is suggested in the many sources which deal with the activities of the Patriarch, the Sanhedrin and the leading sages in the region, and there is clear evidence of the decisive weight of the Jewish element among the population. Its significance as a Jewish town in the Roman period was certainly connected with its siting on a nodal point of the road-system which forms the subject of our investigation. Moreover, the Talmudic sources provide evidence of the daily life of the city which is different in kind from that available for most cities in the Roman period. We have therefore included the present discussion of the town even though some of the material lies outside the

⁶⁰⁶ See also references in *TIR* s.v. Nephtho, p. 196.

⁶⁰⁷ Quaresmius, *Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio*, ed. A.P. Cypriano de Tarvisio (Venice 1880), 541.

⁶⁰⁸ J. Doubdan, *Le voyage de la Terre Sainte* (Paris 1657), 108 f.

⁶⁰⁹ *RB* 3 (1894), 139.

⁶¹⁰ R. Ellenblum, in B.Z. Kedar (ed.), *The Horns of Hattin*, 176, states that an excavation was carried out on the site. We have no further information. On p. 178 there is a proposed reconstruction drawn from an aerial photograph.

scope of the subject proper of this book.⁶¹¹

Lydda appears in the list of Canaanite towns conquered by Thutmose II in the 15th century BC (ANET, 242f). In early texts it is otherwise mentioned only as a town in the genealogical list of the tribe of Benjamin (1 Chron. 8:12). Lod occurs in the lists of the people returning from Babylonian exile: Ezra 2:33; Neh. 7:37; and as one of the settlements of the tribe of Benjamin in Neh. 11:35. The most important town at that time in the region was Gezer, so that it seems that Lydda came to prominence only when Gezer declined. It occurs again in 1 Macc. where it is described as one of the districts which were assigned to Judaea instead of Samaria, as a result of the negotiations between Jonathan and Demetrius in 145 BC.⁶¹²

In the Acts of the Apostles Peter is described as making his way gradually from Jerusalem to Lydda, and thence to Jaffa and Caesarea.⁶¹³

'Now as Peter went here and there among them all, he came down also to the saints that lived at Lydda. There he found a man named Aeneas, who had been bedridden for eight years and was paralyzed. And Peter said to him, "Aeneas, Jesus Christ heals you; rise and make your bed". And immediately he rose. And all the residents of Lydda and Sharon saw him, and they turned to the Lord'.⁶¹⁴

This passage is of interest for our purposes. Peter was active only among Jews at this stage.⁶¹⁵ It follows that Lydda was a significant Jewish centre at the time.

⁶¹¹ The discussion of Lydda as a Jewish centre is an abbreviated and somewhat revised version of the article by Aharon Oppenheimer, 'Jewish Lydda in the Roman Era' *Hebrew Union College Annual* 59(1988), 115-36. See now the monograph by J.J. Schwartz, *Lod (Lydda), Israel: From its Origins through the Byzantine Period, 5600 BCE - 640 CE* (1991); Orah Waqrar, *Lud, A Historical Geography* (Lydda 1977) is disappointing. References in *TIR* s.v. Lod, p.171.

⁶¹² 1 Macc. 11:34: ἐστάκαμεν αὐτοῖς τὰ τε ὅρια τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς νομοὺς Ἀφαιρεμα καὶ Λυδδα καὶ Ραθαμιν· προσετέθησαν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς Σαμαρίτιδος καὶ πάντα τὰ συγκυροῦντα αὐτοῖς.

⁶¹³ Acts 9:32; 9:38; 10:23 f.

⁶¹⁴ Acts 9:32-5.

⁶¹⁵ Cf. Acts 10:28.

Peter clearly chose the main centres of the various areas for a longer visit and this would apply therefore in the case of Lydda as well, a point reinforced by the expression 'all the residents of Lydda and Sharon'.

These conclusions follow also from the next episode in which the town is mentioned. In the year 67 AD, at the time of the First Revolt, Cestius Gallus undertook his campaign against Jerusalem.⁶¹⁶ He set out for Antipatris, quickly overcame the Jews who had fortified themselves in adjacent Migdal Afeg, and continued from Antipatris to Lydda. Josephus continues as follows: 'From Antipatris Cestius proceeded to Lydda and, on arrival, found the city deserted, for the entire population had gone up to Jerusalem for the Feast of Tabernacles. He killed fifty people whom he found, burned the town and marched on. Ascending through Beit Horon he encamped near a place named Gabao, fifty stades from Jerusalem'.⁶¹⁷

Josephus' narrative testifies to the presence of a large number of Jews among the inhabitants of Lydda, even if we do not simply accept that the population consisted solely of Jews. His account, moreover, provides evidence of their piety, since they all left the city to celebrate the Feast of Tabernacles in Jerusalem, except for fifty people. This picture is the more striking when compared with the description of the Jews who fortified themselves in Migdal Apheq and apparently did not make the journey to celebrate the festival in Jerusalem.⁶¹⁸ The following source also shows the special attachment of the Jews of Lydda to

⁶¹⁶ On this passage see also Part I.

⁶¹⁷ Josephus, *BJ* II 19, 1 (515-516).

⁶¹⁸ S. Safrai, *Ha'Aliya laRegel biYemei haBayit haSheni* (1965), 36, 44-45 (Heb.) = S. Safrai, *Die Wallfahrt im Zeitalter des Zweiten Tempels* [Übersetzung und Redaktion: D. Mach] 1981, 39-40). Safrai, op.cit., 41, note 79* (= op.cit. p.40, note 81), relying on Josephus, thinks that the residents of Antipatris and Lydda were Jews. A.H.M. Jones, on the other hand, believes that the residents of Antipatris were gentiles, partly because they did not make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, unlike the residents of Lydda. A.H.M. Jones, *JRS* 21 (1931), 80; idem, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, (1971²), 275. S. Applebaum also discusses the Jewishness of the residents of Antipatris (but not Lod): *Flavius Josephus: Historian of Eretz Israel in Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (1982), 13-18 (Heb.). As noted in Part I, we do not feel that the evidence justifies any conclusion either way, except that the number of Jews was sufficient for them to have thought (wrongly) that they might have been able to put up effective resistance at Migdal Afeg.

the Temple: 'The women of Lydda used to knead their dough and go up [to Jerusalem] to pray and return before it leavened.'⁶¹⁹

Not only does Josephus' description of Cestius Gallus' campaign emphasize the Jewish character of Lydda, it also indicates Lydda's central position on the main road from Caesarea to Jerusalem.⁶²⁰ Lydda's status and importance are already clear from a source referring to the second century BC. A letter from Demetrius II to Lasthenes about Jonathan and the Jews confirms the transfer of the districts Apherema, Lydda and Ramathaim from Samaria to Judaea.⁶²¹

Lydda now appears to have taken over from Gezer as the central town of the district.⁶²² Lydda gets special treatment in the agreement between Julius Caesar and Hyrcanus II.⁶²³ It is mentioned as one of four cities whose citizens Cassius enslaved because of their failure to pay taxes in the year 43 BC.⁶²⁴ From this it follows that Lydda also served as a centre for tax-collection. Josephus describes the arrival of

Ummidius Quadratus in 'a village that was in size not inferior to a city' and relates that in 52 AD Quadratus chose Lydda as the place where he conducted trials of Jews and Samaritans.⁶²⁵ This is additional evidence that Lydda was the most important centre of the region.

Once Cestius Gallus had left, the Zealots appointed commanders in various districts, among them John the Essene in the toparchy of Thamna, 'with Lydda, Jaffa and Emmaus also under his charge'.⁶²⁶ Apparently John the Essene was given the task of guarding the communications between Jerusalem and the sea. In this connection Lydda is important, situated as it is on the main road from Jaffa to Jerusalem. Once Vespasian had subjugated Galilee, he turned his attention to Judaea at the beginning of 68 AD. He followed the route from Caesarea to Antipatris and from there to the toparchy of Thamna, to Lydda and finally to Jamnia.⁶²⁷ This is the line of the main road from Caesarea southward.

On the *Tabula Peutingeriana* Luddis is depicted on the road leading from Caesarea to the south-east. From Lydda onward this road splits, one branch leading to Emmaus (Amavante) and the other back to the coast-road (see above). From all this it is clear that Lydda's importance is derived at least partly from the fact that it was situated on the main crossroads commanding the approaches from Caesarea and Jaffa to Jerusalem, and from Caesarea to the south.⁶²⁸

A significant change in Lydda's position occurred when Septimius Severus awarded it city-status and was renamed Diospolis. As we can learn from the city coins, this change occurred in the year 199/200.⁶²⁹ Beit Guvrin became Eleutheropolis at the same time. The earliest literary source which uses the

⁶¹⁹ J. T. Ma'aser Shenit V 56a, trans. A. Cohen; Lamentations Rabbah III 9. This testimony is one of a series of accounts which describe the frequent pilgrimages to Jerusalem by the residents of various places.

⁶²⁰ Cf. Acts 9: 32-35, cited in Part I: Peter travelled from Jerusalem to Caesarea via Lydda and Jaffa.

⁶²¹ 1 Macc. 11:34; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* XIII 4, 9 (127). For the identity of Apherema and Ramathaim and for a general treatment of the document see M. Stern, *Ha-Te'udot le-Mered ha-Hashmonaim* (1972², Heb.), 106-110.

⁶²² On the position of Lydda: G. Beyer, *ZDPV* 56(1933), 218-246. This paper sums up the evidence which refers to Lydda and attempts to establish the boundaries of the territory of the city. The conclusions are not acceptable because of the overinterpretation of Eusebius' *Onomasticon*. Also: F.-M. Abel, *Géographie*, ii, 370; M. Avi-Yonah, *The Holy Land*, (1977²), 156-159; idem, *Gazetteer*, 75; Z. Safrai, 'Yihudo shel haYishuv beEzra Lod-Yafa biTequfat haMishnah vehaTalmud', *Ben Yaron vaAyalon*, (D. Grossman [ed.], 1983, Heb.), 53-56.

⁶²³ *Jos. Ant.* xiv 10, 9 (208). According to Schalit the agreement refers not only to Lydda, but to the same three districts which were mentioned in the letter of Demetrius II (above): A. Schalit, *König Herodes* (1969), Anhang 6, pp. 756-759.

⁶²⁴ *Ant.* xiv 11, 2 (275).

⁶²⁵ *Jos. Ant.* xx 6, 2 (130); cf. *BJ* ii 12, 6 (241-245).

⁶²⁶ *BJ* ii 20, 4 (567).

⁶²⁷ *BJ* iv 8, 1 (443-444).

⁶²⁸ For Lydda's position see also Josephus' list of *toparchiai*, *BJ* iii 3, 5 (55), and Pliny, *NH* v 15, 70.

⁶²⁹ G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine in the British Museum* (1914), pp. xxiii and 43. J. Hasebroek, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Septimius Severus*, (1921), 120. A. Kindler and A. Stein, *A Bibliography of the City Coinage of Palestine: From the 2nd Century B.C. to the 3rd Century A.D.* (1987), 96-99. Schwartz, *Lod (Lydda)*, *Israel* (1991), erroneously states that the city received colonial status. The city was never granted the status of a Roman colony.

name Diospolis for Lydda is the *Itinerarium Antonini*. Here Lydda is represented as a city in Judaea situated at the spot where the road from Caesarea divides, one branch leading to Jamnia on the coast-road, and the other to Eleutheropolis.⁶³⁰ From Eusebius' *Onomasticon* it appears that the former toparchy of Thamna was included in the territory of Lydda.⁶³¹ This change probably dates from the time when Lydda received city-status. Lydda is also mentioned in the description by the Pilgrim from Bordeaux of the journey he made in AD 333. Here the city is given its former name - Lidda.⁶³²

Lydda (Lod) in the Talmudic Literature

A considerable number of sources provide evidence about the Jewish community in Lydda (Lod) in the period of the Mishnah and Talmud, giving information about its institutions as well as its composition and way of life.⁶³³ There were many public institutions in Lod as well as schools, study-houses and synagogues.⁶³⁴ We also hear of sages meeting in the houses of merchants (see below) while Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanus sat in a 'bakers' stall'.⁶³⁵

A few Talmudic sources mention 'merchants of Lod'. In one case, because of the opposition of these merchants, Rabbi Tarfon did not change the original rule which the sages instituted concerning the legal limits of 'fraud'.⁶³⁶ We are also told the names of some men of property living in Lod who had daily dealings

with the sages, either because sages visited their houses and stayed in their courtyards or because they gathered in their attics for discussions.⁶³⁷

The sources combine to give an impression of the central position and vitality of Lod in the period after the destruction of the Second Temple. Obviously the transmission to posterity of one particular episode or another is to some extent accidental, but the quantity of evidence regarding Lod, in comparison with the dearth of information of this sort referring to other places, including Yavneh, is nevertheless significant. There are, for instance, a considerable number of people other than sages from Lod who are mentioned by name, with various traditions associated with them.⁶³⁸ Lod was thus a Jewish town of central importance both before and after the destruction of the Temple.

After the destruction of the Temple the Jewish leadership passed into the hands of the sages. Scholars agree that the main Jewish leadership institutions were located in Yavneh (Jamnia) during the period between the First Revolt and the Bar Kokhba Revolt, at least until the 'War of Quietism' (AD 115-117). This is generally called the 'Yavneh Period'. There is no doubt that these institutions did function in Yavneh, but it seems that Yavneh was not the only centre for the whole of that period, and that Lod also played a central role, while other sages were sited in the peripheral communities. The main evidence which appears to demonstrate that Yavneh was the only place where Jewish leadership institutions were found at the time, comes from the Babylonian Talmud tradition about the places of exile of the Sanhedrin. However, the origins of this tradition do not antedate the period of the Amoraim (end of the first quarter of cIII) when the Sanhedrin resided in Tiberias, while the account includes details which raise various questions regarding their historical authenticity.⁶³⁹

⁶³⁰ *Itinerarium Antonini* 150, 199, ed. Cuntz, *Itineraria Romana*, pp. 21 and 27; M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, ii, nos. 470a, 471a, 488-490. Cf. the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

⁶³¹ Eusebius, *On.* 24,4: s.v. 'Αδδαρά ... ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη κώμη <ἐν> ὁρίοις Διοσπόλεων περὶ τὴν Θαμνιτικὴν οὕτω καλουμένην χώραν ἀπὸ Θαμνᾶ κώμη.

⁶³² *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 600, ed. Cuntz, *Itineraria Romana*, 98: 'civitas Lidda'.

⁶³³ Extensively discussed by Schwartz, *Lod (Lydda)*, *Israel* (1991), Chapters 8 and 9.

⁶³⁴ For the synagogues at Lod see Tos. Ahilot iv 2; J.T. Berakhot i 3a; B.T. Nazir 52a and at a later date Leviticus Rabbah xxxv ed Margulies pp 830-831.

⁶³⁵ Tos. Yadayim II 16. Compare for the time of Rabbi Judah haNasi, sages 'who spent the Sabbath in the stall of Pazzi in Lydda' (Tos. Ahilot XVIII 18).

⁶³⁶ M. Bava Metzi'a IV 3.

⁶³⁷ See e.g. Boethus ben Zonin (Tos. Pesahim X 12, etc.); Bet Geludah (Tos. 'Eruvin IX 2), Bet Nizai (Tos. Shabbat II 5, etc.), Bet Aris (Sifre Deuteronomy XL, ed. Finkelstein, p. 85, etc.).

⁶³⁸ Disqos (Tos. Miqvaot I 17 and parallels); Ben Zaza (B.T. Rosh ha-Shanah 25a) whose family, as can be deduced from the context in which he is mentioned, was of no importance.

⁶³⁹ B.T. Rosh haShanah 31a-31b (and note Dadoqer Soferim); Genesis Rabbah (*Shitah Hadashah*) XCvii 13, ed. Theodor-Albeck, pp. 1220-1221. The parallel to the Babylonian tradition is found in *Shitah Hadashah leBirkat Ya'aqov* and does not belong to the essential part of the Midrash (op. cit. pp. 1190, 1200, note). On the various problems encountered in

The evidence which carries the greatest weight in demonstrating Lod's central role in the Yavneh Period is to be found in the texts which mention the convening of leadership institutions in Lod. The case described in *Tosefta Mikva'ot*, which deals with halakhic problems concerning purity and impurity, is the most notable: 'This was a case, and Rabbi Yose the Galilean declared it clean and Rabbi 'Aqiva declared it unclean. Rabbi Tarfon supported Rabbi Yose the Galilean. Rabbi Simeon ben Nanos supported Rabbi 'Aqiva... This was a case, and thirty-two elders voted in Lod and declared it clean.'⁶⁴⁰ The sages who appear in this source are well known as sages active in Lod. The number of sages who were convened is important, as it was unusual for so many members of the leadership institutions to participate in meetings. There are many references to meetings of five or seven sages, but thirty-three is one of the largest groups of sages described in the sources as ever taking part in any one session.⁶⁴¹ Throughout the period between the destruction of the Temple and the Bar Kokhba Revolt Lod was the home of several sages of central importance who attracted pupils to study with them.

Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, one of the most important sages of the generation of Rabban Gamaliel of Yavneh, lived in Lod. He was a man of property and owned land in the region.⁶⁴² Rabbi Eliezer presided over a local study-house: 'Our Rabbis taught: 'Justice, justice shalt thou pursue.' (Deut. 16:20) [This means:] follow the scholars to their academies, e.g. Rabbi Eliezer to Lod.'⁶⁴³ This study-house may have also have been named 'motva Rabba' or 'metiveta Rabba' (= 'the great college').⁶⁴⁴ Pupils came to Rabbi Eliezer's study-house in Lod from other places, from far and near (see below). There was even a certain

amount of movement of sages from Yavneh to Rabbi Eliezer's study-house in Lod.⁶⁴⁵ Even Rabbi Joshua ben Hananiah, a colleague of Rabbi Eliezer who held opposing views, is recorded once with him in Lod.⁶⁴⁶ There are several traditions about Rabbi Tarfon's various halakhic rulings in Lod as well as discussions and fundamental decisions in which he was involved.⁶⁴⁷ Rabbi Tarfon's position was especially important: not only did he excel in wisdom, he was also wealthy and belonged to a prominent family. He may even have functioned as a kind of Patriarch for part of the period between the 'War of Quietus' and the Bar Kokhba Revolt, when it is possible that his activities as a community leader resulted in the Sanhedrin's moving to Lod.⁶⁴⁸

Even the presence of Rabban Gamaliel in Lod is recorded. He was head of the leadership institutions for part of the Yavneh Period and undoubtedly the most prominent Jewish leader of the time, for Jews and Romans alike. The fact that Rabban Gamaliel of Yavneh is encountered outside Yavneh is not in itself remarkable, for he made many journeys of inspection in the Land of Israel and even went on journeys to settlements in the Diaspora.⁶⁴⁹ Indeed, one is reminded of the official journeys of the Roman emperors and of the provincial governors who also travelled regularly to the main cities in their provinces. However, some of the sources which deal with Rabban Gamaliel's presence in Lod indicate that he had a special relationship with the town. In one case at least Rabban Gamaliel celebrated the festival of Passover in Lod.⁶⁵⁰ It is significant that this was Lod and not Yavneh, since the sessions of the leadership institutions used to take place on the three Pilgrim Festivals.⁶⁵¹

the source which deals with the Sanhedrin exiles, see G. Alon, *The Jews in their Land in the Talmudic Age*, II, 462-465. H. Mantel, *Studies in the History of the Sanhedrin* (1961), 140-174, includes a survey of the literature on the subject.

⁶⁴⁰ Tos. Miqvaot VII 11, trans. J. Neusner. Cf. 'Thirty-eight Elders in the vineyard at Yavneh' (*Sifre Numbers* CXXIV ed. Horowitz, p. 158). Cf. also Tos. Miqvaot VII 10; J.T. Betzah III 62a.

⁶⁴¹ See G. Alon, *op.cit.* 465.

⁶⁴² 'Rabbi Eliezer had a vineyard east of Lod on the side of Kefar Tavi' (Tos. Ma'aser Sheni V 16; B.T. Betzah 5a; B.T. Rosh haShanah 31b).

⁶⁴³ B.T. Sanhedrin 32b.

⁶⁴⁴ See S. Klein, 'La Metivata Rabba de Lod', *REJ* 60 (1910), pp. 107-108.

⁶⁴⁵ See e.g. Tos. Yadayim II 16; cf. M. Yadayim IV 3; Midrash Psalms XXV 13, ed. Buber, p. 214.

⁶⁴⁶ Tos. Ta'anit II 5; J.T. Ta'anivot II 66a; J.T. Megillah I 70d; J.T. Nedarim VIII 40d; cf. B.T. Rosh haShanah 18b.

⁶⁴⁷ See e.g. M. Ta'anit III 9 and M. Bava Metzi'a IV 3 cited above.

⁶⁴⁸ See G. Alon, 'The Patriarchate of Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai', *Jews, Judaism and the Classical World* (1977), 321-323; idem, *The Jews in their Land*, 465-466.

⁶⁴⁹ On this subject see G. Alon *The Jews in their Land*, I, 232-233.

⁶⁵⁰ Tos. Pesahim X 12.

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The Jewish character of Lod is evident throughout the period of the Amora'im. There is evidence for this in an incident referred to by Eusebius in *The Martyrs of Palestine*, where he discusses a trial of Christians which took place in a certain city in the presence of Jews. In the Greek version the name of the city is not mentioned, whereas in the Syriac version it is specified as follows: 'There is in the Land of Palestine a large town with a lot of people in it and all its inhabitants are Jews and in the Aramaic language it

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na]'. Jerome came to Palestine in 385.⁶⁶⁴

In AD 415 fourteen bishops convened a synod against Pelagius at Lydda.⁶⁶⁵ In the Byzantine period Lydda came to be associated with the martyrdom of St. George.⁶⁶⁶ In the list of Georgius Cyprius the town is called 'Diospolis or Georgiopolis',⁶⁶⁷ which probably indicates that the cult of St. George was fully established by the reign of Justinian.⁶⁶⁸ On the Madaba map Lydda appears as a town with two churches and a colonnaded street. In the account of the pilgrim from Placentia (about 570) there is a confused reference to Diospolis as the burial place of St. George.⁶⁶⁹ The first descriptions of the church are in eighth century sources⁶⁷⁰

'The church is very large and in its chancel lies the torturer's wheel. And on the right side of the nave stands a column to which the wheel is tied. On the day of his memory blood flows for three hours. In the same

column there is a crack in the marble which gives signs; if you tell the truth you can go through without hindrance, and without difficulty, but if you do not tell the truth you cannot go through.'⁶⁷¹

The foundation of Ramle as provincial capital in AD 715-7, three km. from Lydda, led to the decline of the latter as a local centre. Shortly before the Crusaders arrived, the Muslims razed the church which was then rebuilt.⁶⁷²

Archaeological Remains

Lydda was well known from historical sources and attracted the interest of Biblical scholars at an early stage. Nevertheless the town has not been systematically explored. The available information derives from the description of nineteenth-century scholars and occasional rescue excavations carried out⁶⁷³ during the last fifty years.

Almost all descriptions of the antiquities of Lydda concentrate on the churches, the Byzantine and Crusader churches of Saint George, and on the mosque, which seems to have been the centre of the town for a long time. One of the earliest descriptions is by Robinson, who he gives the size of the extant walls of the crusader church.⁶⁷⁴ Robinson later revisited the site and mentions the 'noble ruins' which, however, seemed to him now 'less majestic and imposing, than as we saw them formerly by moonlight.'⁶⁷⁵ Robinson observed that the town 'followed the fortunes of [Ramleh] during the wars of the crusades'.⁶⁷⁶

Guérin also mentions the ruins of the Crusader church and noticed that Byzantine elements were re-used when the church was converted into a

⁶⁶⁴ Jerome, in *Abacuc* i 2 (CCSL lxxvi A, p.610). Lydda is also one of the stations in the journey of Paula, Jerome, *Ep.* cviii, *PL* xxii, col. 882f.

⁶⁶⁵ Augustine, *adv. Julian.* i 5,19 (*PL* xliv, 652f.); *de gestis Pelagii*, c.35, 62 (*PL* xliv 355).

⁶⁶⁶ Theodosius, *de Terra Sancta* xxiv, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, eds. Tobler and Molinier, 71. For further literature on St. George, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*², p.557.

⁶⁶⁷ Georgius Cyprius, *Descriptio Orbis Romani*, 1001, ed. Gelzer, p.51. Hierocles, *synecdemus*, 718,4, ed. Burckhardt, p.41; ed. Parthey p. 43, and the *Notitiae Episcopatum* 5, 83, ed. Parthey, p.143, call it only Diospolis. Nilus, *Doxapatrius*, 143, ed. Parthey, p.281, again gives the alternative 'Georgiopolis'. The two names are used again in Hugeburc, *Life of Willibald* 25 (AD 725), ed. Tobler and Molinier, 268: 'et venit in locum Diospolim ad sanctum Georgium.'

⁶⁶⁸ For the date of the work of Georgius Cyprius: A.H.M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (1971), 515 f.

⁶⁶⁹ Antoninus Placentinus 25, ed. Geyer, *CSEL* 175, p.176: 'Et est ad via, quae respicit ad occidentem, quae descendit [from Jerusalem] ad Iopen et Caesarea Palestine vel Diaspoli civitatem, quae antiquitus dicitur Azotus, in qua requiescit sanctus Georgius martyr.'

⁶⁷⁰ Epiphanius Monachus 5, ed. H. Donner, *ZDPV* 87 (1971), 72. The date of this section is established by the reference to Ramle which was founded AD 715-7.

⁶⁷¹ Trans. J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, 119. The church is also mentioned in the *Life of Willibald*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* xv, I (1887), p.99 with note.

⁶⁷² William of Tyre vii 22.

⁶⁷³ Aerial photographs of Lod and vicinity: Kedar, *AP.* 80-1; J. Schwartz, *Lod (Lydda), Israel* (1991), Chapter II: The Morphology of Ancient Lod.

⁶⁷⁴ Robinson, *Biblical Researches* ii, pp.244-48.

⁶⁷⁵ *Op.cit.*, iii, p.142 f.

⁶⁷⁶ Vol. ii, p.248.

mosque: "...j' y'ai observé deux piliers, flanqués chacun de deux colonnes monolithes de marbre, à chapiteau corinthien, qui proviennent probablement de la basilique byzantine; car les colonnes de l'église du moyen âge, à en juger du moins par celles du choeur, étaient en pierre et formées de tambours cylindriques superposés."⁶⁷⁷

C. Wilson mentions seeing catacombs with vaulted roofs and semicircular arches without the use of mortar.⁶⁷⁸ He saw an inscription which mentions the son of Alkios, a name familiar from the boundary inscriptions at Gezer (q.v.). A detailed plan of the church and its vicinity is given in the *SWP* ii, p.267.

Clermont-Ganneau studied the remains at Lydda in detail.⁶⁷⁹ His plan (facing p.104) of the church correctly distinguishes three phases of construction, Byzantine, Crusader and Muslim. Details drawn by him seem to derive from the Crusader church. A Greek inscription carved on one of the columns presumably is presumably of Byzantine date (p.107 f.). Clermont-Ganneau further devoted a chapter to the 'Bridge of Beibars' on the Lydda-Antipatris road (pp.110-118). He observes that the bridge is the work of the Mamelukes, as appears from the character of the work and from an inscription which gives the date of the construction as 1273. However, he found great quantities of Crusader material in secondary use.⁶⁸⁰

Enlart gives a survey of the history of Lydda under the Crusaders and describes the twelfth-century architecture and art of the Cathedral of St. George.⁶⁸¹ D. Pringle recently published a new plan of the Crusader and Byzantine remains.⁶⁸²

The excavations carried out in Lydda have

been mainly salvage digs. J. Ory visited the site on behalf of the Department of Antiquities. On 4-5-1929 he mentioned a limestone sarcophagus found near the southern edge of the town. On 25-10-1939 he reported on another sarcophagus bearing a Greek inscription which was found in the northern part of the town. A third sarcophagus was seen by him in the area east of the town's police station.

Recent years have contributed very little to our information about the city. A funerary cave was cleared near the eastern edge of the town on the Jerusalem road, not far from Ben Shemen. It is a cave with *loculi* and a hole for the collection of bones, typical of the end of the Second Temple Period. Several ossuaries were found, one bearing a fragmentary Hebrew inscription: 'Levi Bar ...'. These and the pottery ('Herodian' lamps) also date the tomb to this period.⁶⁸³ A rescue excavation was also carried out in an underground cistern in the courtyard of the mosque south of St. George.⁶⁸⁴

J. Kaplan excavated remains mainly from the Early Bronze Age I.⁶⁸⁵ In 1981 about 50 graves of the Roman period were excavated at the south-western edge of the town (G.R. 1412.1508).⁶⁸⁶ Nearby were found the remains of a Byzantine house, possibly a bath house. Rescue excavations in the Old City (G.R. 1406.1513) uncovered part of a mosaic floor and a wall.⁶⁸⁷ Rescue excavations at the northern edge of the town brought to light walls and Byzantine sherds.⁶⁸⁸ In the eastern quarter of modern Lod, Neve Yereq (14108/15141) further rescue excavations were carried out.⁶⁸⁹ Material was found from the Early Islamic down to the Neolithic period. Most of the material was pottery and few architectural remains were found. Only

⁶⁷⁷ Guérin, *Judée* i, pp.322-34.

⁶⁷⁸ C. Wilson, *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem* (1865, repr. 1980), p.19.

⁶⁷⁹ Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, ii, pp.98-118; 342-45.

⁶⁸⁰ R. Ellenblum, 'The Crusader Road to Jerusalem', in *Studies in Historical Geography* (1987, Heb.), 215-8, argues that the bridge was built by the Crusaders.

⁶⁸¹ C. Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés* (1928), ii, 272-4, Pl. 120, figs. 378 f. See also Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, p.169 f. with plan.

⁶⁸² D. Pringle in: J. Folda (ed.), *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century* (1982), p.27, no.11, fig. 1.11 and Pl. 1.3b, 1.4b.

⁶⁸³ M. Broshi, Y. Porat and A. Ovadia, *Archaeological Newsletter* 57-58(1976), p.25; see also: Y. Porath, *Atiqot* 10 (1990), 161-4 (Heb.), English summary, p.37*.

⁶⁸⁴ R. Gophna and Y. Minzker, *Archaeological Newsletter* 22-23(1967), p. 20 f.

⁶⁸⁵ J. Kaplan, *EAEHL* iii (1976), p. 753 f. s.v. Lod. The entry discusses mainly Kaplan's own excavations.

⁶⁸⁶ Y. Porat & E. Ayalon, *Archaeological Newsletter* 80-81 (1982), 17f.

⁶⁸⁷ L. Gershoni, *Archaeological Newsletter* 96 (1991), 16f. (Heb.).

⁶⁸⁸ *Archaeological Newsletter* 96 (1991), 43 (Heb.).

⁶⁸⁹ *Archaeological Newsletter* 100 (1993), 46-48 (Heb.).

the Byzantine period had substantial architectural remains: walls of three buildings (area I) along a narrow street, containing a kitchen, some agricultural installations and a larger building (area II) with elaborate mosaic pavements.⁶⁹⁰ More recently a Byzantine building of the fifth and sixth centuries was excavated in the same quarter.⁶⁹¹ It was erected on a fill containing EB I and prehistoric material. To the north-east of this building floors of a house of the Persian period were excavated.

Summary

(1) *EB I*. The site was occupied in this period and abandoned thereafter. It remained unoccupied during the Late Bronze and Iron Ages and was not resettled until the reign of Josiah. Although Lydda is mentioned as one of the places reoccupied after the return from Babylonian exile no remains from this period have been published.

(2) *Persian Period*. Recently the remains of a house of this period were excavated.

(3) *Herodian - Early Roman Period*. In spite of the importance of the place in this period as attested in literary sources the archaeological material is scanty, represented mainly by a number of burial caves with ossuaries, pottery and coinage of the period.

(3) *The Roman Period*. This period is represented only by the city-coinage which was struck from 199/200 onward.

(4) *The Byzantine Period*. The extant remains do not reflect the importance of the town as attested in the literary sources which describe it as a centre of the ecclesiastical administration and a focus for pilgrimage. The outstanding monument was the Church of St. George (see above). Other finds include the remains excavated in Neve Yereq as well as burial caves, sarcophagi and a number of inscriptions.

(5) *The Crusader Period*. The major building was once more the church. The bishopric of Lydda was the administrative centre for the area which contained four important monasteries. One of these was the Monastery of St. Joseph and St. Habacuc, to be identified with Kh. al Kenisa near Ben Gurion Airport.⁶⁹²

⁶⁹⁰ Ibid. fig. 53 and p. VI.

⁶⁹¹ *Archaeological Newsletter* 101-2 (1994), 74 (Heb.).

(6) *The Mameluke Period*. It was probably in this period that the western part of the Crusader church was transformed into the courtyard of the mosque. Columns and capitals from the Byzantine church were reused. 'Baibar's bridge' represents another remarkable monument of this period.

Conclusion

As with so many other urban centres there is an obvious discrepancy between the relative wealth of information in literary sources and the paucity of the surviving archaeological material.

92. **Kh. Manna** 1558.1446
(See also Beit Ur at Tahta)

This is an ancient site about 2.5 kilometres west of Beit Ur et Tahta, close to the Roman road.

SWP, iii, p. 121 s.v. Kh. Menâa reports: Traces of ruins. The files of the *D.A.M.* (1929) record rock-cut tombs, rock-cut steps and the remains of a peristyle building.

AS Benjamin, No. 129, pp. 26*, 117 f. (Heb., plan and photo on p. 118); 'Kh. Mann'a; M.R.15580. 14465. ruin; remains of church; bases of columns *in situ*; possible crypt; mosaic pavement; rock-cut wine-press on eastern slope; wine-press on hilltop. Byz. small number of sherds.'

This is a Byzantine site now built over.

93. **Maqta el Hijar** 1536.1364

The site consists of a concentration of fragments of milestones, one of them inscribed (see Chapter VI). About a hundred metres eastward the remains of a tower were discovered by M. Aviam and I. Zaharoni during a survey on behalf of the Israel Society for the Protection of Nature, on 25-1-1984. It is 10 m. square, built of large unworked stones. It is located at a point where the road curves before climbing eastward to Kh. el Qasr.

94. **Kh. al-Maskah (Miskah)** 1600.1399

This is a site less than half a kilometre west of Beith 'Inan on the Beit Nuba - el Qubeiba road

⁶⁹² See Benvenisti, *op.cit.*, p. 169.

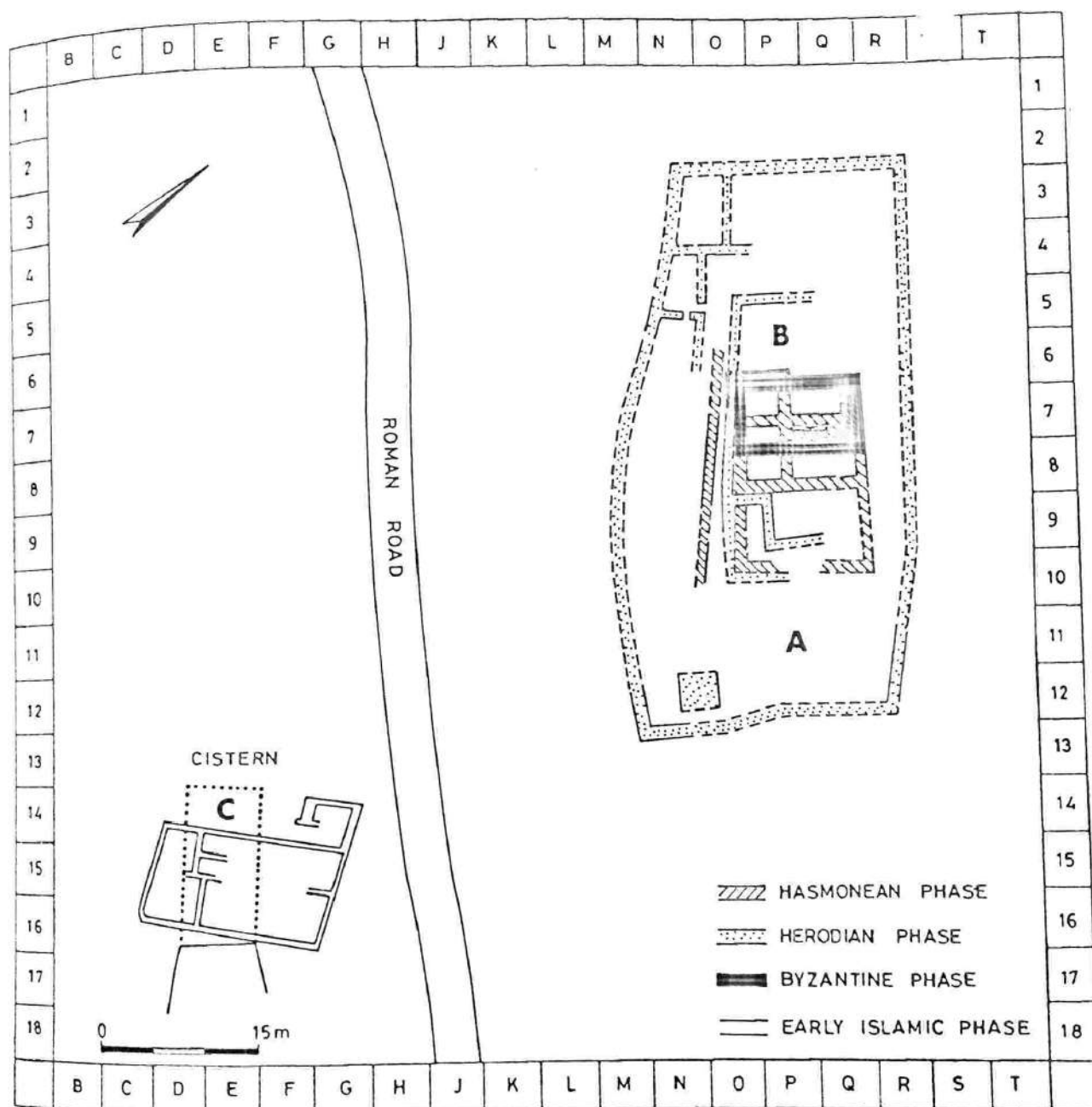


Fig. 19. 2: General plan of Mazad

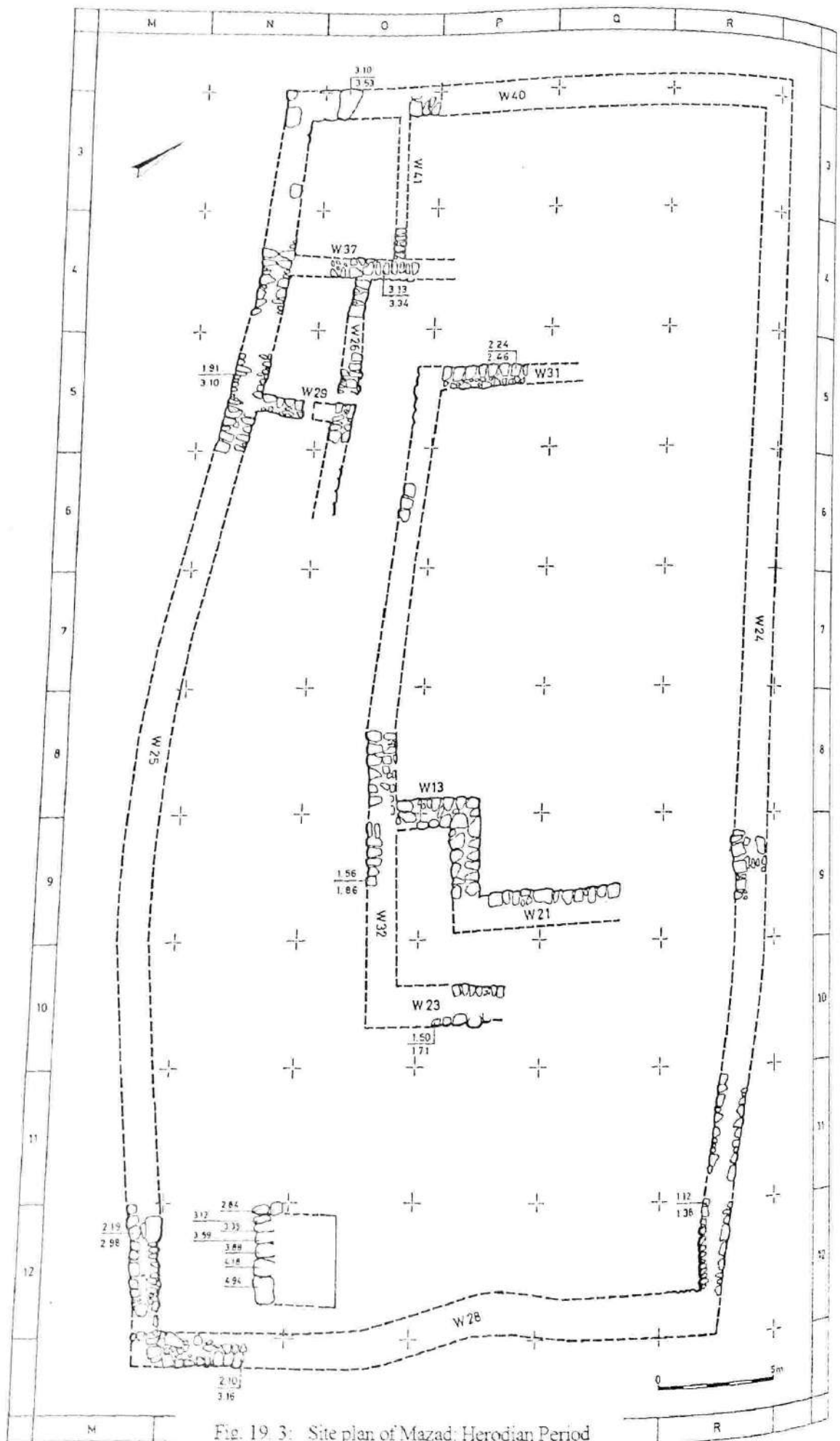


Fig. 19. 3: Site plan of Mazad: Herodian Period

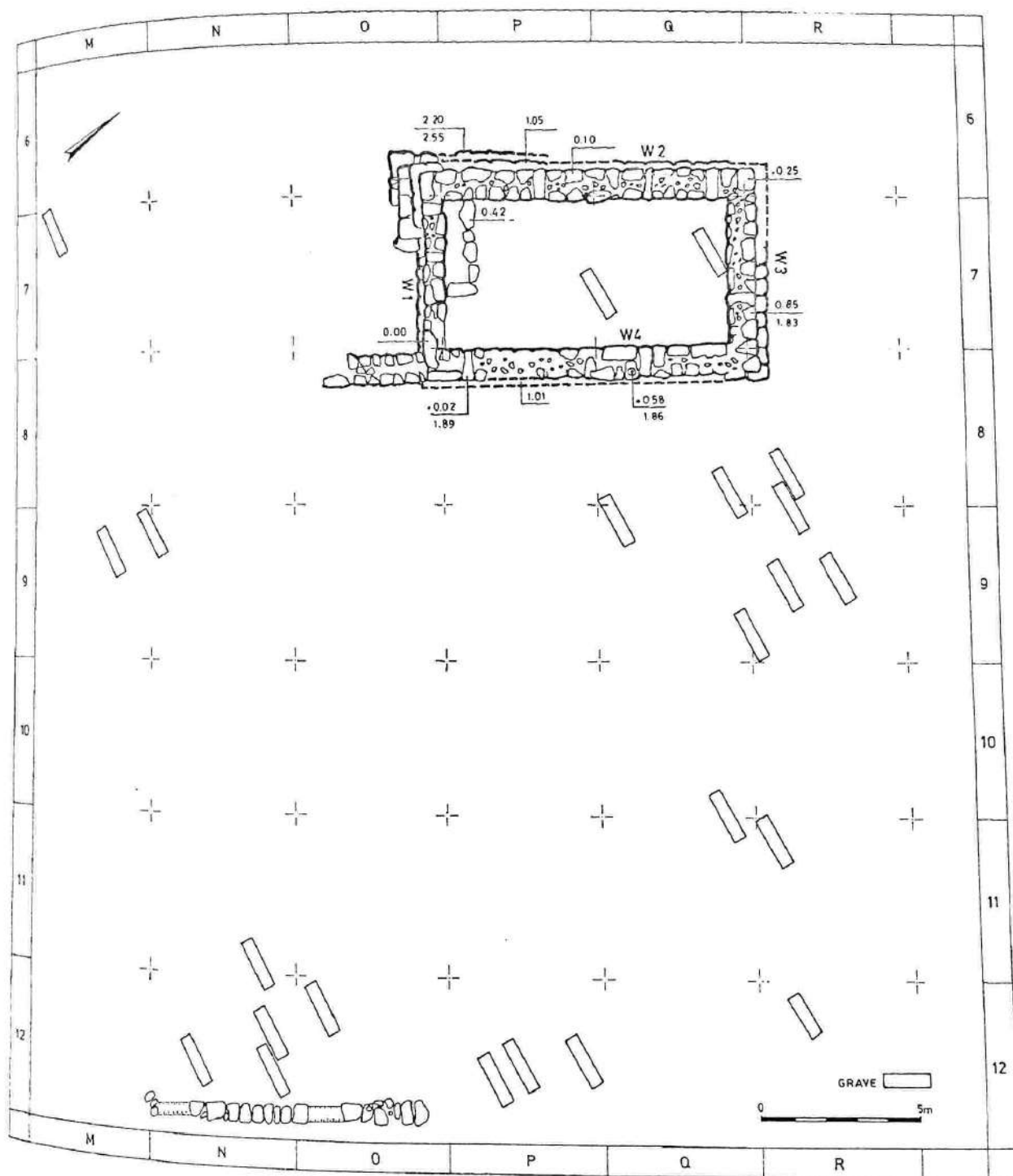


Fig. 19.4: Site plan of Mazad: Byzantine and Early Islamic Periods.

B. Bagatti gives a description, plan and section of the mediaeval structure, perhaps a road-station and water tank.⁷⁰⁴ *AS Benjamin*, Site No. 265, p.40*. For further discussion, see Appendix II to Part II.

95. **Horvat Mazad** 1552.1359
(Kh. el Qasr, Kh. el Kusr) fig. 13, 19.2-4; Pl. 29,30,53,78-9.

Horvat Mazad lies on a hilltop, about 530 m. above sea-level, overlooking Wadi Alaq, a few kilometres west of Neve Ilan (Kh. Zabbud, see s.v.) and Abu Ghosh (see s.v.). It is one of the sites right on the Roman road between Abu Ghosh and Emmaus. An inscribed milestone was found here *in situ* (see Parts II and IV). The site is eminently suitable for a road-station, lying as it does in a prominent place which gives excellent views to the east and west.

Horvat Mazad was visited by several scholars in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Conder and Kitchen (SWP iii, p.118) noted its connection with the Roman road: 'Square foundations of good-sized masonry. A rock-cut cistern, vaults and a cave. The place appears to have been a station on the Roman road.' Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, ii, p. 69 merely mentions the site by name.

On 10-6-1942 Baramki drew a plan, described the remains on the spot and took photographs. The latter clearly show the vaulted section of the eastern wall of the later (Byzantine) fort. S.A.S. Hussein describes a rectangular vault with a small door in the south-east corner. He notes scanty Roman potsherds and adds a schematic plan of the site. He observes: 'Remains of an ancient road are seen running along the mountain range to the East of the site'.

In 1972 the site was included in the research programme of the Israel Milestones Committee. It was visited and surveyed by D. Chen (architect), M. Gichon and I. Roll. Dr Chen prepared a plan of the site and this was used afterwards during the excavations.

Three seasons of excavations were carried out, in 1977, 1978 and 1980 followed by a short campaign of soundings in 1984. These were directed by Moshe Fischer on behalf of the Israel Milestones

Committee.⁷⁰⁵ Hebrew summaries of the results were published in the current issues of the *Archaeological Newsletter* of the Department of Antiquities⁷⁰⁶ and the excavations are discussed in various papers.⁷⁰⁷

The Excavations

The excavations were carried out in five areas laid out in line with the directions of the walls of the latest large structure, the Byzantine fort. Area A includes this building and the section eastward. Area B lies west of it, D to the south and E to the north. Area C refers to the excavations south of the Roman road. The squares of the grid measure 5 x 5 m. and are subdivided into loci, which include archaeological features such as layers, pottery-complexes, ovens, channels etc. We shall now briefly describe the stratification in chronological order.

(1) The earliest remains were cuttings in bedrock containing pottery from the *Iron Age II* (including a complete juglet). The same period was represented in a number of surface finds and objects found in secondary use, notably a scarab discovered in an early Muslim tomb inside the Byzantine fort. It

⁷⁰⁵ The excavations at H. Mazad were part of the regional project of excavations and research in the area of Emmaus and Sha'ar Hagai headed by Professor M. Gichon of the Department of Classical Studies, Tel Aviv University. The project was made possible by financial support by the Thyssen Foundation (Germany) and the Jewish National Fund (Israel). Members of the staff were: Amnon Dvir, Eli Franco, Sarah Pilz, Michael Rohrberger, Eli Shenhav, Alla Stein (area supervisors), Architects Dr. Alessandra Bossi, Dr. Marco Cenzatti, Dr. Rino Tampone (all from Firenze, Italy), Julia Moskovitz (surveyor), Liora Netzer and Orit Bergman (recorders), Hagai Yaron (administrator). Dr. Arie Kindler, Keeper of Coins at the Museum Ha'aretz, Ramat Aviv, was numismatic advisor of the project. The finished drawings and plans were prepared by Mrs. Rina Sheivin. Photographs in the field were made by Nelly Shefer, Meredith Craigh and Moshe Fischer. Finds were photographed by Moshe Weinberg. Volunteers from Brazil, the German Federal Republic, Great Britain, Israel, Italy and the U.S.A. participated in the seasons of excavation.

⁷⁰⁶ *Archaeological Newsletter* 65-66 (1978), 29-30; 67-68 (1978), 37-39 and 82 (1983), 54 f.

⁷⁰⁷ M. Fischer, *RB* 86 (1979), 461 f.; *Archiv für Orientforschung* 27 (1980), 235-237; *ZDPV* 103 (1986), 117-36; in: *Greece and Rome in Eretz Israel*, ed. G. Fuks, A. Kasher and U. Rappaport (1989, Heb.), 185-206.

⁷⁰⁴ B. Bagatti, *I Monumenti di Emmaus el-Qubeibeh* (1947), 207. Also: R. Ellenblum in: *Historical-Geographical Studies* (1988, Heb.), 212 f., figs. 4-5.

dates to the 8th-7th century BC.⁷⁰⁸ These finds are all unconnected with the structures excavated which do not antedate the second century BC.

(2) The remains of a complex extending over an area of about 200 m. square, belong to the second phase, which dates to the Hasmonaean period (see Plan, fig.19.3). The main part of the complex lies under the foundations of the Byzantine fort. These follow roughly the same lines as the main Hasmonaean structure. The latter consists of four rooms with approximately similar measurements (about 3 m. x 3 m.). The doorway is in the east, where a sort of forecourt was created by an extension eastward of the north and south walls of the main building. Inside the building, where the four interior walls join, another north-south wall was attached. This may have been the foundation of a staircase or the base of a ladder which probably gave access to a flat roof. However, little can be said of the superstructure as only the foundations were preserved.

The foundation courses of the walls are of dry masonry, 80 - 100 cm thick and built on bedrock, levelled by cutting away rock and filling in holes. The blocks measure on average 60 cubic cm. or 80 x 40 x 40 cm. and are roughly cut. The upper courses of the walls were probably built of partly bossed ashlars. Such stones were found reused both in the Early Roman and in the Byzantine structures. While the latter were built of stones with flattened bosses the Hasmonaean ashlars have protruding bosses. The date of bossed building blocks is still under debate, but it appears that the material found at the present site is paralleled in Hasmonaean structures elsewhere.⁷⁰⁹ The complex was surrounded by a wall of about 1.20 m. thick several sections of which were uncovered south of the building.

Comparable structures have been discovered at various locations. They served as watchtowers along the roads.⁷¹⁰ After this fort was abandoned (see below for the chronology) the rooms of the fort were filled in

with building stones from the walls and pottery.

The pottery of this phase is paralleled by material from other Late Hellenistic - Hasmonaean sites. Numerous storage-jars have been found, which are often considered characteristic of military structures.⁷¹¹ The prevailing type of jars is the oval-to-bag-shaped type with short neck, a collared rim and thickened flaring lip.⁷¹² Black-glazed bowls and dishes⁷¹³ with a mould formed by acanthus- and palm-leaves are typical of the pottery of the second century BC.⁷¹⁴ To this period also belong the delphiniform lamps with elongated nozzle and the smaller folded lamps.⁷¹⁵

The coins confirm these dates. From a total of about 100 identifiable specimens, 55 belong to the reign of Alexander Jannaeus. 13 of these are lead coins, a material that was rarely used.⁷¹⁶ A didrachm of Demetrius II and a few coins of Antiochus III again confirm the dating of this phase. Only three coins were assigned to the period between the reign of Alexander Jannaeus and that of Herod the Great.

It may be concluded that the fort was abandoned in this period. The structure at H. Mazad therefore represents a watchtower on the road to Jerusalem built during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus.⁷¹⁷

(3) *The Herodian - Early Roman Period* is represented at H. Mazad by the remains of a large fortified road-station and adjacent buildings. Substantial parts of the structure were attached to the remains of the older watchtower. It is difficult to ascertain whether the latter was still in use in this period, because the later Byzantine fort was built right

⁷⁰⁸ The scarab was identified and deciphered first by Mr. Peter Blastenbrei, student of Egyptology who worked as a volunteer in the campaign in 1977. It was then studied by the late Prof. Raphael Givon of Tel Aviv University, who confirmed the date assigned by Mr. Blastenbrei and intended to discuss the find in a paper. This remained unfinished because of his sudden death.

⁷⁰⁹ See Y. Tsafir, *RB* 82(1975), 501-521.

⁷¹⁰ See for instance V. Tsafiris, *IEJ* 24(1974), 84-94 on the site at Giv'at Shaul discussed above s.v.; Kochavi, *Survey* 1967, no. 236 etc.

⁷¹¹ See V. Vanderpool, J.R. McCredie and A. Steinberg, *Hesperia* 31 (1962), 26-61, esp. 38, n.7.

⁷¹² Lapp, *Palestinian Ceramic Chronology* (1961), Type 11.2. C-E from Bethel and Beit Zur.

⁷¹³ See H.A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 3(1934), 311-480.

⁷¹⁴ S.I. Rotroff, *Hellenistic Pottery, Athenian and Imported Mouldmade Bowls (The Athenian Agora)*, vol. 22 (1982), no.74 f.

⁷¹⁵ R. Rosenthal and R. Sivan, *Ancient Lamps in the Schloessinger Collection* (1978), nos. 22; 329-330; Lapp, op.cit., Type 81.1, dated to 75-74 BC.

⁷¹⁶ D. Barag, in: *Studies in Honor of Leo Mildenberg* (1984), 1-5. See M. Radnoti-Alföldi, *Antike Numismatik* 1 (1978), 25, note 67.

⁷¹⁷ Fischer, *ZDPV*, op.cit., 124 - 7.

on top of it, destroying the connection between the watchtower and the Herodian building. It is, however, not at all uncommon to find structures attached to older watchtowers in Hellenistic and Early Roman architecture, in Palestine as elsewhere.⁷¹⁸

In the western part of the complex the rooms were arranged around the courtyard in which the older watchtower stood. The rooms were built against the outer wall of the complex. This wall is about 1.30 m. thick. Older stones are found in secondary use. The rooms measure on average 5 x 2.50 m. and have walls about 60-70 cm. thick. There are signs of later reinforcement and repair. Small plastered silos, remains of ovens, fragments of tools such as basalt mills and great quantities of pottery and coins (see below) show that the place was used intensively during the first century AD. This is also clear in the eastern part of the complex. Here earlier walls were dismantled and a large area was filled in with older material and pebbles to form a courtyard. Fireplaces and vessels sunk in the floor indicate that this was a space for cooking and storage. Against the east wall a cistern with five steps was found cut in the bedrock. It measured 3.5 m. square and was 2.24 m. deep. It is possible that it served as a ritual bath (*miqve*), but this requires further investigation.⁷¹⁹

Approximately 25 m. south of the main complex a rock cut water cistern with buildings above it and, farther south, a large quarry were discovered. The water was collected through openings in the ceiling of the cistern. There was a doorway in the east wall.

These remains clearly came from a road-station.

This phase produced great quantities of pottery dating from the Late Herodian period (i.e. the first century AD), a date confirmed by numismatic finds. Typical pottery shapes are tall spindle-shaped and large bag-shaped jars,⁷²⁰ cooking pots with a high neck and a triangular lip,⁷²¹ juglets,⁷²² and pilgrim flasks with

twisted handles.⁷²³ There are also finds specific to this period such as stone vessels⁷²⁴ and Herodian lamps.⁷²⁵

The numismatic material includes three coins of Herod the Great, coins of virtually every procurator, Herod Agrippa and at least the first and the second year of the First Revolt. In one of the rooms in the western part of the building large quantities of pottery were found together with coins of the First Revolt which appears to mark the end point of phase 3.

H. Mazad is one of several sites explored in recent years with substantial remains from the first century. It was constructed as a road-station and perhaps occupied by the Jewish rebels during the revolt, only to be abandoned when the Romans marched on Jerusalem.

Among the other finds worth mentioning are the fragments of a pair of bronze scales with two arms of equal length, one of which has incised notches marking the distribution of weights.

(4) Like other sites abandoned in the course of the Jewish revolt, particularly the smaller villages and road-stations, H. Mazad long remained unoccupied. It was not reconstructed until the Byzantine period. However, a few items from the intervening period are worthy of mention. In the layer of rubbish which covered the Early Roman road-station and which formed the base for the foundations of the Byzantine fort three coins were found. One of these is a coin from Ascalon from the year 76/77 AD with the countermark of *Legio X Fretensis*.⁷²⁶ The others are coins of the Nabataean king Rabbel II with his wife Shequlat (AD 70-76).⁷²⁷ These were presumably lost by Roman soldiers who patrolled the road without restoring the former road-station in any way. As a road-station the site was eventually superseded by the installations at Abu Ghosh (see s.v.). As observed in Parts I and V, the road on which H. Mazad lay was still in active use during the period when the site was unoccupied. The clearest testimony is an inscribed milestone dated to AD 162, found among the rubble of the Byzantine fort in which it had been reused as a

⁷¹⁸ References in the entry on Kh. ad Daliva and cf. the entry on Giv'at Shaul (Kh. al Atrash). See in general: M. Nowicka, *Les maisons à tour dans le monde grec* (1978); F. Vanderpool et al., *Hesperia* 31 (1962), 34, fig. 5.

⁷¹⁹ Cf. Fischer, *JDT* 103 (1986), 129, n. 38.

⁷²⁰ Lapp, op. cit., Type 11.2.F.G.

⁷²¹ Op. cit. Type 7.E.L.N.2.

⁷²² Op. cit. Type 31.1.F.

⁷²³ Op. cit. Type 29.F.G.

⁷²⁴ Cf. Y. Magen, *Qadmoniot* 17 (1984), 124-127 (Heb.).

⁷²⁵ Rosenthal and Sivan, *Ancient Lamps*, 81, no. 331 with bibliography.

⁷²⁶ IX, cf. H. Heymann, *Israel Numismatic Journal* 3 (1963).

⁷²⁷ Y. Meshorer, *Nabataean Coins* (1975), 82.

building stone.

(5) The site was reoccupied in the Byzantine period. The remains of this phase were visible before the excavations were carried out and have been mentioned by visitors to the site. The Byzantine tower was built on the highest point of the hill, almost precisely on top of the foundations of the Hasmonaean tower and the central building of the Early Roman road-station.

The Byzantine building is a rectangle of about 11 x 7 m., accessible from the road through a door in the SE corner. The walls are about 80-90 cm. thick and consist of two faces with a fill of large unworked stones. Only in the extant northern section of the east wall, where the base of a vault can be observed, was the fill made of large ashlar with a smooth boss. As noted above, stones with a protruding boss deriving from the earlier (Hasmonaean?) building are found in secondary use. The outer face of the walls is made almost exclusively of fine ashlar with a smooth boss. Unlike the older stones with a protruding boss found in secondary use in various spots, the blocks used for the outer face were all newly cut for the Byzantine building and they came from the quarry about 100 m. south of the hill. This is similar to the findings at other Byzantine sites excavated in recent years.⁷²⁸

Another characteristic feature of the masonry is the use of *diatonoi*, i.e. stones arranged along the width of the wall at every distance of 2-3 m. It may be noted that the use of *diatonoi* is one of Vitruvius' precepts for ashlar building (*De Architectura* ii 8,7). A strong mortar was used, both as binding material and to cover the joints. As noted above, older walls were used as foundations. Elsewhere in this site the Byzantine walls stand on bedrock. The rooms of the old structures were all filled in and covered with a thick layer of sand and mortar both inside and outside the Byzantine building.

The structures found near the cistern, south of the hill, seem to have been used in a modified form in the Byzantine period as well.

The building appears to have been a road-station. However, since there were no further structures and the pottery and coinage of this period was rather meagre it must have been used sporadically, possibly only by the army which policed the roads to Jerusalem for the benefit of Christian pilgrims.⁷²⁹

As noted, the ceramic material was modest in quantity. A complete juglet with incised shoulder,⁷³⁰ fragments of oil-lamps with radial motives⁷³¹ are typical of the sixth century, but must be observed that 'Late Roman Ware' is entirely missing. A number of coins of Anastasius I and Justinian suggest that the building was in use, or even constructed in the sixth century. As noted in Part I, Chapter 1, literary evidence testifies to the use of this road by pilgrims early in the sixth century.

(6) In the Early Moslem period the Byzantine installations remained in use for some time. Changes were made in and around the building. The inner plan of the building was altered by the construction of thin partition-walls. A *tabun* was made and used on the floor-level of the Byzantine phase. Outside, a new wall appears to have been built around the building. It still served as a halting place. Later it was used exclusively as a cemetery. 22 tombs were uncovered, all in the eastern part of the site, 2 of them in the Byzantine building itself. These were all inhumation burials with the bodies oriented east-west and facing southward, to Mecca. In some graves of women there were earrings and bracelets and in two graves there were Umayyad coins.

Pottery from this period was found all over the area. One complete oil-lamp supports the dating of this complex to the seventh-eighth century.⁷³² The numismatic material consists of re-used and copied Byzantine coins of the seventh century and Umayyad coins from the period after the monetary reform (late seventh-eighth centuries).

Conclusions

At H. Mazad four main construction phases were found: Hasmonaean, Early Roman (Herodian), Byzantine, and Early Moslem. In the Roman period the site was used but not built up to any extent although this is the stage when the site lay right on a Roman military road. On the other hand, the remains that go back to the reign of Alexander Jannaeus and to the Early Roman period show that the road was organised by the state well before the Romans took things in hand, while the Byzantine occupation is evidence of road-organisation at a time when milestones were no longer set up. Finally, the occupation of the site in the

⁷²⁸ Y. Tsafir and Y. Hirschfeld, *DOP* 33(1979), 291-326, esp. 296, n. 2 and 3 (bibliography and Pl. 2, 3, 9 and 35).

⁷²⁹ See Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, Chapter IV.

⁷³⁰ P. Delougaz and R.C. Haines, *A Byzantine Church at Khirbat el Karak* (1960), 33, Pl.34,1 and 56,8.

⁷³¹ Rosenthal and Sivan, *op.cit.*, 116 f., nos. 476-482.

⁷³² Rosenthal and Sivan, *Ancient Lamps*, 133-136, no. 548.

uslin shows that the road past H.
was immediately abandoned after the
conqu

Me 'in (fig.5) 1485.1490

Th ancient site in a moshav on the
da - Kaf

E. carried out a rescue excavation
n behalf of the Department of Antiquities. This is
briefly mentioned in the *Archaeological Newsletter*
51-62 (1977), 26. No other information is
available. Reference is made to a Byzantine monastery
of about a quarter of an acre including a church,
chambers, a wine press and cisterns. The monastery
had a cloister surrounded by a wall on three sides.
Mosaics, inscriptions and sarcophagi appear to have
been found as well.

The site is Byzantine.

Modi'in (fig.

Under the hill, a group of sites is discussed,
all of which in the past have been tentatively identified with
ancient Modi'in.

- I. Herarces.
- II. Herarces.
- III. Herarces.

Kubur el-Ya'ad (Kh. al-
diya), Site no. 98

Kh. el-Hamam, Site no.

Kh. Sheikh al Gharbawi
(forvath Hagardi), Site no. 118

er Ras (el-Arbat'in), Site
111, (Pl.39).

Midiya, Site no. 97 (Pl.39).

Th. n of Ancient Modi'in

Lit. rces

Mo first mentioned in 1 Maccabees,
ently. Mattathias, father of the
and himself there⁷³⁴ and it was

⁷³³ 1. 19
and C.G. 19
14 (1965), 10f. Cf. A. Ovadia
ant 13 (1981), 243, no.57.

⁷³⁴ 1 Macc. 2
1,3(36). Josephus, *Ant.* xii 6,1(265); *BJ* i

there that the first confrontation between him and
Seleucid officers took place.⁷³⁵ The description in 1
Macc. 16,1-10 is important for identification. In 139/8
or 138/7 Simon the Maccabee sent his sons John and
Judas from Jerusalem to the coastal plain. They passed
the night at Modi'in.⁷³⁶ This indicates that Modi'in was
on one of the roads from Jerusalem to the coastal plain,
presumably somewhere halfway.⁷³⁷ A similar situation
is envisaged in 2 Macc. 13,14: Judas, marching against
Lysias, encamped at Modi'in.⁷³⁸ Mattathias was buried
'in the family tomb at Modin' (1 Macc. 2,70) and so
was Judas.⁷³⁹ Simon buried his brother Jonathan there
and constructed a large grave monument for his parents
and his four brothers. It was visible from the sea and
existed in the days of the author of 1 Maccabees.⁷⁴⁰ It
was still extant at the time of Eusebius: 'Modi'im, a
village near Diospolis from where the Maccabees came
and where their grave monument is still being pointed
out'.⁷⁴¹ The same was true for the time of Jerome, the
fifth century. Jerome translates Eusebius and adds that
he is surprised that their relics should be shown at An-
tioch.⁷⁴²

Modi'in is mentioned twice in the Mishnah:
'What counts as a long journey? To Modi'in and
beyond and the same distance in every direction. Thus

⁷³⁵ 1 Macc. 2,15 ff.

⁷³⁶ Ibid. 4: ...καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ἐπὶ τὸν
Κενδεβαῖον καὶ ἐκοιμήθησαν ἐν Μωδεῖν.
καὶ ἀναστάντες τὸ πρωὶ ἐπορεύοντο εἰς
τὸ πεδίον.

⁷³⁷ A location in the hill-country is suggested also by
the Vulgate, 1 Macc. 2,1: 'in monte Modin'.

⁷³⁸ The parallel passage in 1 Macc. 6,32 ff. shows this
to be incorrect, but that is not important for our
purpose. The point at issue here are the characteristics
of the site of which the author would have been well
aware even if he was vague about the campaign which
he describes.

⁷³⁹ 1 Macc. 9,19; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* xii 11,2 (432).

⁷⁴⁰ 1 Macc. 13,25-30; cf. *Ant.* xiii 6,6 (210).

⁷⁴¹ Eusebius, *On.* 132,16: Μωδεεῖμ. κώμη
πλησίον Διοσπόλεως, ὅθεν ἦσαν οἱ
Μακκαβαῖοι, ὧν καὶ τὰ μνήματα εἰς ἐτι νῦν
δείκνυται.

⁷⁴² Jerome, *ibid.*, 133, 18 f.: 'Modeim vicus iuxta
Diospolim, unde fuerunt Maccabaei, quorum hodieque
ibidem sepulera monstrantur. satis itaque mirum
quomodo Antiochiae eorum reliquias ostendant, aut
quo hoc certo auctore sit creditum.'

R. Aqiva.⁷⁴³

M. Hagigah iii 5: 'From Modi'it and farther inwards men may be considered reliable as regards pottery; from Modi'it and beyond they may not be considered reliable...'

Both passages indicate that Modi'in marked the boundary between Judaea proper and the coastal plain. It should also be noted that it is referred to as a point on the road in the first source and perhaps also in the latter. The Babylonian Talmud, commenting on the first source, gives the distance from Modi'im to Jerusalem as 15 miles.⁷⁴⁴

The Madaba Map mentions 'Modiim, now Moditha from where came the Maccabees'.⁷⁴⁵ This is a valuable piece of information for several reasons. First, the form of the name, 'Moditha' echoes that found in the Mishnah, 'Modi'it'. It is thus clear that this was the form used locally throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods. Secondly, it is clear that Modi'in existed as a settlement at this period. Thirdly, the map helps in identifying the area where Modi'in is to be sought. Modi'in is depicted to the west of 'K. Erouta', which lies west of Beit Horon and north of Betoannaba, which is north of Emmaus/Nicopolis, and east of Lydda/Diospolis (for all these sites see the relevant entries). Even if we do not accept the theory that the Madaba Map as a whole is based on a road-map, it is still very likely that this signifies that ancient Modi'in lay on the Beit Horon road, east of Lydda. Despite these references it should be noted that Modi'in was not an important focus of pilgrimage in the Byzantine period, nor could that have been expected.

For the identification of the site it is of some relevance that the name appears in the sources in many different forms: Greek: Μωδεειμ, Μωδαειμ, Μωδεϊν, Μωδαϊ, Μωδαiei, Μωδιθα, Hebrew: Modi'it, Modi'im, Modi'in, Latin: Modiim.⁷⁴⁶

Mediaeval pilgrims and other authors have sought Modi'in immediately west of Jerusalem, at Zovah, or at the site of Latrun, both locations chosen because they happened to be visible from the road to

Jerusalem in use at the time.⁷⁴⁷ These are clearly irrelevant in establishing the historical site of Modi'in. None of the sites which make up the group now identified with ancient Modi'in were noticed by the post-Byzantine pilgrims. When the road through Abu Ghosh was no longer used by Christian pilgrims the identification with Zovah was forgotten and Latrun remained the only candidate. For instance, Felix Fabri (1480-3) saw 'Mount Modin' near Lydda.⁷⁴⁸ We have not seen all descriptions of journeys in the Holy Land in this period, but this 'Mount Modin' seems not to have been part of the regular pilgrims' circuit at the time.⁷⁴⁹

II. Exploration

The identification of ancient Modi'in with Midiya was first proposed by Emmanuel Forner in 1866, followed by Sandreczki and by Guérin.⁷⁵⁰ The latter carried out investigations on the spot (particularly at Sheikh el-Garbawy in 1870). Sandreczki first

⁷⁴⁷ See the entries on Latrun and Zovah and references in *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, iv, 1181.

⁷⁴⁸ Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti Peregrinationem*, ed. Hassler, (Stuttgart 1843-9), 85a; Vol. i, part 1, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society (London 1892) tr. A. Stewart, 257.

⁷⁴⁹ It is omitted in the accounts of others who mention visiting Lydda: Bertrandon de la Brocquière (1432-3), ed. Schefer, 10; Anselme Adorno, 117b, ed. Heers and de Groer (1978), 307; the Account of the anonymous pilgrim of 1475 (in the library of Amiens): A. Barrois, *RB* 38(1929), 404-20; the anonymous, *Voyage de la sainte cité de Hierusalem* (1480), ed. Schefer (Paris 1882), 65; Hans Werli von Zimmer (1483) in: S. Feyerabend, *Reissbuch des heiligen Landes* (Frankfurt 1584), 128-30; Bernhard de Breydenbach (1483-4), Spira 1502, no page numbers.

⁷⁵⁰ Argued at length by V. Guérin, *Samarie* ii, 55-64. Forner's suggestion seems to have been reported only in the newspaper *le Monde*, to judge from Guérin's acknowledgement on p.62. Guérin may also have been inspired by Frère Liévin, *Guide indicateur des sanctuaires et lieux historiques de la Terre Sainte*, first ed. (Jerusalem 1869), 43, note, which we have not seen. A. Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud* (Paris 1868), 99, suggests identification of Modi'in with Midieh referring only to the map of Van de Velde. It is possible that he made the discovery independently, but more likely that he had seen the article in *le Monde*. See also the discussion by J. Schwartz, *Lod (Lydda)*, *Israel* (1991), 61-5.

⁷⁴³ M. Pesahim ix 2.

⁷⁴⁴ B.T. Pesahim 93b.

⁷⁴⁵ M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Map* (1954), no. 58: Μωδεειμ. ἡ νῦν Μωδιθα. ἐκ ταύτης ἦσαν οἱ Μακκαβαῖοι.

⁷⁴⁶ For references see *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (ed. Cheyne and Black), vol. iii (1982) s.v. Modiin (I. Abrahams), 3180.

studied the site of Kabur el-Yehud (1870). Clermont-Ganneau also explored the remains at Sheikh al-Gharbawi (in 1883). In recent years Zohar Baran and the late Dr Zvi Ilan have surveyed the area.

III The ancient remains on the various sites

The sites are discussed in roughly geographical order, from south to north and west to east (see fig. 5).

(a) Kabur el-Yehud (Kh. Mudiya). Site no. 98. 1497.1484

Immediately north of the road to Beit Horon is a limestone outcrop in which a group of rock-cut tombs is still visible. According to the *SWP*, ii, 342, it was called Kabur el-Yehud (Tombs of the Jews) by the Franks. As a curiosity it may be mentioned that these tombs are now popularly called 'the Tombs of the Maccabees' and are marked as such by large modern road-signs in Hebrew and English. Sandreczki gave the first extensive description of the site.⁷⁵¹ There are about thirty tombs and a wine press cut in the rock. The tombs 'were all scooped out of the horizontal rock, in the shape of coffins or sarcophagi'. Most of them have two *loculi* in the shape of arcosolia with benches which open out of the longitudinal sides of the cavity. The opening is surrounded with a groove intended to receive a flat slab which was placed over the cavity to close it. Several of these blocks are still in place. One of the tombs is bigger than the others, with rock-cut steps leading down to a small chamber with three semi-cupolae covering three sepulchral troughs.

Clermont-Ganneau was right in observing that this type of tomb is commonly associated with Late-Roman and Byzantine settlements. He points to a datable example seen in the immediate vicinity, at el-Habs, near Kh. Zakariya which is marked by two incised crosses and a short Christian inscription.⁷⁵² The type is also represented in northern Syria, where one is dated by an inscription to AD 368-9.⁷⁵³ Since the publication of Clermont-Ganneau's work numerous finds and excavations have substantiated his conclusion

⁷⁵¹ Sandreczki, *PEFQS* (1870), 245-51; re-published in *SWP* ii, 343-8, a plan is given facing 341. The *SWP* mentions traces of ruins and a wine press. See also C. R. Conder, *PEFQS* (1873), 94-6; Guérin, *Samarie*, ii, 410 ff. See in particular the illustrated description by Clermont-Ganneau, *AR*, ii, 374-6.

⁷⁵² Clermont-Ganneau, *op. cit.*, 355 f. and below q v.

⁷⁵³ *Op. cit.*, 376, citing de Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, pl. 96.

and there can be no doubt that these tombs were associated with a Late-Roman / Byzantine village.

(b) Kh. el-Hammam ('Ruins of the Bath'), Site no. 64. 1497.1488

This is a substantial site between Kabur el-Yehud and Sheikh Gharbawi and the largest of the group discussed here. Clermont-Ganneau refers to a rectangular *birkeh* and numerous fragments of columns on a spot called el Keniseh ('the church').⁷⁵⁴ He also reports that, according to one of his local informants, material was taken from here to Lydda and Ramle in the reign of Ibrahim Pasha. The *SWP* ii, 342 mentions a well, a modern *kubbeh*, a cave re-used as a stable, and ruins of a small building with pointed arches. The files of the *D.A.M.* refers to foundations, a press, a cistern cut in the rock, quarries and tombs.

We traced an ancient site which extends over 1000-1200 m. sq. The centre of it has been totally destroyed by a modern war memorial. Immediately north of Kabur el-Yehud building stones can be seen, some of them with bosses, as well as fragments of columns and water installations. Numerous white mosaic tesserae are spread all over the site. Further north-west we noticed building stones and ruins of the foundations of a rectangular building with a column still standing in the middle of it. Further to the east are the remains of an olive press. The pottery which we picked up on the surface of the site includes Hellenistic and Herodian (first century BC - first century AD) sherds, but the greatest quantity belongs to the Byzantine period. No doubt the cemetery described above was associated with this settlement.

(c) Kh. Sheikh Gharbawi (Horvath Hagardi). Site no. 118. 1496.1491

The name of the site refers to the 'Sheikh's Tomb' which still stands on the spot. A fine view westwards over the coastal plain to the sea in the distance has led several scholars to argue vigorously that this was the site of the Maccabean funeral monument. The remains of an ancient building found nearby have been investigated by Guérin and Clermont-Ganneau,⁷⁵⁵ who sharply disagreed about the interpretation of what they found: Guérin was absolutely convinced that he had discovered the remains of the monument constructed by Simon the

⁷⁵⁴ Clermont-Ganneau, *AR*, ii 475.

⁷⁵⁵ Guérin, *Samarie*, ii, 404-26; Clermont-Ganneau, *op. cit.*, ii, 358-74. For a summary, *SWP* ii, 342-52. The structure has now been re-examined by Zohar Baran and the late Dr Zvi Ilan to whom we are grateful for information.

Hasmonaean, while Clermont-Ganneau admitted no more than that this was a structure dating to the Byzantine period, perhaps erected there on the assumption that the old Hellenistic grave monument had stood on this spot.

The ancient structure is rectangular in shape, measuring 27.80 x 6.70 m. It is divided into three sections and was surrounded by a colonnade, according to Guérin, for he found fragments of columns of 45 cm. diameter. Guérin and Clermont-Ganneau between them cleared the interior of the entire structure. Clermont-Ganneau distinguishes two phases, the eastern part being older than the western.⁷⁵⁶ The former consisted of two chambers; the smaller one, furthest to the east, was a burial chamber. Access was gained through an arched doorway in the north wall (fig. on p.364), the key-stone of which was re-discovered by Zohar Baram. This is a typical example of the arched entrances, colonnades and porticoes found in eastern churches and monasteries of the Byzantine period. In a vestibule Clermont-Ganneau found a mosaic pavement with a fine cross, datable, he says, to the fifth century or later (figs. on p.367). The burial chamber contained three tombs, one on each side. These were partly cut in the rock and partly built up covered by large stone slabs on moulded blocks (fig. on p. 365). In this part of the building Clermont-Ganneau also notes what may have been the foundations of an older structure, laid out on a different alignment.

In the western part Guérin had previously cleared a number of rock-cut shafts with recesses, covered with stone slabs. This part of the building was clearly built onto the structure at a later phase. The walls are thinner and the masonry is different. Two rooms could both be entered from the outside; the one to the west, divided into two parts, 'seemed to have served at one time for living quarters or store-rooms.' The following finds are noteworthy (p. 370): an Early Islamic glass bracelet; small bronze figurine perhaps of a ram; basalt millstone and a fragment of white moulded marble with a slightly convex surface probably from the Roman or Byzantine period. There was also a 'roughly carved capital', measuring 0.55 m. x 0.48 m. (above) and 0.42 m. (lower diameter). The size fits that of the columns mentioned by Guérin. This is an example of the Ionic capital 'en bosse', familiar from synagogues and churches from the fourth to the seventh centuries. Another specimen, dating to the Byzantine period, was found at Kh. ed Daliya (see above).

Clermont-Ganneau convincingly distinguishes

three phases:

(1) The foundations of a wall which was contemporary with the tomb in the eastern part of the building. This seems to belong to the same general class as the tombs found at Kabur el-Yehud.

(2) A later structure built up around this tomb to which belong the arched entrance and the mosaic.

(3) The western part of the building, built onto the latter, which was divided up into smaller rooms and re-used in the Early Islamic period.

It is clear that all three phases belong to the Late Roman and Byzantine period. Clermont-Ganneau suggests that the burial chamber may have remained subterranean, so that the roof of it formed the floor of a vanished building. This could have been a Christian sanctuary, to which the burial chamber formed a kind of crypt. He may well be right in concluding that the Christians of the Byzantine period regarded and honoured this as the tomb of the Maccabees, but he cautions, again correctly, against assuming that this tradition necessarily goes back to the Hellenistic period. The original mausoleum of the Maccabees may have been elsewhere.

Other remains at Sheikh Gharbawi

The ancient remains at the site are not confined to the structure described above. Indeed, we noted traces of a settlement, or part of a settlement, for the masonry of the 'Sheikh's Tomb' contains re-used building stones while in the immediate vicinity there are rock-cut water cisterns. Further north we saw more cisterns, a tomb with *arcosolia*, and foundations of buildings. To the west there are foundations and parts of agricultural installations, such as the crushing stones from olive presses. The pottery which we collected belongs mainly to the Byzantine period with a few fine specimens of Late Roman sherds. However, it includes a few examples of Hellenistic wares as well. This area then was settled in the Byzantine period and perhaps also in the Hellenistic period.

(d) *er-Ras (el-Arba'in), Site no. 111*
(Pl.39) 1507.1489

The two sites described below are separated from the others by the deep Wadi el Malaqi (Nahal Modi'in). The name *er-Ras* applies to a high conical knoll, some 200 m. south-east of the edge of the village of el-Midiya. It affords a splendid view of the sea in the west as well as to the east and south. The hill-top

⁷⁵⁶ Clermont-Ganneau, op.cit., Plan and section on p.362.

is flat with steep and regularly sloping sides descending to the wadi which curves round the hill to the east and south. These are now being used as agricultural terraces and produced no ancient remains.

Conder describes the site as 'immediately suggesting an ancient site, but showing nothing in the way of ancient ruins except a few stone heaps amongst the olives which cover its summit'.⁷⁵⁷ The *SWP* ii, 297 f. records: 'traces of ruins, a Mukâm, and a few trees.' On the sides of the hill were 'rock-cut tombs and a birkeh below, with cisterns above'. Clermont-Ganneau, ii, 470 f. 'could find no trace of a building...local tradition places there a makâm...several rock-cut tombs'. He notes that one belonged to the same type as those at Kubur el-Yahud (which would make it Late Roman or Byzantine). Albright collected potsherds on the slopes from the Early Iron, Hellenistic-Roman, and Islamic periods.⁷⁵⁸ He seems to have made no distinction between Hellenistic and Roman (or Byzantine?) sherds. The survey of 1967 reports picking up pottery from EB, Iron Age II, the Persian, Roman, Byzantine and Mediaeval periods.⁷⁵⁹

A subterranean hide-out explored by Yuval Shahar and Yigal Tepper, is described below, in Appendix II to the Gazetteer.

We noticed ancient remains only on the top, notably cisterns and a tomb consisting of a shaft cut into the rock with loculi. It would seem to date to the Iron Age and was later turned into a cistern. The sherds that we picked up were predominantly from the Iron Age, but other periods were sparsely represented: Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and Early Islamic. This then is essentially an Iron Age site with possible later occupation.

The same result may be found in *AS Benjamin*, site no. 1, p. 13*: '25 dunams. Terraced tel; possible line of fortification. EB - 18%; MB(?); - single sherd; Iron I - few sherds; Iron II - 52%; P-5%; Hell and Rom - 15%; Byz - 5%; EIs - single sherd; 213 sherds.'

(e) *Al Midiya, Site no. 97* 1506.1492
(Pl.39)

This is the modern village on the north edge of the Wadi el-Malaqi (Nahal Modi'in). Clermont-

⁷⁵⁷ *PEFQSt* (1873), 94.

⁷⁵⁸ W.F. Albright, *BASOR* 19 (1925), 6.

⁷⁵⁹ M. Kochavi (ed.), *Archaeological Survey 1967-8*, no. 226, 235.

Ganneau saw here 'a fragment of a marble slab having incised on it a Greek cross inscribed in a wreath'.⁷⁶⁰ This could have been part of a chancel screen of a church. Naturally it may have been taken to the village from elsewhere. In reports to the *D.A.M.*, J. Ory (15.11.1927) and D. Baramki (28-2-1931) mention traces of ruins, rock-cut tombs, a birkeh and cisterns. This looks rather like a reference to the similar structures recorded by the *SWP* at er-Ras (above). We saw no ancient remains in the village.

IV. The Location of Ancient Modi'in

From the discussion of the literary sources referring to Modi'in and the description of the ancient remains seen in the region since 1866 it will be clear that the precise location of Hellenistic Modi'in is not immediately obvious, even though it is nowadays usually claimed that there is no problem of identification.⁷⁶¹

The first rational argument, still decisive, for the identification of ancient Modi'in with any of the sites near the village of al Midiya is the similarity of the names. As noted above, even in antiquity there were many different forms of the name. Clermont-Ganneau pointed out that the form 'Moditha' (<Modi'it) could have developed into Modieh, like the parallel form Susitha into Susieh.⁷⁶² The identification with a site in the region of the village of al Midiya is further strengthened by its placement on the Madaba Map which does not allow any precision, but clearly suggests a location east of Diospolis (Lydda) and north of Emmaus (Nicopolis). This excludes the alternative sites of Zovah and Qastel, traditionally associated with Modi'in without good reason. Eusebius and Jerome furnish independent proof that Modi'in is to be sought near Diospolis (Lydda). There can in fact be no doubt that the identification is correct.

The next question is whether we can be more precise and choose between any of the sites near al

⁷⁶⁰ Clermont-Ganneau, *AR* ii, 377.

⁷⁶¹ For instance: B. Bagatti, *Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria* (1979), 170-2; M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Map*, 61: 'The identification of er-Ras near the present village of Midiye is undisputed.' Compare the cautious conclusions of Heidet in the *Dictionnaire de la Bible* (1912), 1184 f. who followed the equally sensible approach of Guérin, *Samarie*, ii, 63 f. and Clermont-Ganneau, ii, 476. Guérin was uncritical only in his conclusions regarding the structure at Sheikh el-Gharbawi.

⁷⁶² *PEFQSt* (1873), 93-6.

Midiya as representing the Hellenistic village. It must be noted that both Guérin and Clermont-Ganneau kept an open mind on the problem:

'The name applies not only to the village properly so called and the ruin of Khurbet el Midieh, but to the whole group of ruins of el Hammâm and el Lûz. It would then appear from this that the site of the ancient town now represented by el Midieh extended over a vast area of ground comprising three different spots, which formed the more or less contiguous quarters of it. The union of a number of centres of population under a single name would amply account for the Hebrew plural form which appears to lurk beneath the Greek transliterations of the name Modin.⁷⁶³

The question is of more than purely archaeological interest, for the geographical setting of the various sites is diverse. The village of al Midiya and neighbouring er-Ras would provide a settlement of different character from those west of the Wadi Malaqi (Nahal Modi'in). The available ground strictly limits the size of any settlement on the hill of al Midiya, but it could have been easily defended. The wadi itself cuts it off from the area to the south and west. On the other hand, the group of sites to the west of the wadi are spread over a sort of plateau which does not impose any strict limit on the size of settlement, does not offer easy security and comprises all the advantages and disadvantages of a location on a major highway. As observed above, two passages describing campaigns in the second century appear to indicate that Modi'in was on one of the roads from Jerusalem to the coastal plain, presumably somewhere halfway.⁷⁶⁴ The same seems to follow from the references in the Mishnah and the Talmud. This argument cannot decide the issue, but it has at least some force since there is no corresponding evidence in favour of a location east of the wadi, at the site of the modern village.

The same can be said of the archaeological material. As was realized by the nineteenth-century scholars who first studied the area, we are faced with a complex of ancient sites on both banks of the Wadi Malaqi (Nahal Modi'in). The excavation of a

Byzantine monastery at Mevo Modi'in (q.v.) and the presence of Byzantine remains at Horvat Hatarsi (q.v.) may even indicate that this extended settlement included sites on the other side of the road. The sites around Zakariya, however, (q.v.) clearly belong to a second group which are better discussed apart. In the Byzantine period, as we have observed in the last chapter, such extended settlements could include villages proper, adjacent burial grounds, and farmhouses with their water installations and tombs.

Visitors to er-Ras and al Midiya a century ago did not see any significant ancient remains there, while the archaeologists equipped with an understanding of pottery who visited the site recently, found indications that this was primarily an Iron Age site. It may be added that the siting is characteristic of many settlements of that period with its emphasis on defensibility rather than scope for expansion and easy communications. On the other hand, west of the wadi, and particularly at Kh. el-Hammam and Kh. Sheikh Gharbawi (Horvat Hagardi), enough Hellenistic material was found to justify a provisional conclusion that here, if anywhere in this area, was the Modi'in of the second century BC.

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 Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, ii, 391

Morashah

In the Morashah neighbourhood in Jerusalem, outside the walls of the Old city, an Armenian monastery has been excavated.⁷⁶⁵ It was built in the

⁷⁶³ Clermont-Ganneau, *AR*, ii, 476. For a similar view, less cogently expressed, Guérin, *Samarie*, ii, 63 f.

⁷⁶⁴ No army would march two kilometres inland and cross a deep valley to spend the night at a place like al Midiya. It could be argued that the sources mean to say that the army encamped 'in the area of Modi'in', but 1 Macc. 16.4 has 'ἐν Μωδῆϊν' which does not easily lend itself to such an interpretation.

⁷⁶⁵ D. Armit & S. Wolff, *Qadmoniot* 26 (1993), 52-6 (Heb.).

sixth century, enlarged in the seventh, and abandoned in the Abassid period. It may have functioned as the centre of an Armenian settlement outside the city walls in the Byzantine and Early Islamic periods.

99. Motza (Colonia; Kalonia; Qaluniya) and vicinity 1658.1336

(Fig. 17; Pl. 7, 23, 35, 82)

The road from Abu Ghosh to Jerusalem makes a steep descent of more than three hundred metres to the Wadi Qaluniya (Nahal Soreq), followed by an equally steep ascent leading up to the plateau on which Jerusalem lies. The site must also have been important as a check point for traffic along the Soreq valley. Like the site of Abu Ghosh it represents a cross-road, although only one of the branches is a Roman highway. North of the site of Motza the Soreq valley opens up and, thanks to an abundant water supply from several springs, becomes one of the most fertile and pleasant valleys of the region. The combination of plentiful water, a crossing of the Soreq and good soil make it a natural spot for settlement and the site of a crossing is a suitable place for an inn.⁷⁶⁶

Literary Sources

Hamozah (New English Bible: Mozah) is listed among the cities of the tribe of Benjamin in Joshua 18,26. The Septuagint renders this as Ἀμωσά. 1 Chron. 8,37 is also relevant, recording that 'Zimri was the father of Motza'⁷⁶⁷ so that Motza appears in a genealogical list of the tribe Benjamin among the descendants of Jonathan son of Saul. It is likely that there is a connection with the place named Hamozah, for the name of Zimri, father of Motza, is also that of a river in the land of Benjamin. Zimri's brothers, Alemeth and Azmoth also appear as place-

names in the same region.⁷⁶⁸

Motza occurs in the Mishnah which deals with the use of willow branches in the Temple at the time of Sukkot:⁷⁶⁹

'Below Jerusalem there is a place named Motza. They go down and cut willow shoots there....'

Both Talmuds confirm that Motza was called Kalonia.⁷⁷⁰ B.T. Sukkah 45a: 'The place was named Kalonia. Why does our Tanna call it Motza? Because it is exempt from royal taxes, therefore he calls it Motza.' J.T. Sukkah iv 54b: 'What is Motza? Mamtzia. R. Tanhuma said: "It is called Kaloniya." It is clear that the attempt to explain the name 'Motza' by linking it with the verb 'to exempt' is not to be taken seriously. It is, however, quite likely that the statements reflect a common knowledge that the veteran settlement enjoyed tax privileges, even though it did not have city status, let alone that of a 'colonia civium Romanorum'.

The New Testament, on the other hand, mentions a village called Emmaus sixty stades from Jerusalem.

Luke 24,13: 'That same day [Sunday after the crucifixion] two of them [sc. of the disciples] were on their way to a village called Emmaus which lay sixty stades from Jerusalem.'⁷⁷¹ They arrived at the village towards evening,⁷⁷² had dinner and, upon discovering the miracle of Jesus' presence,

⁷⁶⁸ Another Motza is mentioned in 1 Chron. 2,46 among the descendants of Caleb, but it is doubtful whether the descendants of Caleb would have spread as far as Motza near Jerusalem or that a place so far to the south could be meant in this case. Cf. Z. Kallai, *Historical Geography of the Bible* (1986), 403.

⁷⁶⁹ M. Sukkot 4:5.

⁷⁷⁰ Schürer, *History*, i, 513, n., states that no great weight need be attached to this view. However, the Jerusalem Talmud in particular was produced by scholars living in Palestine and nothing is gained by assuming that they would have invented geography.

⁷⁷¹ Καὶ ἰδοὺ δύο ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἦσαν πορευόμενοι εἰς κώμην ἀπέχουσαν σταδίους ἐξήκοντα ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἡ ὄνομα Ἑμμαοὺς. Some of the MSS have σταδίους ἑκατὸν ἐξήκοντα.

⁷⁷² Ibid. 29 ὅτι πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἐστὶν καὶ κέκλινεν ἡ δὴ ἡ ἡμέρα.

⁷⁶⁶ See the illustration in C. Wilson, *Picturesque Palestine* (1881), i, 202 and the old engraving by Zuallart, here reproduced as Pl. 100. The spring still was important during the British advance to Jerusalem in 1917. *History of the Great War. Military Operations in Egypt and Palestine*, I, by C. Falls and A.F. Becke (1930), 276 f.: 'The 60th Division was mainly responsible for the Jaffa road, on which natives hired from a contractor were employed, and also developed the water supply at Qalonye.'

⁷⁶⁷ Also: 1 Chron. 9,42. We are grateful to Aharon Oppenheimer for this reference.

immediately 'set out and returned to Jerusalem. There they found that the Eleven and the rest of the company had assembled...'⁷⁷³

Josephus records a veteran settlement called Ammaus:

'About the same time Caesar sent instructions to Bassus and Laberius Maximus, the procurator, to dispose of all Jewish land. For he founded no city of his own there while keeping their territory, but merely assigned eight hundred veterans a place for settlement called Ammaus, which lies at a distance of thirty stades from Jerusalem.'⁷⁷⁴

Cyrillus of Scythopolis, *vita Sabae*, 67, ed. Schwartz, 168: [describing a year of drought, AD 520] 'the springs of Colonia and Nephthous also dwindled.'⁷⁷⁵

The Martyrium of the Holy Sixty New Martyrs (AD 724): *Palestinskii Sbornik*, xii, 4: relates that the Greeks were caught by the Arabs 'near the spring of Colonia, which is about three miles from our holy city of Christ, our God'.⁷⁷⁶

⁷⁷³ Ibid. 33: Καὶ ἀναστάντες αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ εὗρον ἡθροισμένους τοὺς ἑνδεκα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς.

⁷⁷⁴ BJ vii 6,6 (217): Περί δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἐπέστειλε Καῖσαρ Βάσσῳ καὶ Λαβερῖῳ Μαξίμῳ, οὗτος δὲ ἦν ἐπίτροπος, κελεύων πᾶσαν γῆν ἀποδόσθαι τῶν Ἰουδαίων. οὐ γὰρ κατώκισεν ἐκεῖ πόλιν ἰδίαν αὐτῷ τὴν χώραν φυλάττων, ὅττακοσίοις δὲ μόνοις ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς διαφειμένοις χωρίον ἔδωκεν εἰς κατοίκησιν ὃ καλεῖται μὲν Ἀμμαοὺς, ἀπέχει δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων σταδίους τριάκοντα. For the correct rendering of this passage, B. Isaac, *JJS* 35(1984), 44-50. The ancient Latin translation by Rufinus has for the place-name 'ammassa'. One MS reads ἐξήκοντα which may be taken as an assimilation to the distance in Luke 24:3.

⁷⁷⁵ αἱ πηγαὶ Κολωνίας τε καὶ Νεφθοῦς ὠλιγώθησαν. Nephthous is Nephtoah (Lifta) near Motza, to the NE.

⁷⁷⁶ Κατὰ τὴν κρήμνην Κολωνείαν, ὡς ἀπὸ τριῶν οὔσαν τῆς ἁγίας Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν πόλεως. This text, cited by Vincent and Abel, *Emmaus*, 382, is inaccessible to us.

Identification

The identification of Biblical Motzah and Mishnaic Motza with Colonia is confirmed by the Talmud. The location of Colonia is not in doubt as the village of Qaluniya has preserved the ancient name. The name Motza, moreover, may still be recognized in nearby Kh. Beit Mizza and thus survived till fairly recent times. The site suits the description in the Mishnah: willow trees need a good water supply like that found at Motza, which is indeed situated below Jerusalem. Josephus' Ammaus must be the same place because only a veteran settlement would acquire the name Colonia. Josephus emphasizes that only one such settlement was founded in the area of Jerusalem and there is only one place-name which indicates a connection with veterans in the region.

There are, however, two difficulties regarding the locality mentioned by Josephus. The name 'Ammaus' can only with some difficulty be understood as a derivative of 'Hamoza',⁷⁷⁷ although this is not impossible. Secondly, the distance is only approximately right. Motza lies 7 km. along the Roman road from the Jaffa Gate of Jerusalem, which is around 38 stades. However, such distances were probably never meant to be very exact, particularly before the placement of milestones along the roads. Thirty stades (3.75 miles, or about 5.5 km.) would have represented roughly one hour's walk. There is no ancient site, moreover, exactly 30 stades from Jerusalem. Several authors have attempted to identify Vespasian's veteran settlement with Emmaus/Nicopolis,⁷⁷⁸ an untenable assumption for the reasons given above. Nor would Josephus have referred to Emmaus/Nicopolis, a substantial town which he frequently mentions, as merely 'a place for settlement called Ammaus'.⁷⁷⁹ Another argument may not be decisive but has some weight: a group of 800 veterans with their families would be just the right size of population for the area of Motza, where they would find all the advantages described above, while the town of Emmaus (Imwas) would require a larger number of settlers if they were to have a decisive impact on the environment.

If the identification of Josephus' Ammaus with Motza is accepted, there is no reason to doubt the

⁷⁷⁷ Note that Josephus always calls Emmaus/Nicopolis Ἀμμαοὺς. This must indicate an authentic variant pronunciation.

⁷⁷⁸ References in Schürer, *History*, i, 513, n. For Emmaus/Nicopolis, see the entry above.

⁷⁷⁹ Cf. the references to the well-known Emmaus: BJ i 11,2(222); ii 4,3(63); 5,1(71); iii 3,5(55); iv 8,1(444,449); v 1,6(42); v 13,1(532).

identification of the Emmaus of Luke with the same place, even though the distance is given here as sixty stades (two hours' walk). Unlike the location of Vespasian's veteran settlement this has been a subject of much debate, because the Byzantine Christian tradition placed Luke's village at Emmaus/Nicopolis.⁷⁸⁰ This is reflected by a minority of the manuscripts which read '160' instead of '60'⁷⁸¹ and by a number of early Christian authors.⁷⁸² A distance of 160 stades (20 miles or about 29 km.) would suit Emmaus/Nicopolis better indeed and it is easy to understand that third-century Christians would assume the Emmaus in the book of Luke to be the well-known town of their own time. Aside from the manuscript tradition of 60 stades, however, the story fits a place near Jerusalem much better. Luke relates that the disciples returned to Jerusalem after their meal, and found the others still assembled. This would be more likely after a journey of one or two hours than after one of more than five. Again, the text mentions 'a village...named Emmaus' which would not have been appropriate for the well-known Emmaus even in the first century.⁷⁸³

It may be concluded that ancient Motzah/Motza, Colonia, Josephus' Ammaus, and the Emmaus of Luke are all to be sought near the Arab village of Qaluniya, modern Motza.

Later Literary Sources

It is not always easy to determine which site is meant when Emmaus is mentioned in mediaeval sources. It is doubtful whether Motza is ever referred to under this name. As noted in the entry on Abu Ghosh, in a western account of the campaign of 1191/2, the king is described as advancing in the mountains in search of the Turks, as far as the 'Source of Emmaus'. In the morning he catches them unexpectedly.⁷⁸⁴ Arabic sources describe the same

events: 'At the end of this month (from 25 to 30 June), the two armies met in battle. The Franks had advanced as far as Qoloniya, at two parasangs from Jerusalem, but, understanding the futility of their attempt they withdrew.'⁷⁸⁵ This has been taken as an indication that 'the Source of Emmaus' is Qoloniya, but it seems best to assume there is a slight discrepancy between the two sources. The first source would then speak of Abu Ghosh, the second of Motza. Alternative explanations which should not be excluded, would be to assume that the two sources refer to two separate raids, or that we have a unique medieval reference to Motza as Emmaus, which is less likely.⁷⁸⁶

In 1168 Gilbertus, master of the Hospitaliers, sold lands to the Duke of Hungary, Dalmatia and Croatia, in 'castellum Emaus, Aqua Bella, Belveer and Saltus Muratus'.⁷⁸⁷ The first three sites are certainly Abu Ghosh, Ein Hemed/Deir al Banat/Kh. Ikbala, and Qastal, so it may be confidently assumed that the fourth is Motza. In the subsequent period pilgrims came to refer to the spot as the Valley of Elah or 'Valley of the Terebinth' where David defeated Goliath.⁷⁸⁸ The travellers frequently comment on the fertility of the valley and note the existence of the old stone bridge as in the following description from 1483: 'a valley which is very fertile with olive and fig trees and grapes, but particularly numerous are the Terebinths, big trees that carry tasteful berries from which oil is pressed...Across the torrent from which David took the five stones is a stone bridge ... Then we entered a ravine with many cliffs and yet near the cliffs [the soil] is fertile. And there are many beautiful gardens and much old work has been cut in these cliffs and there are many old walls and in antiquity many people lived there...'⁷⁸⁹ It is

aurora ipsos comprehendit improvidos.' This was a razzia, not an orderly advance. The king chased a number of Turks and killed one of them in a valley (Motza?), then saw Jerusalem in the distance (Nabi Samwil?).

⁷⁸⁵ Abu Shama, *RHC Or.* v, 54 f.

⁷⁸⁶ Thus Vincent and Abel, *Emmaus*, 383 f. Other references cited there include the Florentine map of around 1300 (reproduced by Röhrich in *ZDPV* 14 [1891], Pl. 1). It shows a legend 'Emmaus' besides a bridge, but the map is very inaccurate.

⁷⁸⁷ Röhrich, *Regesta*, no. 458, p. 120.

⁷⁸⁸ The earliest traveller to do so, as far as we know, was Jacobus de Verona (1335), *Liber peregrinationis*, ed. Kohler, *ROL* 3 (1895), 223; next: Felix Fabri (1480-3), ed. 1556 (repr. Berlin), p.30; *Pal. Pilgrims' Texts Society*, i 1, 91a.

⁷⁸⁰ The attempt to place the Emmaus of Luke at al-Qubeiba (q.v.) need not be discussed here, as it belongs entirely to the Middle Ages, when one of the main roads to Jerusalem passed through the village.

⁷⁸¹ F.-M. Abel, 'La distance de Jérusalem à Emmaus', *RB* 34 (1925), 347-67, esp. 355 f.

⁷⁸² Eusebius, *On.* 90,15 (Klostermann); Jerome, *ibid.* 91; *ep.* 108,8.

⁷⁸³ Abel, *op.cit.*, attempts to face all these difficulties, but his arguments remain a case of special pleading.

⁷⁸⁴ *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* v 49, W. Stubbs (ed.), 369: '...rex summo mane ad montana profectus est, Turcos queritans usque ad fontem Emmaus, et in

worth citing these comments for pilgrims do not often stress the fertility of the land.⁷⁸⁹ The spring is another feature noticed frequently. The old name 'Calonia' is mentioned and the remains of a ruined monastery and a church were visible in the late sixteenth century next to a mosque.⁷⁹¹ In the mid-seventeenth century the road here was still paved.⁷⁹²

We found one reference to the site of Beit Tulma, discussed below. It occurs in a letter of AD 1241 from Richard of Cornwall which discusses the clauses of the peace concluded with Count Richard. 'The lands handed over on account of the peace treaty concluded with Count Richard are as follows ... Bethlehem and all the lands around Jerusalem, with all the thatched cottages which are designated in the treaty, are handed over to the Christians: as detailed ... Athacana, Clepsa, Tolma, Argahoga, Bertapsa...'⁷⁹³

The Archaeological Remains

(a) *Motza (Qaluniya)*

Robinson briefly describes the village:

⁷⁸⁹ Hans Werli von Zimmer in S. Feyerabend, *Reisbuch des heiligen Landes* (Frankfurt 1584), 130; N.C. Radziwił, *Ierosolymitana Peregrinatio* (Antwerp 1614), 120.

⁷⁹⁰ The village of Qaluniya was still remarkable for its lush gardens in the nineteenth century: e.g. Guérin, *Judée*, i, 258f.; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, ii, 201; superior vine at Beit Sūrik.

⁷⁹¹ Jean Zuallart, *Très-devot voyage de Jerusalem* (Antwerp 1608), 23f.; I. Cotovicius (Kootwijk), *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum* (Antwerp 1619), 147; F. Quaresmius, *Terrae sanctae elucidatio*, ed. A.P. Cypriano de Tarvisio (Venice 1880), 15, cites Bonifacius de Ragusa (inaccessible to us): 'Bonifacius magnum monasterium et elegantem ecclesiam in isto loco scribit'. G. Sandys, *Relation of a Journey* (1615), 201: 'After four miles we descended into the Valley of the Terebinth ... A bridge here crosseth the Torrent, neare which the ruines of an ancient Monastery, more worthy the observing for the greatness of the stones, then finesse of workmanship ... Modern, which yet supporteth the reliques of a city'.

⁷⁹² J. Doubdan, *Le voyage de la Terre-Sainte* (Paris 1657), 63, provides the most extensive description of the place prior to the modern period.

⁷⁹³ Letter inserted by M. Paris in *Grande Chronique*, French transl. by A. Huillard-Breholles (Paris 1840), 190f.

'Kulônia is not a large village; the houses stand in terraces along the declivity. The people have the name of being great thieves; but we were not troubled by them. The narrow bottom of the valley was filled with orchards of fruit trees of various kinds, as figs, pomegranates, quinces, pears, etc. ... there was a quadrangular ruin, with bevelled stones at the corners; the middle portions of the walls being of less careful work. A paved modern bridge with pointed arches, crosses the water-bed of the valley'.⁷⁹⁴ Elsewhere Robinson describes the oppressive taxation imposed by the Turkish government on the village (which may account for their reputed thievishness).⁷⁹⁵

Guerin includes an extensive discussion of the identification of the site.⁷⁹⁶ He notes ancient quarries and tombs cut in the rock near the village and describes the main structure near the road and the spring; he could still discern remains of the Roman road.

SHP iii, 17 provides description of the village with its spring and gardens and orchards. On p.132 (referring to Kh. el Jisr as Melek el Yehud): 'A vault remains with a wall of drafted stones, well cut, 4 or 5 feet long, the draft 3.5 inches and 6 inches wide, 2 inches deep, the face of the boss dressed flat. The walls are 10 feet thick, there is no trace of cement in the interior'. The authors assumed the structure to be a small monastery of the Byzantine period. We now know it to have been a Crusader building (Pl.82). Curiously, under this building the remains of a Byzantine monastery were indeed excavated. The first to note the presence of Crusader masonry here was Clermont-Ganneau: 'In a field on the south side of the road, opposite to the angle of the ruined building with drafted stones, I found two great voussoirs with medieval tooling, which prove that the crusaders established themselves at Kulōnieh'.⁷⁹⁷ In a report to the *D.A.M.* (17-5-1940) R.W. Hamilton points out correctly that the construction of the building near the spring seems to date to the 12th century and adds: 'It is possible that the tower is one of those erected by the Templars at intervals to protect the road of Suba (Belmont) [i.e. Zovah] and Qastal in the neighbourhood'. We may conclude that the site is part of the string of towers near water sources which we have noted in Wadi Lozeh north of Motza at sites such as Beit Tulma, Kh. Louza, and elsewhere.

⁷⁹⁴ Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, iii, 158 f. He failed to see the connection between the name of the village and the veteran settlement mentioned by Josephus.

⁷⁹⁵ *Op.cit.*, vol. i, 461 f.

⁷⁹⁶ Guérin, *Judée*, i, 257-63.

⁷⁹⁷ *Archaeological Researches*, i, 479f.

Near the Crusader tower rescue excavations were undertaken in several stages — none of them adequately published — when the main Jerusalem - Tel Aviv highway was broadened. In 1946 D. Baramki carried out the first of these on behalf of the Department of Antiquities. He found a monastery and a wine press, according to the files of the Department. An inscribed mosaic pavement (see below) dates the complex to the fifth or sixth century. It was preceded by an earlier structure, for under the mosaic a large quantity of Late Roman sherds was found. The monastery consisted of four rooms, a small chapel, and a three-aisled church with a narthex. In the last phase the wine press consisted of a number of small rooms arranged round a treading area and a collecting tank. The rooms and cisterns are all paved with white tesserae. Some of the rooms have vaulted ceilings. This type of press was widespread in Palestine in the Byzantine period.

Y. Leibovitch made further excavations on the spot in 1951.⁷⁹⁸ He found additional remains of the Byzantine complex excavated by Baramki in 1946. He also mentions remains from the Early Roman period, the Byzantine period and an unspecified Islamic period.

In 1964/5 rescue excavations were again carried out south of the main road, this time by Gabriella Bacchi, who confirmed the date of the church (5th-6th century).⁷⁹⁹ Finally E. Eisenberg carried out excavations in 1973.⁸⁰⁰ According to a brief note he could distinguish five main strata: Early Bronze, Second Temple, Late Roman, Byzantine, and Crusader. The Second Temple period was represented by a richly decorated house, said to resemble those found in the Upper City in Jerusalem. He also dug up more of the mosaic of the Byzantine Church.⁸⁰¹

AS Benjamin, No. 291, pp.44*, 223: '30 dunams; Ruin of arab village.' For EBI, Iron II, Hell-Rom; Byz and Crusader occupation, they refer to the report by Eisenberg. 'LB - single sherd; Iron II - 58%; P/Hell - 16%; EIs - 16%; unidentified - 7%.'

A Roman bath is said to have been found at

⁷⁹⁸ Y. Leibovitch, *Alon* 5-6(1957), 25 (Heb.).

⁷⁹⁹ *Archaeological Newsletter* 13(1965), 8-10 (Heb.); A. Ovadia, *Corpus of the Byzantine Churches* (1970), 139 f., no. 142; Ovadia and C.G. de Silva, *Levant* 14(1982), 157, no.44.

⁸⁰⁰ E. Eisenberg, *RB* 82(1975), 587.

⁸⁰¹ See R. & A. Ovadia, *Hellenistic, Roman and Early Byzantine Mosaic Pavements in Israel* (1987), pp. 112 f., nos. 190, 191.

Motza, but no further information is available.⁸⁰²

Tombs: Both Baramki and Eisenberg mention Byzantine tombs in the vicinity. In the previous century C. Schick reported on a finely decorated rock-hewn tomb with an inscription, 170-200 m. SE of the bridge.⁸⁰³ V. Sussman excavated several MB burial caves⁸⁰⁴ and D. Bahat excavated an MB I cave-tomb⁸⁰⁵ and Y. Landau published an inscribed tombstone of the Roman period (see below).

The remains of the abandoned village of Qaluniya are still to be seen on a steep terraced slope overlooking the site of the spring from the north-west. It shows clearly on the vertical air photograph, made in 1946 (Pl.35). The modern suburb Mevasseret Yerushalayim now lies on top of the hill, immediately to the west. It is impossible to say whether this was also the site of the ancient settlement. There is no record here of the discovery of archaeological remains nor have we seen any ourselves. On the slopes of this hill further to the west we noted ancient tombs.

(b) *The Remains near the Bridge (Kh. el Jisr, Khan Mizza)*

1658.1333

In the records of the Department of Antiquities the vicinity of the old bridge is recorded as a separate site, but it is so close to the remains described above, that it seems illogical to separate the two sites. It is, however, of interest that this spot, Khan Mizza, preserved the old pre-Roman name Motza.⁸⁰⁶

⁸⁰² Mentioned by J. Press, *Eretz-Israel, Topographical and Historical Encyclopaedia*, iii (1952, Heb.), 558-9, who says it was found by the Mandatory Department of Antiquities during the construction of the road bypassing Qastal. D. Barag mentions in this connection that a brick with the title 'Antoniniana' is said to have come from Motza: *BJb* 167(1967), 267.

⁸⁰³ C. Schick, *PEFQS* (1887), 51-5. For the inscription, see below.

⁸⁰⁴ V. Sussman, *'Atiqot* 3 (1966), 40-3.

⁸⁰⁵ D. Bahat, *Eretz-Israel* 12(1975), 18-23.

⁸⁰⁶ We do not know whether there are any older sources for the use of this name, but at least one traveller may have heard it. Jacob Wornbser, *Eigentliche Beschreibung der Ausreysung und Heimfahrt* (1561) in: Feyerabend, *Reissbuch des heiligen Landes* (1584), 218, '...biss wir an einem alten Burgstall sind kommen genannt Moda und über eine steinern Brück dabey.' The name recurs in a garbled form in the account of Richard Pococke (1737-

The remains of a stone bridge are often mentioned in old travellers' accounts, some of them cited above. Guérin, who saw the bridge before its collapse in 1877-8, notes that the basis might have been Roman, but the largest of the four arches was slightly pointed and betrayed therefore more recent construction.⁸⁰⁷ It was paved with great blocks worn by centuries of traffic. The illustration in *Picturesque Palestine*, made in the 70's, shows two true arches and part of another one which had, apparently, collapsed. Schick notes that in winter 1887-8 there was a large amount of rain and the brook at Quloniya, swollen to a considerable stream, carried off one of the arches of the stone bridge there.⁸⁰⁸ Seven years later a new stone bridge was constructed from material quarried locally. There are now two bridges carrying the Tel Aviv - Jerusalem highway across the Soreq. The older one, to the west, probably represents the successor to the old Roman bridge for this looks like the most suitable place for bridging the Soreq. It is built of stones variously cut, some of them with drafted stones and a boss. In a report of 23-4-1935 to the D.A.M. Baramki describes a rock-cut chamber with a press near the site of the bridge.

(c) Kh. Beit Mizza, Site no. 25. 1652.1349

North of the suburb of Mevasseret Yerushalayim, 1.5 km. north of the Motza spring, is another hill overlooking the part of the Soreq valley which is now called 'Emeq Ha-Arazim (Valley of the Cedars). This looks like another attractive site for settlement. The name of the site is significant, for it clearly preserves the old name of Motza. Nineteenth-century scholars noticed ancient remains here.⁸⁰⁹ Clermont-Ganneau observes: 'Here are ruins which prove that a very important ancient town stood on the spot, between the two wādys; the ground, which is grey, as it always is on the sites of ancient towns, is thickly strewn with mosaic cubes, fragments of fluted pottery, etc.; we found wells, birkehs, and levellings of the rock for house building. The position of the town

40), *Description of the East, and some other Countries* (London 1743-8), Vol. ii, part 1, 47: 'We went round the hill of Mecca into the valley which they call the valley of Terebinths, and they say, it is the vale of Elah, in which David slew Goliath; but as that was between Shochoh and Azekah, much further west, they must be mistaken in placing it here. There is a village called Coloni on the side of the hill to the west.'

⁸⁰⁷ Guérin, *Judée*, i, 257f.

⁸⁰⁸ C. Schick, *PEFQSt* (1887), 51-5.

⁸⁰⁹ Guérin, *Judée*, i, 263; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, i, 479; M.-J. Lagrange, *RB* 3(1894), 139.

is superb, and it must have had a remarkable strategic value, as it commands the country round about on all sides.' In Wadi Nubar, a branch of Nahal Luz, north of the site, Clermont-Ganneau saw rock-hewn sepulchres, one of them with three *arcosolia*. Lagrange mentions graves, cisterns and a milestone, 60 cm. in diameter, 1.82 m. high with illegible traces of an inscription. If this was indeed a milestone it is not clear to which road it belonged.

Baramki (*D.A.M.*, 14-5-1934) mentions a large rock-cut grave and a wine press. Hamilton (*D.A.M.*, 7-7-1934) noticed cisterns, mosaics and abundant Roman pottery. We surveyed the site in 1985 and found the remains of a large settlement. Wine and oil presses and tombs were seen in the western part, dwellings, gardens and terraces on the top of the hill and the eastern slope. Pottery sherds are indeed abundant and can be assigned to the end of the first and particularly to the beginning of the second century. They are followed by smaller quantities of Byzantine ware. Some vaulted structures and Islamic pottery indicate a mediaeval settlement.

AS Benjamin, Site No. 293, p.44*: '10 dunams. Ruin; terraces; remains of vaulted buildings; possible remains of church; threshing floor; columbarium; wine-press; oil-press; burial caves; mosaic pavement; cisterns. MB(?) - few sherds; Iron II-5%; P-3%; P/Hell-5%; Hell-16%; Rom-10%; Byz-31%; EIs-16%; 231 sherds.

These results might seem different from ours (below). However, 'Hellenistic' could also represent material from the first century BC, perhaps even Herodian. In many cases, where pottery is described as 'Hellenistic' in *AS Benjamin*, no typical forms of Hellenistic pottery are specifically mentioned, e.g. fish-plates, distinctive lamps (which occur in large amounts in typical Hellenistic sites), imported ware, stamped handles, etc. Note also p.222 (Heb.). It is quite possible that the material described as 'Hellenistic' is identical to that referred by us to the first century, while 'Roman' could be pottery of the first and second centuries. The description of tombs in *AS Benjamin* is also significant: caves with loculi and *arcosolia* seem to reflect a kind of funerary tradition which existed from the 1st century AD to the Byzantine period.⁸¹⁰

(e) Unnamed Site 1650.1349

The site is one km. south of Kh. Beit Mizza and one km. NW of Colonia. *AS Benjamin*, Site No. 294, pp.44*: 222f.: '23 dunams. Ruin; traces of fortification(?); terraces; cisterns; columbarium;

⁸¹⁰ See also G. Edelstein & M. Kislev, *BA* 44 (1981), 53-6.

burial caves. Iron II - 59%; Iron II/P - 2%; P/Hell - 17%; Rom-5%; EIs - 14%; Med(?) - few sherds; unidentified - 3%; 176 sherds.'

(e) *Kh. Beit Tulma*, Site no. 30 1663.1345

In the valley, SE of Kh. Beit Mizza is another spring with adjacent remains. Guérin commented on the picturesque setting and lush vegetation.⁸¹¹ As already noted, the Soreq valley widens here and the good water supply permits cultivation of the fertile soil. The first traveller after the Middle Ages who seems to have recorded the site is Quaresmius (1616-1625): travelling from Qaluniya to Nabi Samwil he observed a 'ruined hamlet named Beit Hulme and a spring nearby named Ain Beit Hulme'.⁸¹² He travelled the so-called 'road of the disciples', the route from Beit Tulma to Qubeiba. When the Emmaus of the book of Luke was believed to be at al-Qubeiba there was a parallel tradition that Jesus joined the disciples on the Jerusalem - Emmaus road at Beit Tulma. Quaresmius and, after him, Doubdan saw the ruins of a church and monastery here.⁸¹³ These are no longer visible. Doubdan observes, besides the remains of the monastery, 'a large cistern filled with rain-water and water from the mountain springs, notably a very beautiful and clear spring which is a little higher up in a natural cave in the rock ... The water, which is led through a channel into the cistern, rotated a mill nearby that belonged to the monastery, and from there fed into the torrent of this valley where David took his five pebbles'.

Clermont-Ganneau noticed 'an angle of an old wall built of drafted stones roughly hewn and the angle of a birkeh cut in the rock'.⁸¹⁴ Bagatti measured the building: 15 m. x 13.40 m. x 4.90 m.; thickness of the wall 1.70-1.90 m. The stones are drafted and have a boss. He correctly assigned it to the Crusader period.

AS Benjamin, Site No. 302, p.45*: 'ruin; terraces; spring and reservoir; traces of building. No identifiable sherds.'

⁸¹¹ Guérin, *Judée*, i, 256.

⁸¹² Quaresmius, *Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio* (Venice 1880), 541.

⁸¹³ J. Doubdan (1651-1), *Le voyage de la Terre-Sainte* (Paris 1657), 108. He does not mention the place by name, but he seems to mean this spot. Bagatti, *el-Qubeibeh*, 232, assumes Kh. Louza was the place pointed out to pilgrims as the spot where Jesus and the disciples met.

⁸¹⁴ *Archaeological Researches*, i, 479.

This is one of several Crusader structures in the region. Others were noticed at nearby Motza, Kh. Louza, Kh. el Biyar and elsewhere.

Inscriptions

1. Seal impressions of the late sixth or early fifth century BC refer to Motza. These have been found in Jericho, al-Jib (Gibeon), Beit Hanina, Ramat Rahel, Tell en-Nasbeh (Mizpeh?), and in recent excavations at Belmont Castle (Zovah).⁸¹⁵ The function of such seals is not quite certain. Three suggestions have been advanced: (1) They could indicate that the taxes in kind were stored in the place mentioned. (2) The stamp might show that the place was Crown property which enjoyed exemption from taxes. (3) It could be a trade mark for a product such as wine or oil. Given the fertility of the valley it is quite possible that it supplied many sites in the vicinity with products like these.

2. Tombstone with relief bust of a girl.⁸¹⁶

Valeria / L.f. Sedata / vix(it) an(nos) IIII

The editor tentatively assigned it to the second half of the third or the first half of the fourth century. In the eastern Roman provinces the use of Latin on private inscriptions is typical of genuine (as opposed to titular) veteran settlements such as Berytus and Heliopolis.⁸¹⁷ It is, in fact, so rare that this inscription may be considered important additional confirmation of the identity of Motza with Vespasian's veteran settlement. Even if we assume — as we probably should — that the stone is earlier than the editor suggests, it reinforces the impression of the tenacity of Latin in such an environment.

3. Painted tomb, first published by C. Schick, *PEFQSt* (1887), 51-5; re-published by Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* 1(1888), 169-71; Germer-Durand, *RB* 2(1893), no.7, 206.

Εἰς Θεὸς / καὶ ὁ Χρισ(θ)ὸς / αὐτοῦ / ὡς ζῆ

⁸¹⁵ N. Avigad, *IEJ* 8(1958), 113-9; E. Stern, *The Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period* (1982), 207 f. For the seal from Belmont Castle: A. Millard, *Levant* 21(1984), 60 f.; for the identification of Mizpeh: J. Blenkinsopp, *Gibeon and Israel* (1972), 12f.

⁸¹⁶ Y.H. Landau, *Acta of the Fifth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy*, Cambridge 1967 (1971), 389. First published in Hebrew: *Bulletin of the Department of Antiquities* 5/6 (1957), 8.

⁸¹⁷ B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire*, Chapter VII.

μνησθῇ / Βάρωχis.

'May the one God and his Christ remember Baruch so that he may live.'

Clermont-Ganneau noted rightly that Baruch is only attested as a Jewish name.⁸¹⁸

Inscribed mosaics from the Byzantine church (above).⁸¹⁹

4. Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ <ει>ρ<ή>νης
διαμόνης καὶ ἀντιλήψεως Βάσσου
ἀρχidiaκόνου καὶ Πέτρου
κόμ<η>τος καὶ Κυριακοῦ
πρεσβυ(έ)ρου καὶ Θεοδώρας καὶ
Μαρίας τ<ώ>ν φιλοχρ(ιστῶν).⁸²⁰
5. Ὑπὲρ μνήμης καὶ ἀναπαύσεως
Κυρι(α)κοῦ διακόνου καὶ Μαρίας.

Conclusions

Since the identification of the sites has been discussed above it remains to see what exploration on the spot has added to our understanding of the history of the settlement. The advantages of the site have been pointed out above. They make it clear why this spot was inhabited continuously and why it was chosen after the First Revolt for a small veteran settlement. The excavations carried out near the bridge, although not adequately published, have nevertheless produced evidence of occupation in the periods represented by the literary sources. The remains of a private house from the Herodian period fit the testimony of Luke and of the Mishnah, both of which refer to the period of the Second Temple.

100. Nabi Samwil (Mons Gaudii; Mount Joy) (fig.10) 1672.1377

The site lies on a high mound, 895 m. above sea level and 150 m. above the plain of Gibeon, about 7 km. north-west of Jerusalem. It provides a view of the entire region, including Jerusalem. Because of its visibility it has always

attracted the attention of travellers and scholars.⁸²¹ It lies on the road which leads to Jerusalem via Qubeiba.

Literary Sources

In spite of the remarkable position which it occupies, the site has not been identified definitively with any known pre-Byzantine settlement. Various suggestions have been made, all of them speculative: (1) Biblical Mizpeh.⁸²² (2) 'The high place that was at Gibeon'.⁸²³ (3) The cult site of Kiriath-jearim while the Holy Ark was there.⁸²⁴ None of these suggestions can be tested because any remains of an early sanctuary that might have been there have been removed by the subsequent structures.

According to 1 Sam. 1, 19 and 25, 1 Samuel came from Haramah and was buried there. While this is certainly modern er Ram (G.R. 172.140), the tradition which places the tomb of Samuel on the hill of Nabi Samwil appears to go back to the Byzantine period and has not lost its force even today.⁸²⁵

In the fourth century, Eusebius mentions Massepha as the place where Samuel was active⁸²⁶ and he identified his place of origin, 'Armathem' with Rantis near Lydda, without reference to the prophet's tomb.⁸²⁷ Indeed, none of the fourth-century sources mention Samuel's tomb, which may indicate that there was no cult of his remains at this time.

⁸²¹ Wilson, *Picturesque Palestine*, repr. *The Land of Judea*, 69: 'From the top of the minaret ... is the most extensive view in Western Palestine'. See also references in *TIR*, s.v. Massepha I (Mizpeh), p. 180f.

⁸²² Among others: Wilson, op.cit., 69f.; W. Albright, *AASOR* 4, 90ff.; 94ff.; cf. *EB* s.v. 'Mizpeh'.

⁸²³ 1 Kings 3, 4.; 1 Chron. 16, 39; cf. 21, 29; 1 Chron. 1, 3. L.H. Vincent, *RB* 31 (1922), 360ff.; Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, ii, 336, s.v. Gibe'on and others.

⁸²⁴ J. Blenkinsopp, *Gibeon*

⁸²⁵ On the mediaeval tradition: R. Savignac and F.-M. Abel, *RB* 9 (1912), 267-79; Yoel Elitzur, *Cathedra* 31 (1984), 75-90 (Heb.).

⁸²⁶ *On.* 128, 1: Μασσηφά ... πλησίον τῆς Καριαθιαρείμ, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ κιβωτός ποτε κατέμεινεν, ἐνθα καὶ Σαμουὴλ ἐδίδαξεν.

⁸²⁷ *On.* 32, 21f.; followed by the translation of Jerome and the Madaba Map. For the form 'Αρμαθέ cf. LXX (1 Sam., 1, 1): Αρμαθαίμ.

⁸¹⁸ *CII* ii 953; *OGIS* 602.

⁸¹⁹ Photographs: B. Bagatti, *Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria* (1979), Pl. 50, 2-3, 51.

⁸²⁰ Reading based on photograph.

The emperor Arcadius (395-8) 'transferred the bones of St. Samuel which had rested for a long time in Judaea to Thrace [i.e. to Constantinople]', a measure which angered Jerome.⁸²⁸ While we can learn from this that significance was now attached to the prophet's presumed resting place, it is impossible to say where this was thought to be located in this period. Despite the transfer of the relics of the prophet to Constantinople, his tomb in Palestine continued to be revered. Theodosius (sixth century) gives the distance 'from Jerusalem to Ramatha, the resting place of Samuel' as five miles.⁸²⁹ Epiphanius Monachus (seventh century) states that 'at a distance of sixteen miles [from Jerusalem], lies Saint Samuel the Great'.⁸³⁰ The distance does not fit any known site, but a correction to 'six' would make it refer to Nabi Samwil or er Ram. The place is mentioned also by Adomnan.⁸³¹ 'Northwards from Aelia as far as the city of Samuel, called Armathem, are tracts of rough stony country, and the valleys are full of thistles till one reaches the district of Thamna'.⁸³² The Georgian Ritual of the eighth century has an entry for 20 October: 'In Masephtha vico commemoratio Samuelis prophetae'.⁸³³ Masephtha and Masephtha refer to Mizpeh,⁸³⁴ but again it cannot be shown which place Eusebius or the Georgian ritual mean. In all these cases either Ramah (er Ram) or Nabi Samwil would fit.⁸³⁵ The latter

should be preferred since there is no record of any other spot identified with the burial place of Samuel before the Middle Ages, when Ramle also came to be associated with Ramah.

Procopius, *de Aed.* v 9,15: '[Justinian] constructed wells or cisterns as follows, at the monastery of St. Samuel, a well and a wall; at that of Father Zacharias, a well, etc.'⁸³⁶ This is evidence that there was a monastery which bore the name of the prophet Samuel and, given the absence of other sites bearing this name, is probably the first explicit reference to a monastery at Nabi Samwil.

Muqaddasi (second half of the tenth century) describes Dayr Shamwil [sc. the monastery of Samuel] as a village one parsang from Jerusalem, 'close to the sky and far from the lowlands'.⁸³⁷

So far the references in pre-Crusader sources. Shortly after the First Crusade Daniel Hegoumenos (1106-8) seems to have found the sanctuary of Nabi Samwil in place: 'There is a high mountain near Jerusalem, to the right as one comes from Jaffa. This mountain is called Armafem [sc. Armathem, Haramathaim]. On this mountain is the tomb of the Holy Prophet Samuel, of his father Elhanan and of Mary the Egyptian because here was their village and were their houses. The place is enclosed by a wall and this fortress is called Armafem'.⁸³⁸

Somewhat later the Greek traveller John Phocas (1177) gave a similar description: 'Approximately six miles from the Holy City Jerusalem is the town Armathem where the great prophet Samuel is buried. Another seven miles further, or a little more, is Emmaus...' (see Abu Ghosh).⁸³⁹

In 1172 Theoderic visited the mountain. His

⁸²⁸ Jerome, *contra Vigilantium* 5 (PL. xxiii 343): 'Sacrilegus dicendus est, et nunc Augustus Arcadius, qui ossa beati Samuelis longo post tempore de Judaea transtulit in Thraciam'. Cf. F.-M. Abel, *RB* 21 (1912), 267; E.D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage*, 131f.

⁸²⁹ Theodosius, *de Terra Sancta*, xxiv in T. Tobler and A. Molinier (eds.), *Itinera Hierosolymitana* (1879), p.71; ed. Geyer, *CSEL* 175, p.140: 'De Hierusalem usque Ramatha, ubi requiescit Samuel, millia quinque'.

⁸³⁰ Epiphanius Monachus, xi 1, ed. H. Donner, *ZDPV* 87(1971), 66ff.

⁸³¹ Adomnan, *de locis sanctis* i 20, *CSEL* 175, p. 198: 'Ab Helia septentrionem versus usque ad Samuhelis civitatem, quae Armathem nominatur, terra petrosa et aspera per quaedam monstratur intervalia; vailles quoque spinose usque ad Tamniticam regionem patentes'.

⁸³² Trans. J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims*, 100.

⁸³³ M. Tarnitschvili (ed. and trans.), *Le grand lectionnaire de l'Église de Jérusalem* (1960), ii (CSCO vol. 205,14), p 28, no. 1159.

⁸³⁴ Cf. Josephus *Ant.* vi 4,4 (60): Μαμφαθά.

⁸³⁵ Cf. Elitzur, op.cit., 77-9.

⁸³⁶ Φρέατα δὲ ἡ δεξαμενὰς ὠκομήσατο οὕτως. εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Σαμουὴλ φρέαρ καὶ τείχους. εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἁββᾶ Ζαχαρίου φρέαρ. There seems to be no reason to doubt that this refers to the place now called Nabi Samwil even though there is no other unambiguous Byzantine reference to this spot as Samuel's tomb.

⁸³⁷ M. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (1906), 89; on this passage: P. Schwartz, *ZDPV* 41 (1918), 117-57; Elitzur, op.cit., 81f.

⁸³⁸ *Itinéraires russes en Orient*, trans. B. de Khtrowo, i 1, p. 11; J. Raba, *Russian Travel Accounts on Palestine* (1986, Heb.), 31, n.119, notes that this passage may be a later interpolation.

⁸³⁹ John Phocas, *de locis sanctis* 29 (PG cxxxiii, 960f).

description is cited below.

In roughly the same period Benjamin of Tudela (about 1173) writes:⁸⁴⁰ 'From there [Beit Guvrin] it is three parsangs to San Samuel of Silo which is Shilo two parsangs from Jerusalem. When the Edomites [sc. the Crusaders] captured Ramla, that is Haramah, from the Ismaelites they found the tomb of Samuel from Ramah near the synagogue. And the Edomites removed it and took it to Shiloh and they built there a great platform and called it San Samuel of Silo until this day.' Benjamin thus identified Ramle with Haramah and the hill of Nabi Samwil with Shilo.⁸⁴¹ He also knew that the Crusaders claimed the tomb of Samuel was on the latter site where they had established a monastery, as related below. Benjamin, perhaps on the strength of local information, explained the discrepancy by claiming the Crusaders themselves had removed Samuel's bones from its proper tomb in Ramla ('Ramah') and re-interred them at Nabi Samwil, which he believed to be Shilo. As noted below, these conflicting or parallel traditions of two sepulchres of Samuel still existed in the fourteenth century.

In the twelfth century the mountain came to be known as Mons Gaudii (Montjoie, Mount Joy),⁸⁴² because this was the spot from which travellers first saw Jerusalem.⁸⁴³ The ownership of land near Mons Gaudii is mentioned in a charter of 1115.⁸⁴⁴ A monastery was established on the top by the Praemonstratensian canons, which is the subject of

interesting letters from Bernard of Clairveaux.⁸⁴⁵ This meant that the mountain had now been taken over by the Latins. They constructed a church on the mountain, on land donated by Baldwin I or II, probably the latter.⁸⁴⁶ The church with its cemetery and the road are mentioned in documents which record the ownership of vineyards near Mons Gaudii (AD 1159).⁸⁴⁷ A diploma of Baldwin V (1185) records the confirmation of the endowment of various possessions to the Abbey of St. Samuel.⁸⁴⁸ Several buildings were added to the church at that time.⁸⁴⁹ Visitors were apparently told that the site was both Silo and the tomb of Samuel, for this, as noted, is found in the account of Benjamin of Tudela and also in that of Theoderic (1172): 'At Silo the prophet Samuel is buried; this is why the ancient name has been changed into that of Saint Samuel, where there is a congregation of grey monks.'⁸⁵⁰

Some time before 1180 a distinguished Spanish pilgrim, Count Rodrigues, visited the monastery and, upon seeing Jerusalem for the first

⁸⁴⁵ Letters of St. Bernard: *PL* clxxxii, col. 454f., no. 253: 'Apud Jerosolymam rex Balduinus, dum adhuc viveret, locum sancti Samuelis donavit nobis, et mille aureos simul, de quibus aedificaretur: vos dono nostro et locum habetis, et auresos habuistis.' Also: col. 557., no. 355.

⁸⁴⁶ The date is discussed by Mayer, *op.cit.*; for literature on the Praemonstratensians, *ibid.*, 36, n.4.

⁸⁴⁷ de Rozière, *Cartulaire*, no. 129, p. 239; Röhrich, no. 340: 'vinea, quam prefatus Guibertus libere habebat et possidebat iuxta ecclesiam Montis Gaudii, cimiterio videlicet eiusdem ecclesie coniunctam; pro hac igitur vinea dedit ei pro commutatione in extrema parte magne vinee, que est iuxta viam superiorem, quandem partem vince...' See also Röhrich, pp. 18, 55, 78, 128.

⁸⁴⁸ Published by Mayer, *op.cit.* As appears from the diploma, the possessions included land that had belonged to the Greek-Orthodox church on Nabi Samwil before the establishment of the Praemonstratensian monastery there, for instance lands next to the Nablus - Jerusalem road: '...campumque terrae, qui est iuxta viam, quae duxit de Maiori Machomeria in Ierusalem prope Montem Gaudii, quem toties dicta ecclesia sancti Samuelis a tempore Saracenorum tenuisse dignoscitur.'

⁸⁴⁹ Enlart, *op.cit.*, 279, referring to Aubert Le Mire, *Chronicon Praemonstratense*, p.162, which we have not seen.

⁸⁵⁰ Theodericus, *Libellus de locis sanctis*, iii 38, ed. Bulst (1976).

⁸⁴⁰ 42, ed. Adler, p.28.

⁸⁴¹ Shilo and the tomb of Samuel are also combined by Benjamin's contemporary Theoderic, cited below.

⁸⁴² On the site in the mediaeval period: Savignac and Abel, *op.cit.*; C. Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés* (1928), 277-280; H.E. Mayer in *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 44(1964), 35-71. See also Bagatti, *Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria* (1979), 88 f.

⁸⁴³ For instance: *It. Reg. Ric.* vi 33, ed. Stubbs, 435: 'pervenimus usque ad Montem Gaudii, unde cum civitatem Jerusalem eminus vidissimus, eximie laetati genibus in terram fixis, sicut mos est, humiliter Deo gratias persolvimus.'

⁸⁴⁴ H.-F. Delaborde, *Chartes de Terre Sainte Provenant de l'abbaye de N.-D. de Josaphat* (1880), no. vi, p.29: 'Radulfus Aliensis donavit ecclesie predictae [i.e. the Abbey of St Mary in the valley of Josaphat] terram iuxta Montem Gaudii sitam...'; cf. no. vii, p.34.

time, was fired with enthusiasm to such an extent that he founded an military and religious 'Order of Our Lady of Montjoie', with Nabi Samwil for its headquarters.⁸⁵¹

When Saladin conquered Jerusalem in 1187 the site was lost to the Crusaders and the monastery abandoned.⁸⁵² In 1192 Richard the Lionheart reached the mountain, saw the Holy City, but he had to withdraw to Jaffa because he learned that he was not followed by the Duke of Bourgogne.⁸⁵³ The Muslims also used it as rear base. On 23 September Saladin moved from Latrun to visit el-'Adel who was based at Nabi Samwil whence they went to Jerusalem together.⁸⁵⁴ During the subsequent centuries the Muslims apparently were not interested in the site, but there was a Jewish synagogue.⁸⁵⁵

The site was now on the main road from the plain to Jerusalem. Thirteenth-century sources may be cited by way of illustration: First there is the map of c. 1200 which shows: 'Mons Gaudii' and the 'Monasterium Sancti Samuelis'.⁸⁵⁶

'De Rames à Betenuble a v lieues. Betenuble est une grant ville. De Betenuble à la Montioie a v lieues. Sus la Monioie est l'yglise Saint Samuel le prophete; si a iij lieues iusques en Iherusalem à entrer pour la

porte S. Estiéne'.⁸⁵⁷

The Latin tradition which held that the site was both Silo and the tomb of the prophet Samuel is repeated till the end of the thirteenth century:

'Twenty miles from Sichem and four from Jerusalem on the road to Diospolis, lies Mount Silo and the town of Rama, where the Holy Ark of the Testament and the tabernacle of the Lord remained from the arrival of the Children of Israel until the times of Samuel the Prophet and King David'.⁸⁵⁸

As observed in Part I, the road via Qubeiba became the obligatory route for pilgrims from the thirteenth till the late fifteenth century and Nabi Samwil therefore kept attracting attention from both Christian pilgrims and Jews.

Emaux and Mountjoye are named as sites near Jerusalem in 'The Travels of Sir John Mandeville' (1322-48):

'Also fro Ierusalem ij myle is the mountjoye a full fair place and a delicyous and there lyth samuel the prophete in a fair tombe. And men clepen it mountioye for it yeueth ioye to pilgrymes hertes because that there men see first Ierusalem'.⁸⁵⁹

Jacobus de Verona (1335) tells a little more about Nabi Samwil and vicinity:

⁸⁵⁷ Anonymous, *les Pelerinages por aler en Hierusalem* (1231), eds. H. Michelant and G. Raynaud, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem...* (1882), p.92f. Cf. *Pelrinages et pardouns de Acre* (AD 1280), *ibid.*, p.229: '...e d'ileqe à Betynoble maweis chymyn iij liwes. E ii liwes à Emaüs [sc. Qubeiba] ... E de yleque à Montioie, ii liwes'

⁸⁵⁸ Oliverus (d.1227), *Description Terre Sancte*, in *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholastikers ... Oliverus* (ed. H. Hoogeweg) (1894), 14. Also: Burchardus de Monte Sion (1283), in Laurent (ed.), *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quattuor*, p.76: 'mons Silo, qui nunc ad sanctum Samuelem dicitur'; Ricoldus de Monte Crucis (late thirteenth-early fourteenth century), *ibid.*, 107; Ludolphus de Suchem (1336-50), *Terrae Sanctae Liber*, ed. Deycks (1851), 92.

⁸⁵⁹ Sir John Mandeville, *Travels*, M.E. translation, ed. P. Hamelius, E.E.T.S. no.153 (1960), p.62; see also p.70. Cf. Part I, where it is observed that this is a literary forgery by the Belgian Jean d'Outremeuse which contains much genuine information.

⁸⁵¹ For the order, mentioned first in a Papal decree of 1180: J. Delaville le Roulx, *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 1 (1864), 42-57. For the seal of the order: *ibid.*, 47 and A. Blanchet, *Sigillographie de l'Orient Latin* (1943), 253.

⁸⁵² Abu Shama, *RHC Or.* iii, 336, 339, 351. Saladin went to 'Mar Samwil', where his brother had fallen ill.

⁸⁵³ *Estoire d'Eracles*, *RHC Occ.* ii, 182: 'Le rei erra tant qu'il vint à Saint-Samuel, que l'en apele la Montjoie qui est pres de Jérusalem à deux liues.'

⁸⁵⁴ Abu Shama *RHC Or.* v 82.

⁸⁵⁵ Hüttenmeister and Reeg, *Antiken Synagogen in Israel* (1977), 52; S. Saller, *Second Revised Catalogue of the Ancient Synagogues of the Holy Land* (1972), No. 85, p.54, 56; I. Shohet, *BJPES* 6 (1938/9), 81-6 (Heb.); S.H. Kook, *ibid.*, 143f.; S. Asaph, *ibid.* 141f. Jewish travellers of the thirteenth century invariably mention the tomb of Samuel at 'Haramah', while those of the twelfth did not yet do so, as observed by Elitzur, *op.cit.*, 88 and n.54. For the sources: J.D. Eisenstein, *Ozar Massaoth* (1926), 28 ff.

⁸⁵⁶ R. Röhrich, *ZDPV* 14(1892), Pl.5 between p.138 and 139.

'And it may be noted that Modyn, Cariathiarim, Gabaon, Gabaa and the other cities and forts which were fortified and strong in the time of David and the other kings of Israel and in the period of the Maccabees are now all ruined, that is, the towers and walls and all the fortifications. Therefore there are no cities now, but they are all farms and villages in which Saracens live who toil and work the land, living a miserable life in poverty.'⁸⁶⁰

'...And I reached a ruined fort, named ad Sanctum Michaellem [read: Samuelem] formerly Rama, where the Children of Israel had their councils where the Ark of the Lord stood for a long time. I entered that fort of which the larger part still stands and it is a strong fort and the mountain is higher than the others in the vicinity, distant six miles from Jerusalem. The Jews often visit this place because they claim that Saint Samuel is buried there and not in Ramla and many of the Judges of Israel are buried there.'⁸⁶¹

This author, who made a point of asking Jews about the holy places, echoes Benjamin of Tudela in his statement about a sepulchre of Samuel at Ramla, although he does not repeat the story about a transfer of the body.⁸⁶²

The references in later literature are so numerous that we can only cite a selection of them.⁸⁶³ Mujir ad Din (1496): 'The tomb of Samuel is in a village, in the vicinity of noble Jerusalem, towards the North, on the road from Ramla in Palestine, on the top of a mountain. It is famous. The name of the village is

Ramla for the Jews.'⁸⁶⁴ This seems to suggest that at this time the site was well known among Muslims, but still primarily a place for Jewish prayer. Quaresmius (1616-25) notes that the church was in the possession of the Turks and taken over as a mosque.⁸⁶⁵ M. Nau (1674) still found the building of the church in a good state of repair. The crypt with the alleged tomb of the prophet was not accessible for Christian pilgrims.⁸⁶⁶ Jews also continued to visit the site.⁸⁶⁷ E. Roger visited the site in 1646.⁸⁶⁸ He comments on the mosque and saw nearby (at the place believed to be Silo) 'the remains of magnificent buildings, encircled by a ditch cut into the rock'. Pococke (1737-40) notes that Christians were denied entrance to the mosque.⁸⁶⁹ He is the first to comment on the large cistern hewn into the rock and one of several authors who mention the 'Fountain of Samuel', in a small grotto near Nabi Samwil.

Archaeological Investigations

Guérin, *Judée*, i, 362-84, describes ruins spreading over an area of 250 x 100 m. and observes a hall hewn out of the rock, measuring 20 x 9 m. and 2.5 m. high. The *SWP* iii, 149-153, gives a detailed description which is important because it antedates the

⁸⁶⁴ Mujir ad Din, 424, trans. based on Marmardji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine traduits en français* (1951), 165

⁸⁶⁵ Quaresmius, *Terrae Sanctae Elucidatio*, ed. Tarvisio (1880), 547f. J. Doubdan (1651-2), *Le voyage de la Terre-Sainte* (1657), 114, found the mosque in a good state of repair, apart from 'the little tower which is half broken off on one side'. The remainder of the site was entirely ruined and there were twenty five or thirty poor houses. In various modern works it is erroneously stated that the transformation of the church into a mosque took place only in this century.

⁸⁶⁶ M. Nau, *Voyage nouveau de la Terre Sainte* (Paris 1679), 497ff.

⁸⁶⁷ Jean de Thevenot (1655-9), *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant* (1665) 364; C. de Bruyn (1672-83), *Reizen ... door de vermaarde Deelen van Klein Azie* etc. (Delft 1698), p.255. De latter may well have copied his information from the former.

⁸⁶⁸ E. Roger, *La Terre Sainte* (Paris 1646), 162.

⁸⁶⁹ R. Pococke, *A Description of the East ...*, ii, 48.

⁸⁶⁰ Jacobus de Verona, ed. R. Röhricht, *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 3(1895), 224.

⁸⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 182.

⁸⁶² Jacobus de Verona, *ibid.*, p. 181, tells that Samuel is buried at 'Rama or Ramelech in a church which has now been transformed into a mosque'. He further identifies Ramla with 'Arimathia'.

⁸⁶³ For instance: Marinus Sanutus (1310-1318), *Liber secretorum fidelium Crucis*, in *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 249. Bernardus de Breydenbach, *Sanctarium peregrinationum in montem Syon* (Spira 1502), no page nos.; Fr. Suriano (1524), *Treatise on the Holy Land*, trans. T. Bellorini and E. Hoade (1949), 37; D. Possot, *Le voyage de la Terre Sainte*, ed. C. Schefer (1890), 162; Rauwolf (1575), *Travels* (English trans. 1693), 271;

(re-)construction of the mosque early in this century.⁸⁷⁰ Crusader remains include: the church, masonry, reservoirs, a birkeh hewn into the rock, a rock-cut chamber with pointed arches and a rock-cut stable for four horses with mangers. S.A.S. Hussein (D.A.M.) notes an ancient oil press (2-12-1931) and a rock-hewn tomb (9-10-1943). P. Thomsen found a tomb with an inscription engraved in the rock at Dabbet er Rish near Nabi Samwil.⁸⁷¹ More tombs were seen by Baltzer and others east of Nabi Samwil.⁸⁷² Savignac and Abel made observations during restorations undertaken early this century.⁸⁷³ They comment on the Crusader masonry and architectural decorations.⁸⁷⁴ A column base which they consider Byzantine is thought to derive from the buildings from the period of Justinian which are to be found there.⁸⁷⁵

The only extant building is the Crusader church of which the original plan is clearly recognizable, despite its transformation into a mosque.⁸⁷⁶ It is laid out on the plan of a Latin cross. The nave measures 36 x 8. To the East is a transept 23 m. long and a circular apse projects from the east wall, which is unusual. The columns bend back below the capital and do not reach the ground, a characteristic of the middle of the twelfth century, according to Benvenisti. In various parts of the site there were and still are cuttings in the rock which have been subject of extensive investigation and reports.⁸⁷⁷ To be noted are vaulted rooms, rooms with piers, a stable (described by the SWP, above), a large courtyard with small cells, a large cistern, the so-called 'channel room', and tombs. Among the latter one should be singled out which has an entrance from the South and two side benches.⁸⁷⁸ This is an early type which goes back to the Israelite

period and may therefore be considered the earliest archaeological feature on the hill.

Another item of particular interest is a strong wall enclosing the upper part of the hill, segments of which are still visible. It is of good masonry: ashlar with a smooth surface are combined with stones with marginal dressing and a central boss, a type which occurs in virtually every period from Israelite onwards.⁸⁷⁹ Lohmann found two pilgrims' flasks in a stratum which he associates with the construction of the wall.⁸⁸⁰ These seem to be Byzantine and may therefore fix the building of the wall in that period. It would be attractive to see in it the wall from the time of Justinian mentioned by Procopius, as accepted by both Lohmann and Vincent. It enclosed the upper terrace in the western part of the site, occupied by the church, producing a rectangular platform of 90 x 55.⁸⁸¹ We consider it likely that many of the cuttings of the rock were originally quarries for the stones used for the construction of the wall. Later these quarries were then turned into cisterns, cellars, rooms etc.

The coins found during the investigations are all Byzantine and later.

AS Benjamin, No. 313, pp.46*;233f.: 'Iron II - 36%; P(?) - few sherds; Hell - 15%; Rom - 8%; Byz - 25%; EIs -15%; Med; Ott.; 211 sherds (Med and Ott sherds not included in total).'

To sum up: while there is evidence of occupation in the Israelite period and, perhaps, some presence in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, large-scale construction dates to the Byzantine period when a monastery of St. Samuel was apparently established on the mountain. However, we are best informed about the history of the site from the twelfth century onwards when the Crusaders re-established a short-lived monastery on the hill with the church which continued to be used as synagogue and mosque, and which still is the most visible feature north-west of Jerusalem.

Nahal Natuf

1448.1518

This is a large site (50 dunam), 2 km. SW of Hadid, which is not indicated on modern maps and is therefore nameless. We saw remains of buildings, cuttings in the rock, 21 tombs cut in the rock, both single graves and arcosolia, wells, wine- and olive-

⁸⁷⁰ See also the engravings made in the eighteen seventies in Wilson, *Picturesque Palestine* repr. *The Land of Judea*, pp. 66, 70.

⁸⁷¹ ZDPV 64 (1941), no. 180, assigned to the first century BC.

⁸⁷² K. Baltzer *et al.*, ZDPV 87 (1971), 23-41.

⁸⁷³ RB 21 (1912), 267-79.

⁸⁷⁴ Figs. 5-6: capitals with bosses.

⁸⁷⁵ Fig. 7.

⁸⁷⁶ Enlart, *op.cit.*, 280; Benvenisti, *CHL*, 346; 362-4.

⁸⁷⁷ P. Lohmann, ZDPV 41 (1918), 117-57; L.H. Vincent, RB 31 (1922), 361-402, esp. Pl. xii (plan) and xiii (sections).

⁸⁷⁸ Lohmann, *op.cit.*, 150.

⁸⁷⁹ See the comments in the entry on Kh. Mazad.

⁸⁸⁰ Lohmann, *op.cit.*, 144f., Pl. IXB.

⁸⁸¹ Vincent, pp. 388-92, figs. 1-2 and Pl. xiiA (plan). points a, d, d', h.

presses. Pottery: Persian (?), Roman, Byzantine, Ottoman.

101. Najmat al Hadali (fig.6) 1545.1453

This is a site on a hill with a wide view, close to the Roman road between Kh. Kafr Rut and Beit Horon.

In a report to the D.A.M. dated 27-7-1933 S.A.S. Hussein describes the surface remains of a substantial ancient site. He refers to ruined walls, the top of an arch, cisterns and, most importantly, a square building oriented to the East, 'probably a church'. He collected Roman and Arab glazed ware. M. Fischer, with a team from the Department of Classics of the University of Tel Aviv, carried out a survey and excavations at Kafr Rut and neighbouring sites in February 1980. They confirmed Hussein's observations. The site, however, proved to be seriously damaged by the activities of robbers. In addition, subterranean cellars and further ancient foundations were noted, reminiscent of the remains at Kh. Dahiya (see the relevant entry above). Small finds included fragments of stone vessels and pottery from the first century AD and Byzantine sherds.

AS Benjamin, Site No. 11, p.14*: '4 dunams. Terraces; cisterns. P - few sherds; Hell-29%; Rom-21%; Byz-20%; 84 sherds. Note also Site No. 12 (at 15450.14540), *ibid.*: 'Section of well-paved Lydda-Jerusalem Roman road; burial caves cisterns.' *AS Benjamin*, p.37, fig. (Heb.): Late Hellenistic/Herodian pottery. It is not clear whether the authors mean by 'Roman', material of the Herodian or later periods. The sherds and fragments of stone vessels found by us in 1980 point to the Herodian period. Site 12 described by *AS Benjamin*, 37-38 (Heb.), is the ancient road.

The site has evidence of occupation from the Roman (first century AD), Byzantine and Early Muslim periods.

102. Kh. Nijam 1625.1372

This is an ancient site on the Qaryet el 'Inab (Abu Ghosh) - Biddu road. It has a wide view of the surrounding area. The ancient remains are now destroyed and no survey could be made.

The files of the D.A.M. mention ruins of a watch tower and a rock-cistern. Bagatti refers to dry-stone walls and a large cistern as well as Byzantine

pottery.⁸⁸² South of the road he saw an ancient furnace and a cistern. A rescue excavation in 1991 brought to light a building of 25.8 x 21.8 m, dating to the Persian and Hellenistic periods.⁸⁸³ The excavators distinguish two phases. For the Persian period they conclude that it was a small fort, while it served as a farmhouse in the Hellenistic period. It was reused in the Ottoman period. We saw walls built of large stones, but collected only recent pottery.

The site was occupied in the Persian, Hellenistic and Ottoman periods, and perhaps also in the Byzantine period.

103. Kh. el-Qanbuta 1512.1423

AS Benjamin, Site No. 106, pp.24*, 104 (Heb.): 'Traces of buildings of dressed stones; terraces; foundation of mosaic pavements; tesserae; cisterns; wine-presses. Byz-80% EIs(?) - 20%; 15 sherds.' We have not visited this site. It is significant, for it is connected with the Nicopolis-Beit Horon road. Sites 105, 106, 107, 111 and 112 form a kind of cluster of rural sites not far from the main road.

104. Qastal (Kustul) 1637.1336 (fig.16; Pl.24,35)

This is a site on a conspicuous hill-top south of the road to Jerusalem between Abu Ghosh and Qaluniya.⁸⁸⁴ It was the scene of fierce fighting in the 1948-49 war when control of the road to Jerusalem was at issue. As a result all ancient remains have been destroyed. The site is clearly visible on air photographs 24 (near the lower edge) and 35 (near the right edge).

Literary Sources

Documents from about AD 1168 record the transfer of property near Jerusalem from the Hospitallers to Bela

⁸⁸² Bagatti, *el-Qubeibeh*, p.210 (s.v. Khirbet Negem).

⁸⁸³ Cf. *Archaeological Newsletter* 101-102 (1994), 76.

⁸⁸⁴ Aerial photographs of the road from Abu Ghosh to Qastal: Kedar, *AP*, 118f.

III, Duke of Hungary, Dalmatia and Croatia. The latter intended to travel to the Holy Land and wished to acquire property in Jerusalem. When this was not available the Hospitallers transferred sites to him in the immediate surroundings of the Holy City, namely 'castellum Emaus, et Aquam Bellam, et Belveer, et Saltum Muratum, all in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem.'⁸⁸⁵ The identification of Emaus is not in doubt here, being Qariet el-'Enab (Abu Ghosh). Aqua Bella is Dir al Banat (Ikbala). Vincent and Abel point out that the sites appear to be listed in topographical order, from west to east.⁸⁸⁶ Belveer could then be Qastal and Saltus Muratus ('the enclosed wood') Qaluniya.

Beauvoir is also mentioned in the list of castles between Jaffa and Jerusalem which Saladin ordered to be destroyed.⁸⁸⁷

Robinson observes that the 'name would seem to be derived from some *Castellum*, probably of the crusaders; of which no historical trace remains. What is now seen, we were told, is merely the ruins of a tower of the family Abu Ghaush, where formerly they sometimes took refuge. It may very probably have been built on earlier foundations.'⁸⁸⁸

Guérin writes of a 'tower the foundations of which are at least in part ancient; the rest is modern.'⁸⁸⁹ In his time it was said to belong to a member of the Abu Ghosh family. On the slopes of the mountain remains of an ancient road could still be seen. Between Qastal and Qaluniyeh 'the road continues to be very precipitous and in some places it is cut in the rock.'

SWP, iii, p.18 records 'a small stone village in a conspicuous position on a rocky hill top. There are springs beneath the main road to the east, about half a mile from the village.'

105. al Qubab 1456.1416
(fig.3,44; Pl.12)

This is an ancient village on the southern edge

⁸⁸⁵ J. Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem*, i, no.309, p.222 f.; Röhrich, *Regesta*, no.458, p.120 f.

⁸⁸⁶ Vincent and Abel, *Emmaüs*, p.389.

⁸⁸⁷ *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*, IV 23 (ed. Stubbs), p.280; Ambroise, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte*, v.6854, ed. Paris, p.407.

⁸⁸⁸ Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, iii, 158; also: ii, 6.

⁸⁸⁹ Guérin, *Judée*, i, p.264.

of Nahal Ayalon near the point where the old main road to Jerusalem makes the descent into the Valley of Ayalon. The site affords a wide view of the Valley and the hills around Emmaus can be seen very clearly.

Robinson notes: 'The village is of considerable size; but has no marks of antiquity, nor any historical importance.'⁸⁹⁰ He saw 'numerous openings, like small wells, leading to subterranean magazines for grain.' Guérin suspected that this might have been an ancient site, but could not find any actual remains.⁸⁹¹ Clermont-Ganneau notes that the village is mentioned by Mujir ed-Din under the name of Kariet el-Kubâb as a village belonging to Ramle,⁸⁹² which was punished in 1502-3 by the governor of Jerusalem, in consequence of a revolt by the fellahin.⁸⁹³ He describes the remains of a fine tomb. From the description it seems to us that it was left unfinished. Nearby he notes a cistern. The village is mentioned without comments by de Bruyn (1672-83).⁸⁹⁴ In the mid-nineteenth century it had a bad reputation:

'Kubâb, silent as the grave and treacherous as the sea, we pass through at a walk, unwilling to disturb a population which is only too apt either to beg from the strong, or to steal from the weak. This part of the plain has an evil repute which a good many travellers affirm that it has richly won. More than one hamlet in the neighbourhood has been lately burnt by the Turks: who have scorched many families of peasants from the land; in a righteous but inadequate return for their many and atrocious crimes.'⁸⁹⁵

It must be said, however, that other travellers in these years do not mention any danger of banditry in this region.⁸⁹⁶

⁸⁹⁰ Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, iii, 143. Vol. ii, 232: 'likewise called Beit Kubâb'.

⁸⁹¹ Guérin, *Judée*, i, p.56 ff.

⁸⁹² Clermont-Ganneau, *AR*, ii, pp.83-6; 482.

⁸⁹³ Clermont-Ganneau refers to Bulak, *Arabic Text*, p.696.

⁸⁹⁴ Cornelius de Bruyn, *Voyage au Levant &c* (Paris 1714), 258: le bourg de Cobeb.

⁸⁹⁵ W.H. Dixon, *The Holy Land*, i (London 1865), 60.

⁸⁹⁶ E.g. R. Buchanan (1857), *Notes of a Clerical Furlough spent chiefly in the Holy Land* (London 1859), 107.

Clermont-Ganneau also published two fragmentary Latin military inscriptions.⁸⁹⁷ As noted in the entry on Emmaus, Vincent and Abel assume that these came originally from Emmaus-Nicopolis which is only 5 km away, but we do not want to exclude the possibility that they were found *in situ*, since Qubeiba itself is an ancient site. Alternatively they would furnish more evidence of a permanent military presence at Emmaus.

(1) CHIO IN
PARV

Century IX, 10th century AD. (2)

(2) X I AN
NINI AV

[Leg [X] pretensis Antoniniana] (3)
[Ante] [ant] Au[gu]sto[rum] [C] (4)

The inscriptions are fragmentary and Clermont-Ganneau's restorations are only tentative, but the military nature of the first is certain and both were definitely in Latin, which is significant in itself. If the restorations are correct both inscriptions would reflect the presence of legionaries on the spot, and, if they may be combined, possibly that of the ninth cohort of the *Legio Aetensis*.

A view of the Valley of Avalon as seen from Qubeiba in the 1870's may be found in *Picturesque Palestine* (Pl 12)⁸⁹⁸. The caption under the illustration does not specifically mention the site, itself not shown in the engraving, but the location is clearly identifiable.

We visited the site several times at various seasons but the dense vegetation made it impossible to inspect the site. On 10-9-1985 we found a large concentration of pottery from the Byzantine period. It was scattered over an area of 100 by 80 m, near the north-eastern boundary of the site. Elsewhere only recent pottery was seen.

This appears to have been a Roman and Byzantine site, which was built over and presumably destroyed by later occupation.

106. Kh. el Qubeibeh 1450-1504

This ancient site is to be distinguished from the more recent al-Qubeiba between Beit Inan and Nabi

Sami'il. q.v. lies a little distance south of the road from Lodda to Modun and is now in the Hermon National Park.

Clermont-Ganneau describes two groups of tombs. The first has shafts sunk into the flat surface of the rock with access in parallel to the length of the shaft on each side. The other group some 100 m north of the first, comprises rock-cut caves with vertical entrances.⁸⁹⁹ The former group is characteristic of the Roman and Byzantine periods, while the latter type was common in the period of the Second Temple. Clermont-Ganneau assumes that the tombs may have been connected with Gumpo, a kilometre and a half to the south.

The files of the D.A.M. (s.v. Deir Abu Salama) record a rock-cut tomb with Greek inscription 1200 m west of the village. This probably refers to the present site.

The site comprises Early Roman and Byzantine remains.

107. al Qubeiba, Parva Mahomeria (Pl 19, 54) 1628-1385

This site lies on one of the roads from the plain to Jerusalem. It has attracted much attention from archaeologists because of the tradition from the thirteenth century which has identified this place with Emmaus in Luke 24.13 (see the entry on Motza). The excavations lie in the grounds of the Franciscan monastery, surrounded by pine and olive trees which produce a somewhat misleading impression that the site is naturally well-watered, whereas in fact the nearest spring is deep down in the wadi to the north.

Literary Sources

The first reference to al Qubeiba is found in a privilege of Amalric V, from 1164, referring to a village named Parva Mahomeria with a church, in the territory of Betsurieh (Beit Sunq)⁹⁰⁰. The place is called 'The Little' to distinguish it from 'the Major Mahomeria' (el Bureh). A document of 1169 describes it as 'a village built by the church and settled by the

⁸⁹⁷ Clermont-Ganneau, *IR*, II, p. 47-48.

⁸⁹⁸ Rottiere, *Catalogue*, no. 144, p. 263. Further references: Bagatti, *I Monumenti di Emmaus - el Qubeibeh e dei dintorni*, 3f, for the possible identification of Parva Mahomeria with Qubeiba, *ibid.*, 185-7.

⁸⁹⁹ *Excavations in the Holy Land*, II, p. 83-84.

⁹⁰⁰ W. W. Rieu, *Picturesque Palestine: Seven and Eight Centuries*, New York, 1881, p. 158 (a photographic reprint of the original text).

Latins.⁹⁰¹

A different form of the Latin name occurs in a document of 1159 which mentions 'Geraudus Rex de Mahomeriola whose lands included [or, better: bordered on] Bethana [Beit Inan]'.⁹⁰²

The first traveller to refer to this place is Benjamin of Tudela (1170) who travelled from Nabi Samwil three parasangs to 'Mahomerie le petit which is Giv'at Shaul, where there are no Jews there and this is Gibeah of Benjamin. Thence three parasangs to Beit Nuba'.⁹⁰³

There can be little doubt that the 'Parva Mahomeria' refers to al Qubeiba.⁹⁰⁴ 'Mahomeria' is a term for a Muslim sanctuary, an appropriate rendering of 'Qubeiba' (the little cupolas).⁹⁰⁵ The location fits: a site between Nabi Samwil, Beit Suriq and Beit Inan, with a church. The alternative site, Biddu, may have been occupied in the Crusader period, but no church has been seen there. According to the document from 1159, cited above, Mahomeriola bordered on Beit Inan, which is true for Qubeiba and not for Biddu. More important, Biddu as such is never mentioned in medieval sources, while the name Qubeiba, in some form or other, is attested and alternates, but never occurs together, with that of Parva Mahomeria. 'Parva Mahomeria' occurs in documents from 1159, 1164, and in a text referring to 1170. The name Qubeiba is found in the following texts of the subsequent period.

An Arabic source, Abu Shama, *RHC Or.*, iv, p.323, gives an interesting description of an encounter in 1187-8: 'An emir in charge of an advance party marched carelessly along the road and was killed in a surprise attack at a place called El-Kobaibat.'

Following the campaign of Richard the Lionheart, the village was apparently abandoned. Wilbrand of Oldenburg followed the al Qubeiba road in 1211.⁹⁰⁶

⁹⁰¹ Rozière, *Cartulaire*, no. 167, p.303; similarly: no. 166, p.298 from 1170.

⁹⁰² Röhrich, no. 338, p.88.

⁹⁰³ Benjamin of Tudela, ed. Adler, p.27 (43).

⁹⁰⁴ See the convincing arguments by F.-M. Abel, *RB* 35(1926), 272-83, esp. 275ff. Bagatti, *el-Qubeibeh*, 185-7, is doubtful and tends to consider Biddu a suitable candidate.

⁹⁰⁵ References in Röhrich, *Regesta*, 502.

⁹⁰⁶ Wilbrandus de Oldenburg, ap. Laurent (ed.), *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quattuor*, 184.

'The same day we arrived at Bettenobele [Beit Nuba, q.v.]...The next day, the luckiest of all days of my happiness, we ascended to Jerusalem. The mountains are high, rocky and wild and, what is remarkable, produce much wine, olives, and corn. Here we saw many destroyed and abandoned villages and monasteries, the names of which I have forgotten, where religious men lived near their mother.'

al Qubeiba was almost certainly among the villages restored to the Crusaders under the treaty concluded by Richard of Cornwall in 1241 which mentions 'Bechic, Anon [Beit Inan], Kocabi [probably to be read as Kobabi, i.e. Qubeiba], Bersamul [Nabi Samwil]'.⁹⁰⁷

After the expulsion of the Crusaders from Jerusalem and the Judaeen mountains in 1244 the al Qubeiba road became the only one that Christian pilgrims were allowed to use. This resulted in a shift of several traditional identifications of holy places, among them Emmaus of the book of Luke. Hitherto identified with Abu Ghosh and Imwas, it was now sought at the ruined al Qubeiba while Abu Ghosh now came to be identified with Anathoth (q.v.). The first author who clearly refers to al Qubeiba as Emmaus is an anonymous pilgrim in 1280: 'Et de yleqe à Rames, là où seint George fust martirizé, iiii liwes; e d'ileqe à Emaüs, là où Ihesu parla ou Cleophas, e le conust par fraccion de pain. E de yleqe à Montioie, ii liwes...'⁹⁰⁸

It is then regularly mentioned by travellers who refer to it as 'Emmaus', some of them describe it as a place in ruins, e.g. Ludolph (1336): 'Not far from Shiloh is Emmaus, once a fair city, but now deserted, where Jesus appeared to his disciples after his resurrection. This city is now called Nicopolis. Near Emmaus on the right hand, once stood two very famous cities, now deserted — to wit, Gibeon and Ajalon...'⁹⁰⁹ Some travellers also notice the ruined parish church, e.g. Felix Fabri (1483): 'But now the Saracens have altogether ruined it, more especially the church of Christ's inn whose ruins can only be traced by their

⁹⁰⁷ Letter from Richard of Cornwall ap. M. Paris, *Grande chronique*, trans. A. Huillard-Bréholles, vol. V (Paris 1840), 190f.

⁹⁰⁸ H. Michelant and G. Raynaud, *Itinéraires à Jérusalem et Descriptions de la Terre Sainte rédigés en Français aux xi^e, xii^e et xiii^e siècles* (Genève 1882), p.229: 'Pelrinages et pardouns de Acre'.

⁹⁰⁹ Ludolphi de Itinere Terrae Sanctae Liber, ed. F. Deycks (Stuttgart 1851), 92f.; English translation, *PPTS*, London 1895, 122. Full testimonia ap. Bagatti, *el-Qubeibeh*, 3-32.

foundations. Still, at the present day there stand here and there in the village the ruins of lofty vaulted houses and a few people dwell there.⁹¹⁰ The old name, Qubeiba, was not forgotten for it recurs in the sixteenth century: 'Fifteen miles from the said city of Ramleh on the road to Jerusalem on the main road is situated the Castle of Emmaus, which in the language of the Moors is called Chubebe. In this is the church of Cleophas...'⁹¹¹

In the sixteenth century the road through Abu Ghosh was again used more frequently than the road through Qubeiba, for obvious reasons, the latter being notoriously bad and unsafe.⁹¹² There are many references to the place by later travellers, which have been conveniently compiled by Bagatti so that there is no need to list them here. It is, however, worthwhile to cite Pococke's somewhat more extensive description: 'Having gone about three miles from Rama, we arrived at Emmaus, which, as I apprehend, they called Coubeby, tho', when I passed through it, in the way to Joppa, they called it Gebeby: Beyond it are high hills, from which one descends to the plain towards the sea: Entering this ruined place, on the left, I saw a large basin, walled round, but there was no water in it: To the right, on a rising ground, are great ruins of the town: they say many of the stones were carried away to build Jerusalem about two hundred years ago. The church was on the spot where the house of Cleophas stood ... it is a long building, and there is a fine large vase in it of white stone, or marble, which doubtless was a font: The church stands in a large area, encompassed with a wall, and has on the north side of it, a pile of buildings, arched over, and there is one large arch, which seems to have been a gateway in the middle of them.'⁹¹³

These, then, are the literary sources. It will be clear by now that they provide no basis for the identification with Emmaus of the Roman period, even

though this is still claimed by the Franciscans.⁹¹⁴ The village of Qubeiba came to be identified with Emmaus only because it lies at roughly the correct distance from Jerusalem on the road in use after the Crusades, i.e. at 75 stades from the city.

Archaeological Exploration

In the nineteenth century the site was briefly described by Guérin, by the *SWP* and by Clermont-Ganneau, who published a plan of the church and investigated the Crusader masons' marks.⁹¹⁵ Because of the special interest it aroused the site was among the first excavated in Palestine. Naturally these investigations were carried out with the primitive techniques of the times and without an understanding of modern dating methods. The first explorations were undertaken in 1862 by the Marquise Paolina de Nicolay who had purchased the site; a brief note on her finds is cited by Bagatti.⁹¹⁶ These activities were further pursued in 1873-5, '87-90, and '98-1902.⁹¹⁷ The latter campaign preceded the reconstruction of the mediaeval church, but unfortunately failed to take the opportunity of clarifying the date of the so-called 'casa' or 'House of Cleophas', an older feature laid out on an alignment different from that of the church.⁹¹⁸

In the years 1940-43 the Italian Franciscans were interned in the monastery. They passed the time with further excavations under the direction of Bagatti, published in an extensive report in 1947. This study includes a collection of the sources related to the site and a valuable report on the sites and roads in the vicinity, referred to frequently in this Gazetteer. The report on the excavations discusses (1) the church, (2) the remains of the village, (3) the castle or *curia* with the tower. This is followed by a full description of small finds: pottery, glass, metal, stone, and coins. What follows is a summary and critical appraisal of Bagatti's report.

⁹¹⁰ Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae peregrinationem*, ed. 1556 (repr. Berlin, no date), 30: PPTS, 277.

⁹¹¹ Francesco Suriano (1485-1524), *Il trattato di Terra Santa e dell'Oriente*, ed P.G. Golubovitch (1900), 19, more in detail, Bagatti, 178 f.

⁹¹² For instance, the Anonymous *Voyage de la Sainte Cité de Hierusalem*, ed. C. Schefer (Paris 1882), 68, and above, Part I.

⁹¹³ R. Pococke, *A Description of the East, and Some Other Countries*, ii 1 (London 1745), 49.

⁹¹⁴ Note the full title of Bagatti's otherwise excellent book: *I monumenti di Emmaus el-Qubeibeh e dei dintorni* and see in particular p.184, where the identification is not rejected.

⁹¹⁵ Guérin, *Judée* i, 348-61; *SWP* iii, 130f.; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches*, i, 475-8. Full bibliography: Bagatti, 45f; cf. Enlart, *Les monuments des Croisés*, ii (1928), 329-335.

⁹¹⁶ Bagatti, 38.

⁹¹⁷ *Op.cit.*, 38-41.

⁹¹⁸ Bagatti, p.41, cites a note from the excavators which is not helpful.

Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Remains

In the northern aisle of the Crusader church foundations of an older structure were discovered, designated 'the house'. The alignment of its walls is slightly different from that of the church. The walls are 1.80 m. thick and consist of two faces with filling. In the southern wall there is a base of what was probably a pilaster for an arch which must have divided the structure into two parts, the eastern half being higher and paved with a mosaic floor. According to Bagatti white tesserae were found in levels destroyed by the construction of the Crusader church.

Guillemot, cited by Bagatti, thought that the south wall of the structure served as support for the aisle of the church, instead of a row of pillars. Vincent, however, thought it was of later date than the church. Against this Bagatti, p.55, argues that the literary sources describe al Qubeiba as abandoned following the Crusader period. He also makes pertinent observations about the masonry and building technique of the structure, but does not offer definite dating material.

Some of the other structures from the Crusader period, discussed below, contain earlier remains: Plan 41f., rooms 34-38, discussed on p.89f. These have thinner walls (90-95 cm.) which, unlike the Crusader walls, are built with mortar and pebbles. Near the doors of rooms 34 and 35 segments of arches were seen. Rooms 30-33 were found under the Arab and Crusader remains.⁹¹⁹ They contained pottery and coins of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, but these were not stratigraphically separated.⁹²⁰ A nozzle of a 'Herodian' lamp (photo 48,6) is noteworthy, as are fragments of dishes of 'Late Roman' ware (48,10 and 12), dating to the 5th century AD. Of a total of 281 coins, 42 (i.e. 14%) date from the period between the 3d century BC and the 5th century AD.⁹²¹ There are 3 Hellenistic coins, 10 Hasmonaeen, 2 Early Roman, 1 coin of the First Revolt, 4 Roman coins, 12 Late Roman, and 10 Byzantine.

Other remains include stone fragments. Some of these, as published by Bagatti, antedate the Crusaders and belong to the Byzantine period. A marble fragment, said to be from Qubeiba, comes from a screen consisting of a frieze with stylized garlands with columnettes with capitals of the Corinthian order. On the back is a fragment of a Greek inscription (p.57; Pl. 6, photo 10,1). Definitely from Qubeiba are an

entire Corinthian capital and a fragment of another, possibly from the 5th century,⁹²² fragments of chancel screens (photo 10,6); and yet another marble fragment with an inscription.⁹²³

It seems likely that the pre-Crusader remains at Qubeiba, particularly rooms 34-8, are Byzantine, although earlier periods are attested.

Early Islamic Period

The structures from the Byzantine period continued to be occupied in the Early Islamic period, to judge from the presence of pottery and coins found there, although the report does not give any information on the stratigraphy. The pottery is shown in Bagatti, fig. 23 and pl.22, photo 49,1-11 and discussed on pp.102-6. Bagatti assigns material to the period immediately preceding the Crusaders which to us would seem to belong to the transitional period from Byzantine to Early Islamic. Bowls represented in fig. 23, 1-8 are later imitations of 'Late Roman' ware and pottery shown on photo 49, 1-8 is closer to Early Islamic ware like that from Kh. el Mafjar. The coins reinforce this impression: out of 281 coins two belong to the seventh century and two are Ummayyad.

The Crusader Period

This is the main period of occupation of the site, a fact which corresponds with the information from literary sources.

The Architectural Remains

These consist of two public buildings: the church and the 'curia' (administrative centre), with adjacent tower and two rows of dwellings. The entire settlement is systematically laid out, being built on either side of the paved road.⁹²⁴ The planning is more typical of contemporary European settlements than of the Near East. The church measures 31 x 17 m. and has a nave with two aisles and four bays, (Bagatti, 47-61). Best preserved is the eastern part where the foundations of three apses survive. The walls are about 2 m. thick and are composed of two faces with a fill.

⁹²² Pl. 6, photo 10, 3-4.

⁹²³ Photo 10, 11; dated by Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* vi, 184 f.

⁹²⁴ Bagatti, pls. 41f. (plans); description of the excavations in Chapter III; brief description and comments by Benvenisti, *CHL*, 224-7.

⁹¹⁹ Bagatti, p.82f.

⁹²⁰ P.101, Pl.22, photo 48, 1-13.

⁹²¹ Bagatti, 161-77.

Part of the stones have bosses and many of them bear masons' marks.¹⁰⁴ Fragments of frescoes have been preserved near the apses. Of the portals and windows only a few fragments are extant, like cornices, corner stones and columnettes (Hagatti, fig. 8, 1-9). Tombs discovered in the church are typical examples of the architectural style imported by the Crusaders from Europe.¹⁰⁵

The administrative building (Hagatti's *castello*) west of the church has a rectangular plan of 68.70 x 48.50. As noted above, part of the building goes back to an earlier date. The entrance was from the square to the east. A square tower stood at the north-east corner of the main structure, overlooking the square, the church and the houses nearby. In the building were long rooms arranged against the exterior walls around a courtyard, in the middle of which is a long room measuring 23.20 x 5.60 and laid out on a slightly different orientation. Hagatti 88 believes the building to be a chapel, but Benvenisti describes it as the seat of the *dispensator* appointed over the village by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where the agricultural produce paid as tax would have been stored.¹⁰⁶ Inside Christian tombs have been found (fig. 8.11). This building was the last part of the site to be abandoned in the Mameluke period.

The dwellings, some forty in number, are interesting as an example of the civil architecture of the period. As noted above, they all flank the main road with party walls and entrances from the street. They vary in size between 70 and 150 square metres and have no internal divisions. The buildings were cross-vaulted and had walls two metres thick, built of rough stones. Ashlars, mostly without bosses, were used only for the doors and windows. Almost all the houses have water channels and agricultural installations like oil presses. Part of these are re-used from earlier periods, such as a press which in the Crusader period was apparently used for cereals instead of liquids.

The mediaeval pottery is divided into two groups (Hagatti, 106-147), the first said to date between the second half of the 12th to the middle of the 13th century, the second to the subsequent period down to the middle of the 14th century. This division is based on correlation with coinage of these two periods. The first group pp 106-144, figs. 24-34, is to be compared with so-called Crusader and Mameluke material from Abu Ghosh (q.v.). Most of

the material published by Hagatti seems to date to the typical of Islamic (palest.) and Mameluke ceramic ware, such as those found at Abu Ghosh, Yotvat, etc. al-Mahjar, the Jerusalem citadel, etc. Representative of this kind of pottery are hand-made potted wares and lamps with Arabic inscriptions. The second group of mediaeval pottery (Hagatti, 148-79) is so-called, represented, which accords with the other indications of its date current in this period.

The total number of coins is 281, of which we have discussed the 42 coins up to c.V AD above. The remaining coins comprise 49 cXII Crusader coins (17.4%), 58 cXIII Mameluke coins (14.6%) and 87 cXIV Mameluke coins (31.4%). Islamic coins therefore are the majority, 186, i.e. 66.2% as compared with 58 Crusader coins i.e. 20.6%. Mameluke coins occupy the first place, 87, i.e. 31.4%. Only 3 Ottoman coins were found, which shows again that the site was abandoned in this period.

Conclusions

While there is some archaeological evidence indicative of occupation in the Hellenistic and Roman period this does not suffice to establish the nature and precise date of the site. The tradition that this was the Emmaus of the book of Luke belongs entirely to the middle ages and has no basis in fact. Byzantine remains are better defined: foundations, installations, fragments of architecture, inscribed stones, pottery and coins. Schick (PEFQS, 1901, 111), even claimed that the Crusaders restored a Byzantine church, but this cannot be confirmed.

The major period of occupation was that of the Crusader village, a planned settlement with a church and administrative centre, which is attested in literary sources. Following the expulsion of the Latins from the area the settlement was not immediately abandoned, but because of a lack of stratigraphical evidence it is hard to trace the transition between Crusader and Mameluke occupation. This may be further complicated by the fact, known from literary sources, that there was a brief return to Crusader control between 1241 and 1244. In the fourteenth century the settlement was certainly abandoned but remained 'Emmaus' to the pilgrims who followed the road to Jerusalem from Beit Nuba.

108. Ramle¹⁰⁷
(Pl 4)

1378-1490

¹⁰⁷ 'Al-Ramla' is a town founded in the Early

¹⁰⁴ See also Ch. Garnier, *AR* 1, 10, 22.

¹⁰⁵ See also K. G. L. (1910) comments p. 108.

¹⁰⁶ See also L. C. H. (1910).

¹⁰⁸ Air photographs Kedar, *AP*, 96-7.

Islamic period, by Sulaiman, brother of al-Walid and governor of Filastin.⁹²⁹ There is no evidence that there was a substantial site before the Moslem Conquest. The population of Lydda was transferred to the new town and so was the seat of provincial government which had been there since the 'Plague of 'Amwas' (AD 638-9). It was a town with many amenities: wells, a splendid mosque, several caravan serais, markets, comfortable baths, but its siting on sandy soil had serious disadvantages, notably for the water supply. The place soon became flourishing, and is celebrated by Arab writers. Before the time of the crusades it was surrounded by a wall with a castle and twelve gates. There were four principal gates, towards Jaffa, Askelon, Jerusalem and Nablus.

Nassiri Khosrau (1047), *Sefer Nameh* (1881), p.63: 'Ramleh is a big city, surrounded by a high and strong wall built with mortar. It is three parsangs distant from the sea. They use rain water which in every house is collected in a reservoir and they have a constant supply. There are vast cisterns in the middle of the Great Mosque...'

Anonymi Rhenani, *Historia et gesta Ducis Gotfridi* 28, *RHC Occ.* v, 492: 'Est autem civitas in plano sita inter montana Judaeae et maritima solis cultoribus apta. Ad quam cum Franci venissent, invenerunt areas plenas tritici et annonae triturateae habundantiam...'

In the period of the Crusaders the town was an important post.⁹³⁰ It was usually in their hands whenever they held possession of the Holy City and long afterwards. It regularly served as rear-base for the Crusader armies.⁹³¹ In the early 12th century it was besieged several times, and during Richard's campaigns, in 1191, it again served as rear-base. Following the battle at Hattin, Saladin razed the fortress.

Samuel's tomb has been sought at Ramleh

⁹²⁹ *Encyclopaedia of Islam* iii,2, cols. 1115-7 (E. Honigsmann); D. Soudel in: *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients: Festschrift für B. Spuler* (1981), 387-95. See also Robinson, ii, 234-239; a historical survey and pp. 239-241, on the possible identification of Ramle with Ramah and Arimathea.

⁹³⁰ See now the entry in *NEAEHL* 4 (1993), 1267-1271 (M. Rosen-Ayalon). For the remains of the Crusader church: Enlart, *Monuments des Croisés*, ii (1928), 329-35.

⁹³¹ M. Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land* (1970), 167-72.

(which was identified with Ramataim). See our discussion s.v. Nabi Samwil.

In roughly the same period Benjamin of Tudela (about 1173) writes:⁹³²

'From there [Beth Govrin] it is three parsangs to San Samuel of Silo which is Shilo two parsangs from Jerusalem. When the Edomites [sc. the Crusaders] captured Ramla, that is Haramah, from the Ismaelites they found the tomb of Samuel from Ramah near the synagogue. And the Edomites removed it and took it to Shiloh and they built there a great platform and called it San Samuel of Silo until this day.'

Benjamin thus identified Ramla with Haramah and the hill of Nabi Samwil with Shilo.⁹³³ Benjamin found there also 'walls from the days of our forefathers, for there are inscriptions on stones. There are about three hundred Jews there and it was a very big city and there is a large Jewish cemetery at two miles distance.'⁹³⁴

'The Jews often visit this place because they claim that Saint Samuel is buried there and not in Ramla and many of the Judges of Israel are buried there.'⁹³⁵ This author, who made a point of asking Jews about the holy places, echoes Benjamin of Tudela in his statement about a sepulchre of Samuel at Ramla, although he does not repeat the story about a transfer of the body.⁹³⁶

In 1266 it was taken by Bibars. A traveller in 1395 found Ramle 'a beautiful and good city with a good market, well populated and inhabited by Saracens'.⁹³⁷ A Jewish traveller of 1481 identifies

⁹³² 42, ed. Adler, p.28.

⁹³³ Shilo and the tomb of Samuel are also combined by Benjamin's contemporary Theoderic, cited below.

⁹³⁴ Benjamin, 43, ed. Adler, p. 28.

⁹³⁵ Ibid., 182.

⁹³⁶ Jacobus de Verona, *ibid.*, p.181, tells that Samuel is buried at 'Rama or Ramelech in a church which has now been transformed into a mosque'. He further identifies Ramla with 'Arimathia'. Ludolph de Suchem (1336-1350), *de Itinere Terrae Sanctae* 43, ed. Deycks, p.92, states also that Samuel was born and buried in Ramatha (Ramle).

⁹³⁷ *Le saint voyage de Jérusalem par le Baron d'Anglure* (Paris 1858), 51.

Ramle with Gat. He notes that it was on the main caravan route from Egypt to Damascus and had more than 30,000 inhabitants.⁹³⁸ In 1547 Belon found it almost deserted: scarcely twelve houses being inhabited, and the fields mostly untilled.⁹³⁹

When Volney (1783-5) asked the Aga of Gaza, established at Ramle, why he did not repair at least his own room, he received the answer: 'And if I am replaced, next year, who will reimburse me my expenses?' In the vicinity of Ramle, too, he found many superb, but neglected olive trees. It was inhabited by barely two hundred families.⁹⁴⁰

Prokesch (1829) states that Ramle numbered approximately 800 Greek and 2000 Moslem inhabitants.⁹⁴¹ Robinson visited Ramle in 1838 and gives a description of the town as it was then,⁹⁴² surrounded by olive groves, and gardens of vegetables and delicious fruits; the latter enclosed by impenetrable hedges of prickly pear. There were several mosques, one or more of which were said to have been churches. There was one of the largest Latin convents in Palestine. This was distinct from the hostel for pilgrims built by Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy after AD 1420, and served by the monks of the Latin convent at Jerusalem (or left untenanted for long periods). The convent was probably founded in the eighteenth century.

109. **Kh. Ras al Alawi** 1669.1340
(fig.17; Pl.36)

This is a conspicuous hill a little distance south of the modern highway to Jerusalem, about 800m. north-east of the 'Ascent of the Romans'. It is now part of the central cemetery of Jerusalem (Har HaMenuhot).

⁹³⁸ R. Meshulam from Valtelina, ap. Eisenstein, *Ozar Massaoth*, 102. Ramle is also called Gat by a Karaite traveller of 1541-2, *ibid.*, 188. Another Karaite traveller (1654) confuses it with Gaza, *ibid.* 208. For Ramle and its hinterland in the 16th century: Amy Singer, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 33 (1990), 51-79.

⁹³⁹ P. Belon, *Observations* (1588), 140.

⁹⁴⁰ C.-F. Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Égypte* (Paris 1787), 307 f.

⁹⁴¹ A. Prokesch, *Reise ins heilige Land im Jahr 1829* (Vienna 1831), 38.

⁹⁴² Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, ii, 230 f.; historical discussion: 234-241.

SWP, iii, p.123 reads: 'A large rock-cut cistern. Tomb's rock-cut and cemented inside, being chambers without *loculi*'.

Schick, *PEFQS* 1893, pp.134-136, visited the site and noticed a pillar which 'is not *in situ*, but standing on its top (i.e. upside down). ... it is clear that it once stood a little higher on the slope. Its foot is squared, as if once intended to be put into a square hole, either of masonry or hewn in the rock.' It is not impossible that Schick's pillar was actually a milestone. Schick had the impression that this was a site of some importance and noticed several cisterns. He observes:

'From these ruins one has a very nice view towards the south and south-west, especially down the large valley and the mountains on both sides...On the old road towards Jerusalem from this place there is, in the north, the highest peak of this range of hills, covered with a heap of stones (not given on the map), which is called Rujum Medafeh, the Cannon Heap or Heap for the Cannons; and a little further to the south a ruin called Kasr el-Beda, the white tower.'

A salvage excavation carried out by Ruth Amiran brought to light remains two buildings on two terraces beneath the top of the hill.⁹⁴³ Ottoman military installations had destroyed the connection between the two.

(I) The western complex. This was an elongated structure, divided into three rooms with mosaic pavements which showed signs of ancient repair.⁹⁴⁴ The walls, built of ashlar, were two m. thick. The pottery and building technique point to the Roman period (third and fourth centuries). Ruth Amiran suggested this may have been a cistern, but other possibilities should not be excluded. It might have been a wine press. Amiran speculated that it may have belonged to one of the Roman forts along the Roman road. We have no remains of any other forts along the road west of Giv'at Ram, and there is therefore no support for the theory.

(II) The eastern complex. This was built of stones robbed from the western building. It was an elongated building consisting of 8 rooms with one entrance in the east wall. The ceiling was supported by piers. Three caves were used as cisterns and the remains of an oil press were also found. The highest rows of the walls were built of unworked stones. The

⁹⁴³ R. Amiran, *Ailon* 3 (1951), 43f. (Heb.)

⁹⁴⁴ Pl. V, fig. B.

heavy piers suggest that the ceiling was a vault. In the north-east corner holes of a columbarium were found (Pl. V, fig. C). Amiran dates it to the end of the Byzantine period (sixth-seventh century) and considers it a farmstead.

110. **Kh. Ras el-Mughar** 1619.1387

This is a substantial site on a hilltop, 1 km. west of Qubeiba. *AS Benjamin*, Site No. 268, p.41*, 212 (Heb.): '24 dunams. Cisterns; columbarium; scatter of sherds. Iron II/P-few sherds; Hell-the majority; Rom(?) -few sherds; EIs (?) -few sherds; 72 sherds.' Unfortunately, the pottery has not been published, for it would be interesting if we could be certain that a site on the road to Qubeiba has predominantly Hellenistic pottery.

111. **er Ras I** (See under Modiin)

112. **Kh. er Râs (er Ras II; Rekhes Shuafat)** 1713.1360

Department of Antiquities, Geographical List of the Records Files, 1918-1948 (1976), 158: 'Walls, heaps of stones, press stone'. Traces of settlement and agricultural installations were found during rescue excavations: Iron Age, Hellenistic, Herodian, Roman, Byzantine.⁹⁴⁵ This site is to be distinguished from the site also named Er Ras which forms part of the sites associated with Modiin (q.v.).

113. **Rujum Abu Hashabe** 1632.1419
(fig.9;19.5; Pl.44,66-68)

The site was first recorded in *Survey 1967*, 181, site no.110 (Rujm Abu Hashabe), with sketch plan; the survey reports pottery from the Persian, Roman and Byzantine periods. It is included in *AS Benjamin*, site 43, p.59 (Hebrew).

This is a small rectangular fort or tower of 12 x 12m. Internal division is visible. The pottery found dates from the Roman period.

We visited and surveyed the site on 24-2-1983. Between the 6th and 8th of June 1985 we carried out a sondage. The main aim of this work was to examine the interior division of the fort and to determine its archaeological phases. First of all the surface was thoroughly cleared to permit an accurate survey of the walls. Trial trenches were dug in the three

areas A, B and C in order to ascertain the earlier building phases of the site. Finds were collected from the surface and trenches, measurements and photos were taken and a plan was drawn⁹⁴⁶.

Our activity at the site confirmed the general plan and size as revealed by previous surveys, namely a rectangle of exactly 12m x 12m.

Rujum Abu Hashabe lies on a southern hill-slope 681m above sea-level, overlooking Wadi Salman and close to the ancient road between Beit 'Ur al Fauqa [Lower Beit Horon] and Latatin. During the sondage of the site, several sections of the ancient road were revealed, cut into the rock a few metres east of the fort.

The fort was orientated north-west/south-east, with an entrance in the southern wall (W3), i.e. facing the main road. The doorway was approximately in the middle of the wall, about 1.5m wide. Some of the fragments of worked stone scattered over the area seem to have been part of the door frame. The four outer walls of the fort (W1, 2, 3 and 4) are 1m thick. Although today severely battered, their workmanship is still visible: in general, the outer face is composed of large, roughly cut stones, measuring about 80-100cm. x 50-60cm. which were laid down as stretchers. Every 1.5 - 2m better cut stones were laid down as headers crossing the width of the walls (*diatonoi*). This was particularly noticeable in W1. This is a technique which was widely used in Late Hellenistic and Roman architecture⁹⁴⁷. The inner faces of the walls were built of smaller stones (about 50-60cm. x 40cm), and there was a rubble core. A few stones exhibited the typically Late Hellenistic and Herodian phenomenon of a flattened boss and smoothed margins. This structure should be of some interest to specialists in military architecture, for there are no pre-Flavian towers in NW Europe and the known Flavian towers are much simpler wooden structures: on the Gask ridge in Scotland,⁹⁴⁸ or those in the Taunus or Odenwald. Stone

⁹⁴⁶ The sondage was carried out with the help of volunteers from the Avshalom Institute. Photographs were taken by I. Roll, M. Fischer and D. Reisel (Avshalom Institute).

⁹⁴⁷ For this building technique, see the references in the Gazetteer entry on Kh Mazad and Fischer (1989) figs 4 and 9.

⁹⁴⁸ L. Keppie, *Scotland's Roman Remains* (Edinburgh 1986), 37, fig. 20 and further references in D. Breeze, 'The Frontier in Britain, 1989', *Roman Frontier Studies 1989*, ed. V.A. Maxfield and M.J. Dobson, 35 - 43, esp. 38 and fig. 7.4

⁹⁴⁵ *Archaeological Newsletter* 100 (1993), 60f.

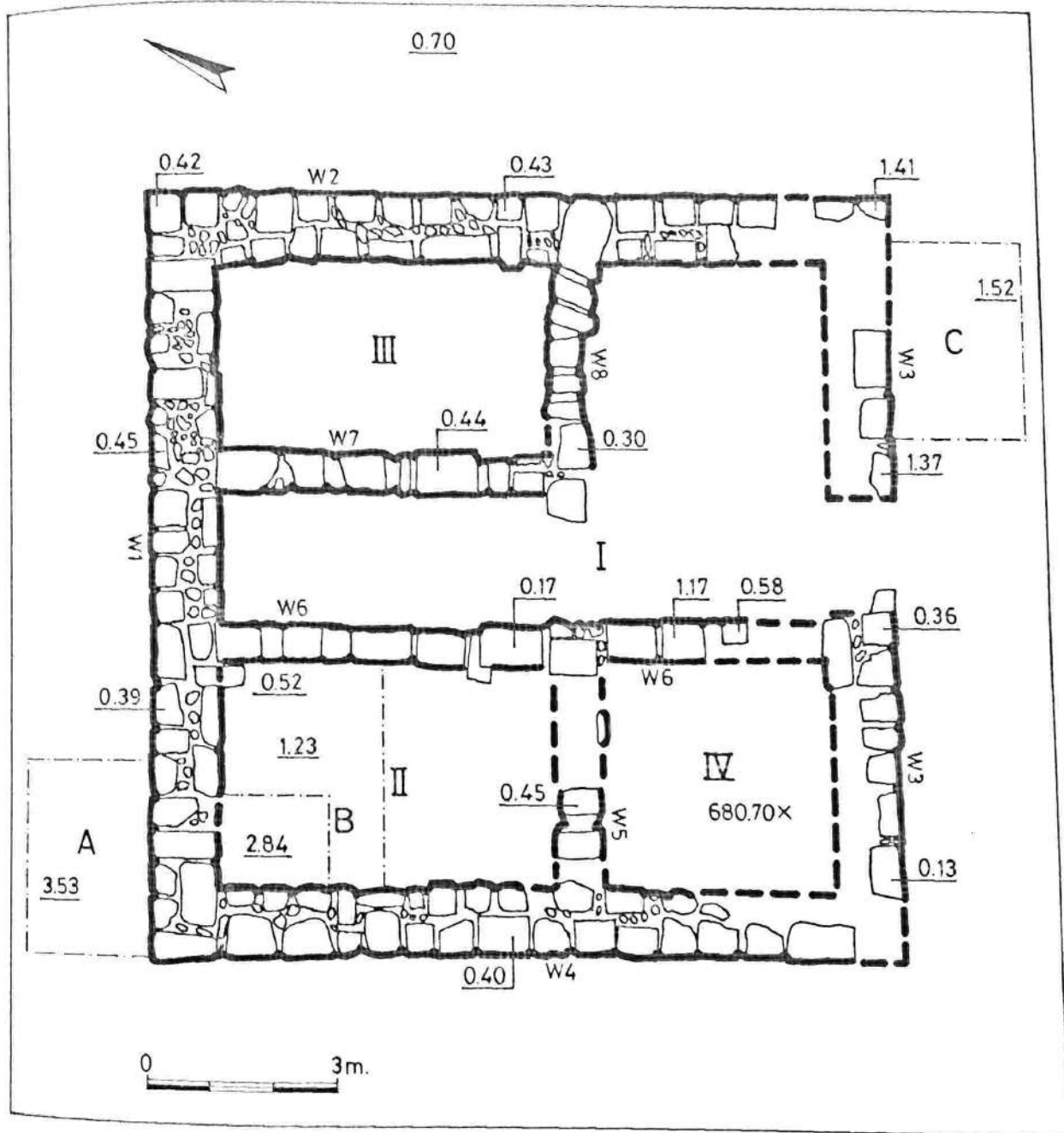


Fig. 19.5: Plan of Rujum Abu Hashabe.

towers are later in date.⁹⁴⁹

114. As Saphiriya 1360.1555

Literary Sources

This is perhaps the village Kefar Safuriya mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud (Kiddushim iii 64d): 'R. Simlai ruled in Antioch, R. Simai ruled in Kefar Safuriya, halakha is according to R. Tarfon.'⁹⁵⁰ R. Simai was active in the time of R. Judah Hanasi and the period of transition from tannaim to amoraim, i.e. the late second and early third centuries. He was once sent to intercalate the year in Lod, i.e. near Safuriya. It may be identified with Beth Shifuriya mentioned in Midrash Leviticus Rabba 22.⁹⁵¹

The Madaba Map has an entry: [Σ α] φ α ρ ε α. It is possible, but by no means certain that the present site is meant.⁹⁵²

The village is certainly mentioned in Crusader documents, for the first time in 1115 as the 'casale nomine Saphoria'.⁹⁵³ In a diploma from 1255 reference

is made to a church in Saphyria.⁹⁵⁴ Abel has argued that it may be identified with another village mentioned in Crusader documents, the 'casellum de Josaphat', because the village of Saphyria with its church, according to the document last cited, had been assigned by the bishop of Ramle to the Abbey of Our Lady of Josaphat. Moreover, the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*, iv, 31, (Stubbs, p.296), describes a meeting as taking place 'in the plain between the village of the Temple and the village of Josaphat'.⁹⁵⁵ The former will have been the *casellum de Planis*, i.e. Yazur (see the relevant entry) which had been restored by the Templars. The place of the meeting would then naturally have been the fortress of Maen (Medianum, Beit Dejan; see the entry on Beit Dajan), which indeed lay between the two places mentioned.

Yaqut (thirteenth century), iii, 401, lists Safiriya as a village lying near Ramle. It is again mentioned as a village in an Ottoman endowment deed from 1552.⁹⁵⁶

There is no archaeological information available on the site. Guérin merely mentions it⁹⁵⁷ and the SWP, ii, 254 writes 'mud village'. Ory paid a visit on 10-3-1929 and noticed ancient burials north of the village. The medieval site is not identifiable with the modern village of the same name but appears to have been built over by the village of Tohelet.

A field track making for Beit Dagan is all that remains of the Jaffa - Lydda road. Along this track, about 150 m. from the edge of the modern village, we picked up various finds: many tesserae, some of them quite large (3.3cm.), of the kind used in Byzantine agricultural installations. We also found a piece of marble (62 x 15cm.), probably a fragment of a column of a chancel screen. A Byzantine coin which we found was identified by Dr A. Kindler as dating to the sixth century. All this, together with Byzantine pottery sherds indicates that there was a Byzantine settlement in the neighbourhood, possibly continuing into the early Early Islamic period. This confirms the evidence from the literary sources which implies that the place existed

⁹⁴⁹ cf. comments by F. Lepper and S. Frere, *Trajan's Column* (Gloucester 1988), 48 on the towers depicted on the column.

⁹⁵⁰ An alternative reading in L. Ginzburg, *Seridei Hayerushalmi*, p.234, l.20: R. Simlai ruled in Antioch, R. Simai ruled in Prosp....[the end of the line is missing].

⁹⁵¹ As observed by A. Neubauer, *La géographie du Talmud* (Paris 1868), 81.

⁹⁵² This was suggested by Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO*, iv, p.275. It has also been suggested that this should be read Sarafea in which case it would refer to Seriphin, Tzerifin, Sarafend, cf. *TIR*, s.v. Sapharea and Saraphia, p.222, with references.

⁹⁵³ H.-F. Delaborde, *Chartes de Terre Sainte provenant de l'Abbaye de N.-D. de Josaphat = Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 3(1895), no.6, p.30: 'dedit eidem ecclesie casale nomine Saphoria cum omnibus pertinenciis suis et in castro domum unam et infra muros Mahumerie aliam et ante castrum terram arabilem quattuor carruciis sufficientem.'; no. 28, p.64: 'in territorio Ramatensi casale unum nomine Saphiria et mediam partem decimationis ipsius'; also: pp. 34,46,68; Röhrich, *Regesta*, no.273, p.69 (c.AD 1151?) '...casale Saphoriam...'

⁹⁵⁴ Delaborde, op.cit., no. 49, p.101: 'In casali Bethalla unam cappellam. In Saphyria aliam'.

⁹⁵⁵ 'In plano inter casellum de Templo et casellum de Josaphat.' Cf. 30 (Stubbs, op.cit., p.290): 'rex cum exercitus ... non procul inde, itinere abbreviato, inter casellam de Planis et casellum Maen, fixerunt ad manendum tentoria.'

⁹⁵⁶ St.H. Stephan, *QDAP* 10 (1944), 184 (cf. the entry on Daniyal).

⁹⁵⁷ Guérin, *Judée*, i, p.32.

as a village by the main road at least from the later Roman period onward.

115. Saris

1571.1338

Literary Sources

The Septuagint mentions Σωρης (Joshua 15,59).⁹⁵⁸ The site may be mentioned in Josephus, *Ant.* vi 12,4 (249): εἰς Σάριν πόλιν. Jerome, in *Michaeam* ii,5,2 (CCSL, vol 75, p.482) writes of 'Soris'. This presumably derives from the Hebrew 'Shoresh'.

There are no further references in antiquity. Yaqut, in the thirteenth century, mentions Saris as a 'village of the district around Jerusalem. It lies halfway between Jerusalem and Ar Ramlah, and 4 hours from either place'.⁹⁵⁹

It is next mentioned by travellers in the sixteenth century, firstly by Zuallart⁹⁶⁰: 'After travelling three or four mile (from Bir Ayub) we found between the trees and in the mountains the remains of a wall and a building bearing an inscription in Turkish characters. It is named Sarith.' Similar observations were made by Sandys: '...we passed by a place called *Sereth* [i.e. Saris] where by certaine ruins there standeth a pile like a broken tower, engraven with *Turkish* characters, upon that side which regardeth the way: erected as they say, by an Ottoman Emperour'.⁹⁶¹ A drawing of this structure was made by Zuallart in 1586 and is

reproduced here.⁹⁶² The drawing shows the village on the hill above the road. In 1602-3 Martinus Seusenius noted the place.⁹⁶³

It is next mentioned by J. Doubdan in 1651-2: 'Halfway [between Latrun and Jerusalem], by the roadside to the right, between trees and shrubs which are high and thick everywhere, one finds Serit...'.⁹⁶⁴ He adds that it was virtually hidden by the dense vegetation, which may explain why it was not, to our knowledge, recorded afterwards until the nineteenth century. He was told that it had been a tower or block-house to house guards whose duty it was to catch the robbers and ensure the safety of the road. The inscription registered the toll to be paid by travellers.

Ritter says Saris was long avoided on account of the robbers who settled there, but this was no longer the case by the time he wrote (1818).⁹⁶⁵ Van de Velde briefly mentions 'Saris, lying on the height...' and adds that it showed some ancient remains.⁹⁶⁶ Guérin, *Judée*, i, p.62; 281, merely mentions the village and its gardens.

In 1889 an interesting discovery was made in a cave 'a third of a mile from a small pine grove on a hill south-west of Saris, called el Arba'in.' This was an artificial cave with a rudely carved human figure in relief and a large quantity of pottery. The pottery visible on the photograph supplied seems to be

⁹⁵⁸ The connection was first seen by Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, iii, 156. Cf. Abel, *GP*, p.49.

⁹⁵⁹ Yaqut, v, p.21 (ed. Wüstenfeld). Cf. G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (London, 1890), p.531.

⁹⁶⁰ G. Zuallardo, *Il devotissimo viaggio di Gerusalemme* (Rome 1587), p.118. J. Zuallart, *Le tresdevot voyage de Jerusalem* (Antwerp 1608), 'Book III' offers virtually the same text and identical illustrations (The pages are unnumbered). I. Cotovicus, *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum* (Antwerp 1610), p.145, copied here, as elsewhere, the text found in Zuallart's work adding that the place was twenty miles distant from Rama and the same distance from Jerusalem.

⁹⁶¹ George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun Anno Dom. 1610* (London 1615), p.201.

⁹⁶² Zuallart, *Le Tresdevot voyage de Jerusalem* (Antwerp 1608), 118 f.: 'Hebbende gereisd drie of vier mijl vinden wij tussen bomen en bergen de resten van een muur en gebouw waarop een inscriptie in Turks charakters. Het heet Sarith'.

⁹⁶³ Martinus Seusenius, *ZDPV* 26(1903), p.26: 'Ende gekommen an den Berch Sarsi, welcke ein oneffen steinachtich berg is continuerende tot ontrent Ierusalem...' Seusenius mentions this place as if he passed it after crossing the bridge in the 'Dahl van Terebinthe' (Qaluniya). However, there can be no doubt that the 'Berch Sarsi' is Saris.

⁹⁶⁴ J. Doubdan, *Le voyage de la terre-sainte* (Paris 1657), p.59.

⁹⁶⁵ We have seen the English translation: C. Ritter, *The Comparative Geography of Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula* (Edinburgh 1866), iv, 238.

⁹⁶⁶ C.W.M. van de Velde, *Narrative of a Journey through Syria and Palestine in 1851 and 1852* (Edinburgh 1854), i, 450.

Hellenistic, but it is hard to tell for certain.⁹⁶⁷ On 21-1-1924 Makhoul reported to the *D.A.M.* that he had found a figure cut in a cave, about half an hour west of Saris along the road to Beit Mahsir. This may well have been the same cave.

When visiting the site on 10-6-1985 we found large quantities of Byzantine pottery and mosaic tesserae, as well as Early Muslim ware.

The site seems to date from the Byzantine and Early Muslim periods. The existence of the village in the Byzantine period and perhaps in earlier periods as well is also attested in literary sources. It is mentioned in late mediaeval and sixteenth-century works. It should be noted that it lies south of the present main road to Jerusalem which did not become a public highway until the Early Islamic period. Saris therefore became a site connected with the main road in this period. It would be interesting to know whether the structure seen by sixteenth-century travellers was indeed a watch-tower. In this connection it may be worth mentioning the existence of a spring in the north below the village and near the main road and the site where the tower once stood, hence the dense vegetation.

116. **Sha'ab Siyag**
(fig.10)

1680.1407

This is a conspicuous hill (762 m. above sea level) overlooking the Beit Horon road from the north-east. It lies opposite Kh. 'Id (v. supra). On the slopes of the hill are modern agricultural terraces. The top of the hill is stony and bare.

SWP, iii, p.123, s.v. Kh. el Musry writes of 'Traces of ruins. Walls, foundations, scattered stones.' The files of the *D.A.M.* s.v. Kh. el Masry record 'Walls, foundations, a press, scattered stones and a cave.' Kallai, *Survey* 1967, p. 183, no.123 records a 'fort measuring 25 by 50 metres (approximately), partly destroyed by modern cultivation. Parts are preserved up to a height of 1.50 m. Built of big stones. Divided into rooms and courts. In the north-west corner a rock-cut cistern...' He found Roman and Byzantine pottery.

AS Benjamin, No. 162, p. 30* (Shib Siyag): '12 dunams. Ruin; terraces; traces of buildings; large public building; underground rooms; cisterns; mosaic pavement; wine-press; cemetery on slope of hill; two MB shaft tombs. Hell-14%; Rom-14%; Byz-72%; 98 sherds.' Pp. 151-3 (MB pottery from tomb). As often, the tombs are important: the shaft-tombs and caves

with loculi which are found on the site belong to the main periods found on the site. The cemetery is located ca. 150 m. north of the site and tombs of all the periods represented on the site are found here. One of the shaft-tombs was excavated by the *AS Benjamin* surveyors. It belonged to the MB cemetery (large quantities of pottery were found, figs. on pp.152-153).

We visited the site on 17-2-1985 and 14-3-1985. The modern terraces appear to have been constructed on ancient predecessors, but the pottery sherds picked up here were mainly from the Muslim period. On the slopes higher up, facing east and near the hill-top, the remains of walls of a large complex were observed. They are made of good quality dry masonry. Nearby is a cistern cut in the rock with walls built up to a higher level. This may have been a large farm-house. To the east we saw ancient terraces no longer in use. The western part of the hill offers a good view of the ancient Beit Horon road. We picked up large quantities of pottery sherds in trenches made by illegal excavators.

Both *AS Benjamin* and our survey of the site point to the existence of a larger Byzantine village. The tombs found at the site probably belonged to smaller farmsteads of the MB and Hellenistic/Herodian period, which are almost invisible without excavations.

117. **Sha'alabim (Salbit, Selbit, Selebi)**
(fig.3,44)

1488.1422

Literary Sources

1. Joshua 19, 42 (cf. LXX: Σαλαβιν; Judges 1, 35; 2 Sam. 23, 32; 1 Chron. 11, 33; 1 Kings 4, 9. Sha'alabim appears from these sources as a city in the territory of Dan and lying in the second district of Solomon.

2. Eusebius, *On.* (Klostermann), 158,21: Σαλαβεῖν, κλήρου Δαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ κώμη ἐν ὁρίοις Σεβαστῆς Σαλαβὰ καλουμένη. Eusebius apparently did not identify the place mentioned in the Bible with the present site, but with another in the territory of Sebaste.

3. Jerome, in *Hiezechielem*. xiv, 48, 21 (CCSL i, 4, p.739): 'septima (sc. tribus) Dan usque Joppen, ubi sunt urbes Aialon et Selebi et Emmaus quae nunc appellatur Nicopolis...' According to Jerome there were three towns in the territory of Dan, which stretched as far as Jaffa: Ailon (Ayalon), Selebi and Emmaus.

There can be no doubt that Jerome is right here rather than Eusebius, and this confirms the

⁹⁶⁷ J.E. Hanauer, *PEFQS* 1889, p.184 f.; 1890, p.71 f.; G. Robinson Lees, *PEFQS* 1892, p.196 f.

identification of the biblical place with Salbit, or Selbit.⁹⁶⁸ Abel states that he saw pottery from the Bronze Age I and III and from the 11th - 8th centuries BC.

SWP, iii, p.157 records 'foundations and caves. The ruins are extensive. A square building stands in the middle. There is a ruined reservoir lined with cement, the walls of rubble.'

In the 1940's E.L. Sukenik excavated a Samaritan synagogue at Sha'albim.⁹⁶⁹ It was rectangular in shape and was oriented to the north-east, in the direction of Mount Gerizim. The interesting mosaic depicts two seven-branched candelabras and a mountain in between them, possibly Mt Gerizim, and includes two inscriptions, one in Greek and the other in Samaritan:

1. 'Α]νεεώθη / τοῦκτῆρην (= τὸ εὐκτῆριον)

'the place of prayer has been restored'

2. Hebrew: 'The Lord will be king for ever and ever.'

Sukenik dated the building to the fourth century, but the style of the mosaic may point to the fifth. It has been suggested that it might have been destroyed during one of the Samaritan revolts, in 484 or 529, and subsequently restored.

Yigael Tepper informed us that an underground hiding place is said to have been discovered at Sha'albim. However, he has not had an opportunity to inspect it and nothing further is known about this cave. When visiting the site on 10-9-1985 we noticed a wine-press cut in the rock on the south-eastern slopes of the site. It has all the usual components of Byzantine wine-presses with the addition of rock-cut holes to contain wine-jars. We picked up pot-sherds from the Iron Age II and from the Byzantine and Early Muslim periods. Shavit also found material of the Bronze Age and the Hellenistic and Herodian periods.⁹⁷⁰

⁹⁶⁸ SWP, iii, p. 52; F.-M. Abel, *La géographie de la Palestine*, ii, 1938, 438.

⁹⁶⁹ E.L. Sukenik, *Bulletin of the L.M. Rabinowitz Fund* 1 (1949), 26-30, Pl. 14-16; full bibliography in F. Hüttenmeister and G. Reeg, *Die antiken Synagogen in Israel* (1977), ii, pp. 635-637; brief summary in NEAEHL iv (1993), p.1338.

⁹⁷⁰ A. Shavit, MA Thesis, (Tel Aviv, 1992, Heb.), 91f.

This site was occupied throughout the Bronze Age, in the Iron Age II, in the Hellenistic and Herodian periods, and the Byzantine and Early Muslim periods.

118. Sheikh Gharbawi (see under Modiin)

119. Kh. esh Sheikh Suleiman 1520.1418

This site is to be distinguished from Kh Kefrata, M.R. 1461.1430 which also had a sanctuary named Kh. esh Sheikh Suleiman. *AS Benjamin*, No. 111, p. 24*: '10 dunams. Traces of buildings; cisterns; traces of industrial installation. P-one sherd; Hell-9%; Hell/Rom-9%; Byz-15%; Med-35%; Ott-29%; 34 sherds.' We have not visited this site. Site No. 111; together with *AS Benjamin* sites 105-107 and 112, is one of the Byzantine rural settlements which developed along the Nicopolis-Beit Horon road.

Site 105, Khirbet Barada (15135/14135) (p.104, hebr.): water cisterns, quarries, column base. Pottery: P/Hell:12% Hell 13% Hell/Rom 12% Rom 38% Byz 25%.

Site 106, Khirbet el-Qanbata (15125/14230): see above.

Site 107, Khirbet el-Buweira (15155/14235): Ottoman.

120. Shilta (Shilat, Tel Shelat) 1520.1472 (fig.5)

Literary Sources

The site is mentioned in a number of documents from the Crusader period in which it is confirmed that the Patriarch of Jerusalem granted to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre possession of a number of villages between Lydda and Beit Horon: Git(h), Porphilia/Porphiria (i.e. Barfilya), Kefre(s)cilta (Shilta), and Capharuth/Capharrut. (See the references in the entries on Kh. Kafr Rut and Yalu.) Credit for the identification goes to Clermont-Ganneau, *AR*, ii, p.472.

Archaeological Remains

This is an ancient site on a conspicuous hill on the road between Lydda and Kh. Kafr Rut.

Kallai, *Survey* 1967, p.235, no.228, noticed pottery of the following periods: Israelite II (isolated sherds only), Roman and Byzantine, Medieval, Ottoman.

In August 1980 a Byzantine wine-press was

cleared by Z. Tsuq (*ESI* 1 (1982), 105). It is cut into the rock and includes a treading floor, a receiving vat and two storage compartments.

In recent years the site was transformed into an archaeological park by Zohar Bar'am from Moshav Shilat. He discovered various ancient features, such as cisterns, fragments of wine and oil-presses and architectural parts. These support the Byzantine date of the site. Other finds may be attributed to the Middle Ages, perhaps the Crusader period.

AS Benjamin, site No. 2, p.13*, record different observations: 'P(?) -14%; Hell-29%; Rom-24%; Byz-14%; EIs-4%; 80 sherds.' However, the authors state (p.30, Heb.) that their survey was carried out on a very limited part of the site.

The site appears to date to the Byzantine and Crusader periods.

121. Horvat Hatarsi (fig.5) 1491.1486

This is a low hill near the road from Lydda to Kafr Rut.

When visiting the site on 13-6-1986 we noticed the foundations of a large building with a north-south axis. A few metres northward some Byzantine sherds were found. Further to the north numerous subterranean caves and cisterns may be seen. A. Shavit found material from the Bronze and Iron Age.⁹⁷¹

The site is Byzantine.

122. Kh. Tiliya (Kh. Tiliya, Ramot) (fig.10) 169.135

The site is mentioned in *SWP* III, p. 160 and described by C.R. Conder, *PEFQSt* (1881), 258 f.:

'Roman Camp at Tellilia ... a quadrangular enclosure built of unhewn stones without mortar. The area measures 190 feet north and south, by 130 feet east and west [= 60x40 m.] ... The interior is subdivided into three by two walls, running north and south, while cross walls form side chambers about 37 feet by 40 feet along the sides of the enclosure. On the outside is a slope formed of loose stones ... which seem to have been intended to strengthen the fortification with an outer scarp. ... The walls are still standing some 15 feet above the ground outside the structure

and 6 to 8 feet above the interior.' ... Tellilia ('the little Tell') represents a camp constructed by one of the Roman armies (either Titus or Severus) in advancing on Jerusalem.'

V. Tsafir, *Archaeological Newsletter* 38 (1971), 20 f. (Heb.), mentions a 'huge fort' which he dates to the Hellenistic and Late Roman periods. We could not investigate these remains ourselves, since the site is now built over.

123. Kh. at Tira 1618.1418

This is a village on a spur about 700 m. south-east of Upper Beit Horon, overlooking Wadi Suleiman from the North.

A Crusader document, Röhrich, *Regesta, Additamentum*, no.422a, mentions the 'gastinas terrae nomine Heteyre et Betdecoc'. The latter is undoubtedly Beit Duqqu and it is therefore very likely that the former is et Tira, one kilometre north-west of Beit Duqqu.

Baramki refers to an 'ancient glass bottle' in a report of 3-5-1930. We did not see any remains which might antedate the Middle Ages.

124. Umm er Rujum 1506.1455

This is a site on a hill close to the southern side of the road from el Burj to Barfiliya.

On 12-2-1985 we saw a square watch tower. We did not find any datable material on the surface.

125. Yalu (Ayalon, Aijalon, Castellum Arnaldi) 1524.1386

(fig.12; Pl. 27: above, centre; 29: upper left corner, 50)

These are ancient ruins about three kilometres north-east of Imwas (Emmaus) and west of Nahal Ila, one of the most important tributaries of Nahal Ayalon.

Literary Sources

1. Aialuna occurs in the Amarna letters (fourteenth century BC). Note in particular EA no.287 (*ANET*, 3rd ed., p.488), a letter from the prince in Jerusalem in which he complains *inter alia* that his last

⁹⁷¹ MA Thesis, Tel Aviv, 1992, Heb., 88.

caravan containing tribute and captives for the king was attacked and robbed near Ayalon, presumably by the men of Milkilu of Gezer and the sons of Lab'ayu (of Shekhem).⁹⁷²

2. Ayalon appears in the list of Levitical cities and was assigned to the territory of Dan (Joshua 19,42; 21,24). Note the spelling in LXX: Αἰλῶν. The best known passage in which the place appears is Joshua 10,12: 'Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon, and thou, Moon in the valley of Aijalon'. This is an explicit statement affirming the importance of these two places on the Beit Horon road.

3. 1 Chron. 8, 13: 'Beriah also, and Shema, who were heads of the fathers of the inhabitants of Aijalon, who drove away the inhabitants of Gath.' This statement implicitly stresses the pivotal position of the site in a valley through which the men of Ephraim and Benjamin raided the Philistines on the coastal plain.

4. The same route was almost certainly followed when Saul and Jonathan 'smote the Philistines that day from Michmash to Aijalon'.⁹⁷³

5. Aialuna is listed in the inscription of Shishak (c. 927 BC) which records towns captured by the Egyptians in Palestine.⁹⁷⁴

6. It appears in the 'list of fortresses of Rehoboam' preserved in 2 Chron. 11,5-12. 'He strengthened the fortifications of these fortified cities, and put governors in them, as well as supplies of food, oil and wine. Also he stored shields and spears in every one of these cities and strengthened their fortifications'.⁹⁷⁵

⁹⁷² The king of Gezer was ruler of Ayalon. The passage is of interest for its combined reference to Ayalon, Gezer and Jerusalem and the control of traffic to Jerusalem. See also Part I.

⁹⁷³ 1 Sam. 11, 31.

⁹⁷⁴ This is the expedition mentioned in 1 Kings 14,25-8; 2 Chron. 12,1-2. See the extensive discussion by Aharoni, *LB*, 324-330, with references in n.8. Aharoni, p.326, deduces from the mention of Ayalon, Beth Horon and Gibeon that Shishak entered the hill country by the northern route. Aharoni tentatively suggests that this list is to be dated after Shishak's campaign. Similarly: A.F. Rainey, *BASOR* 251(1983), p.12. See also Part I.

⁹⁷⁵ The actual date of this list is uncertain. For further references to Ayalon in the Bible: Abel, *GP*, ii, p.240; *EB* s.v. it has been suggested that it belongs to the period of Josiah; thus most recently V. Fritz, *EI*

7. Eusebius, *On*. 30.26 f. (Klostermann): Αἰλῶν ... κῶμη δὲ ἐστὶν Ἀλοῦς περὶ Νικόπολιν. Ayalon is identified with 'Alous, a village near Nicopolis.' Of particular interest is Jerome: 'But the Hebrews state that Aialon is a village near Nicopolis, two miles on the road to Aelia'.⁹⁷⁶ This then is one of the relatively few corrections made by Jerome in his translation of Eusebius' work and it is noteworthy that the correction is based on conversations with Jews.⁸ Jerome, in *Hiezechielem*. xiv, 48, 21 (*CCSL* i, 4, p.739): 'septima (sc. tribus) Dan usque Joppen, ubi sunt urbes Aialon et Selebi et Emmaus quae nunc appellatur Nicopolis...' According to Jerome there were three towns in the territory of Dan which stretched as far as Jaffa: Ailon (Ayalon), Selebi and Emmaus.

9. The last reference in antiquity is in Jerome's description of the journey of Paula (AD 385-6). She travelled from Nicopolis to Jerusalem via Beit Horon and saw Aialon and Gibeon on her right.⁹⁷⁷ As noted in the entry on Gibeon, this implies that Ayalon was an existing village as well as a notable landmark at the time.

Castellum Arnaldi

Ayalon or Yalu is not mentioned as such in documents relating to later periods, but we accept the proposal which identifies the crusader fortress on the site with Castellum Arnaldi. The evidence is as follows:

1. Castellum Arnaldi is mentioned in documents from 1136 (Röhrich, *Regesta*, no.165, p.41), 1155 (Rozière, *Cartulaire*, no.53, p.100) and 1164 (*ibid.* no.144, p.265). These record a transaction between the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of St. George at Lydda whereby the latter received the villages of Capharut(h), Git(h), Kefrescilta and Porphilia/Porphiria and the former the revenues of

15(1981), 46-53. N. Na'aman, *BASOR* 261(1986), 5-21, assigns it to the period of Sanherib's campaign.

⁹⁷⁶ *On*. 19,16 (Klostermann), a correction of an erroneous statement made by Eusebius *On*. 18,13: 'Porro Hebraei affirmant Aialon vicum esse iuxta Nicopolim in secundo lapide pergentibus Aeliam.'

⁹⁷⁷ Jerome, *ep.* 108,8, ed. Hilberg, *CSEL*, lv, p.314: 'Atque inde [sc. from Nicopolis] ascendit Bethoron inferiorem et superiorem, urbes a Salomone conditas, sed varia postea bellorum tempestate deletas: ad dexteram aspiciens Ajalon, et Gabaon, ubi Jesus filius Nave contra quinque reges dimicans, soli imperavit et lunae...'

Castellum Arnaldi and the Casales Hospitalis Bulbul (see the entries on Kh. Kafi Rut, Shilat and Barfiliya). Note also the agreement of 1179 between Templars and Hospitallers in which Castellum Arnaldi is mentioned.⁹⁷⁸

2. In June 1192 the crusaders advanced in preparation for an assault on Jerusalem which failed to be realized. They made their camps at Blanchegarde (Tell es-Safiyah, Tel Tsafit) and Latrun.⁹⁷⁹ The king moved ahead and planted his tent at Castellum Arnaldi 'on the higher part on the right hand side. The next day came the Franks and the whole army advancing to Bethenopolis.' This passage clearly suggests that the king camped at the fort on the hill, while the army stayed below in the plain near Beit Nuba. The Itinerary of King Richard goes on to tell that 'there they stayed a month at the foot of the mountains, where the pilgrims were wont to pass on their way to and returning from the Holy City.'

This fits the description in the following source.

3. William of Tyre xiv, 8 (*RHC Occ.* i, p.617): '...a place near ancient Nobe, which today is generally called Bettenuble. There, on the slope of a hill at the entrance to the plain, on the road leading to Lydda and from there to the sea, they built a fortress of solid masonry to ensure the safety of pilgrims passing along that route. In the narrow mountain pass, among defiles impossible to avoid, pilgrims were exposed to great danger. Here the people of Ascalon were accustomed to fall upon them suddenly. The work, when successfully accomplished was called Castle Arnold. Thus, by the grace of God and also because of this fortress, the road became much safer and the journey to or from Jerusalem was rendered less perilous.'⁹⁸⁰

⁹⁷⁸ Röhrich, *Regesta*, no.572, p.152.

⁹⁷⁹ *It. Reg. Ric.* v.49 (Stubbs, p.368f.): '...Castellum Arnaldi in cuius parte dextra eminentiori fūgi sibi pussit tentoria. In crastino venerunt Franci, et cunctus exercitus, profecturi versus Betenopolim. There they stayed one month 'juxta radice[m] montis, qua transire solebant peregrini, et a Sancta Civitate reverti.' Ambroise, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte* trans. G. Paris, 1897, p.437. 'Le roi...bientôt planta sa tente à quelque distance du Châtel-Ernaud, à droite sur la hauteur. Le lendemain y arriverent les Français et les autres, et on avança jusqu'à Bettenuble.' Cf. Abu Shama, *RHC Occ.* v, p.54, *Manuscriptum Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*, ed. J. Bouqars (Hannover 1611, photogr. repr. 1972), pp.163, 169. See also the entry on Beit Nuba.

⁹⁸⁰ William of Tyre, trans. Babcock and Krey (1957), n.p.58. 'Because of the importance of this passage we cite the Latin as well.' Bettenuble, in descensu

These sources combined make it absolutely clear that Castellum Arnaldi was a substantial fortress near Beit Nuba, 'on the slope of a hill at the entrance to the plain', guarding the main road to Jerusalem where it entered the mountains. The castle at Yalu is the only place which can be seriously considered.⁹⁸¹

Robinson was the first to recognize that Yalu represents Biblical Ayalon. He visited the village, comments on the fertility of the valley below, but does not describe the remains on the spot.⁹⁸² Güçim mentions an ancient wall, caves and tombs.⁹⁸³

SWP, iii, p.19: records a small village on the slope of a spur, with an open valley or small plain to the north. There is a spring to the east, where a branch valley runs down north, and on the east side of this valley are caves. The village stands 250 feet above the northern basin. *Ibid.* p.56: 'an old Roman road from Yalô runs south nearly to Bâb el Wâd, then turns east, ascends 1,400 feet in 4 miles, and joins the modern road west of Kuryet el 'Enab'.

montium, in primis auspiciis campestrum, via qua itur Liddam, et qua pervenitur ad mare, praesidium solido fundant opere, ad tutelam transeuntium peregrinorum: ibi enim in faucibus montium inter angustias inevitabiles, maximum iter agentibus solibat immine periculum. Ascalonitas subitas irruptiones illic facere consuevit. Consummato itaque feliciter opere, nomen indicunt, Castellum Arnaldi locum dicentes: factumque est per gratiam Domini, etiam praedicti castelli beneficium, quod adire volentibus Hierosolimam, aut ab ea redire, minus periculosus factus est transitus, et via multo securior.'

⁹⁸¹ The first to suggest this was, as so often, E. Robinson *Biblical Researches* iii, 63. He failed to notice the actual remains of the crusader fortress, but clearly associated Castellum Arnaldi with Yalu. This was taken up again by P. Deschamps, *La défense de Jerusalem* (1939), p.10 with n.1; followed by Benvenisti, *CIII*, 313-6; G. Schmitt in R. Cohen and G. Schmitt, *Drei Studien zur Archäologie und Topographie Ahsracks* (1980), p.89. Vincent and Abel, *Emmaüs*, pp.367-69 with n.1 on p.369 argued for el Burj (Horvat Tittora). This is no fortress but a watchtower and the suggestion makes no topographical sense. It is a site on a hilltop in the Shephelah and not near any 'mountain pass' (William of Tyre), nor is it a site one would pass on the way from Latrun to Beit Nuba. For brief remarks about the Crusader castle D. Pringle, *Levant* 23 (1991), 90f.

⁹⁸² Robinson, *Biblical Researches* ii, 253.

⁹⁸³ Güçim, *Judee*, i, pp.290-93.

Clermont-Ganneau, *AR*, ii, pp.91-4 was the first to describe the antiquities of Yalu. He failed to notice the remains of the Crusader fortress, but recognized Tell el Kôka as an ancient site and paid particular attention to the water-works of 'Ain el Kubbeh (p. 91f. with plan and sections): 'an important spring covered in with a series of vaults. The building, of which these form part, is almost entirely gone in its upper part, but the substructure is entirely preserved. It is a vast reservoir built of fine well-dressed blocks of ancient appearance. The vaults are covered on the outside with large slabs, on which there was doubtless erected the building which to-day is in ruins. The three arches are pointed, with key-stones. At the back are seen three semicircular ones, doubtless of older date and contemporary with the walls. If you descend into the reservoir by the staircase constructed at one corner, the spring is visible on the right, issuing from beneath a smaller arch also semicircular.'

Clermont-Ganneau also describes the other spring further to the south called el Beiyara ('the garden watered by a well') '...[It] is a splendid wide-mouthed well of spring water, circular in shape, and built of hewn stones. It is precisely similar to Bîr el Helû, which lies in the direction of Latrûn.' He considers the two structures to be of the same date.

As noted, Clermont-Ganneau did not see the Crusader fortress, but he records a story told to him by local people which may reflect a genuine tradition regarding the existence of a fortress in the Crusader period. In the village he saw an ancient structure called 'Habes bint el melek', i.e. 'the prison or cell of the King's daughter'. This he thought might be of Mameluke date. The village was once perhaps surrounded by a wall, for which he was shown some stones which appeared to be *in situ*. One of these showed 'mediaeval tooling of the Crusader epoch'.

Dalman, *Orte und Wege*, p.245, noticed the Roman road which passed by the site 'or possibly also via Deir Ayub directly to Emmaus'.

W.F. Albright, *BASOR* 15(1924), p.10, described Yalu as a 'very respectable mound representing a fortified town of the LB, EI, Graeco-Roman and EA periods...On the hill to the east, considerably above Yâlo, is the little mound of Tell Qôqa', from which many characteristic EB sherds have been gathered at different times. Scattered potsherds of every date from the LB and EI on down.'

Abel, *GP*, ii, p.240 f. agrees with the dates assigned by Albright. On the site of the village he observed the 'remains of a wall and a ruined castle and, finally, a number of sculptures which derive from a synagogue.' The latter are not mentioned by anyone else. The remains of the castle are briefly described by

Benvenisti, *CHL*, 315 f. (photograph on p.315).

Kallai, *Survey* 1967, p. 236, no.241, refers to pottery from the following periods: Early Canaanite, Middle Canaanite II, Late Canaanite, Israelite I, Israelite II, Persian, Hellenistic, Roman-Byzantine, Mediaeval and Ottoman. Under no. 242 he describes Tell Qoqa' where he noticed a settlement of the Early Canaanite period and pottery of the Middle Canaanite II, Late Canaanite, Israelite I and II periods.

The area of the spring was excavated by a team from the University of Tel Aviv and the Jewish National Fund under the supervision of Professor Mordechai Gichon from the University and Eli Shenhav of the Jewish National Fund. These excavations confirmed the Mediaeval date of the structures.

Conclusions

There is no doubt that Yalu represents the ancient site of Ayalon, mentioned in literary sources from the fourteenth century BC till the Byzantine period. We also accept the proposed identification of the Crusader fortress with Castellum Arnaldi. The different parts of the site are dated to various periods. The site on the hilltop above Yalu (Tell Qoqa') has produced sherds of the Early Bronze age onward. The area of the village built over in the Ottoman period, was occupied in every period from LB onward. The Crusader fortress is clearly recognizable and may be seen on the spot. It extends across the lower part of Pl.50. The area of the water-sources was of importance at every period, but the mediaeval structures there are still visible and of particular interest because of their similarity to other sites along the roads.

The literary sources of various periods vividly describe the degree of control the site gave over the passage to Jerusalem. This is clearly expressed in the Amarna letter cited above and in the famous passage describing Joshua's victory on the Beit Horon road. It is the reason for the construction of Rehoboam's fort and implicitly indicated by the fact that it is listed on Shishak's inscription together with Beit Horon and Gibeon. However, the clearest statement regarding the value of the site is to be found in Crusader sources - if indeed Castellum Arnaldi was the fortress at Yalu, as we consider most likely. It may be noted that in that period the route to Jerusalem was not the Beit Horon road, but a different one, as described in Part I. 3 and Part II.

126. Yazur (Azor; Casellum de Planis)

(fig.3,44)

1319.1590

Literary Sources

1. Joshua 19.45 (LXX, Version B): Αζωρ in the list of the Danite territory which included the hinterland of Joppa.⁹⁸⁴ The town of Japho itself is not included in the territory of the Kingdom of Israel.

2. List of Senacherib (704-681 BC):

'I besieged Bit Daganna, Joppa, Banai-Barqa, Azuru, cities belonging to Sidqia (king of Ashkelon), who did not bow to my feet quickly enough.' (ANET p. 287)⁹⁸⁵

F.-M. Abel, *RB* 36 (1927), pp. 83-89, has shown that the Crusader fortress named Casellum de Planis or Chastel des Plains is to be sought at this site.

This was among the castles demolished by Saladin in September 1191, after the battle of Arsuf.⁹⁸⁶ The Templars restored it two months later.⁹⁸⁷ 'This was indeed considered very necessary because of the passage of pilgrims travelling to these parts.'⁹⁸⁸ The identification is proved by a comparison of William of Tyre, *RHC Occ.*, ii, p. 196 with Baha' al-Din, *RHC Or.*, iii, pp. 322; 333; 335. Both describe the events following Richard's reconquest of Jaffa in August of 1192. Baha' al-Din writes that the Sultan, after abandoning Jaffa, encamped at Yazur where he had kept the baggage train. William of Tyre says that he encamped at the Casellum de Planis. Saladin again ordered the fortress to be destroyed (See also the entry on Beit Dajjan/ Casellum Maen).

Yaqut (d. 1229), iv 1002, mentions the place

⁹⁸⁴ Yazur is not mentioned in LXX, version A and in the Hebrew text, where reference is made to Yahud. Cf. Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, ii, 34, n. 2; Abel, *GP*, ii (1938), p. 258; Aharoni, *LB*, 313.

⁹⁸⁵ Aharoni, *LB*, 389, notes that it is doubtful whether Joppa and its dependencies had belonged to Ashkelon in other periods. See also the entry on Beit Dajjan.

⁹⁸⁶ *It Reg. Ricardi*, iv 23, p. 280 (Stubbs); Ambroise, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte*, v. 6854, ed. Paris, p. 407.

⁹⁸⁷ *It Reg. Ric.*, iv 29 (ed. Stubbs, p. 289).

⁹⁸⁸ See also *It Reg. Ric.*, iv 31 (ed. Stubbs p. 296): a meeting 'inter casellum de Templo et casellum de Josaphat', where the former is Yazur and the latter Safiriya; 32 (ed. Stubbs p. 297): the army departs on November 15th after repairing the two castles Maen and de Planis; Ambroise, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte*, ed. G. Paris (Paris 1897), V. 6835, p. 407; V. 7207, p. 410; *L'estoire de Eracles*, *RHC Occ.*, ii, p. 196.

as 'a small town on the coast district of Ar Ramiah of the Filastin Province'.

Another mediaeval source referring to the ruined castle is the account of the pilgrimage of Jacobus de Verona in 1335: 'From Jaffa or Joppe it is three miles to a castle on the road named Jessur (i.e. Yazur), now destroyed; from Jessur it is three miles along the road to another destroyed castle which is called Bedeian. From Bedeian it is four miles to Rama...'⁹⁸⁹

The tariff of El 'Omani (1341) gives details of the routes followed by the post from Gaza to Damascus. Yazur was one of the stations on the road which included Lydda and el Auja (Antipatris). It was also one of the stations on the signalling route which included Majdal Yaba.⁹⁹⁰

In 1461 Louis de Rochechouart saw the remains of a church on the spot.⁹⁹¹

A Turkish source, the endowment deed of 1552, frequently cited above, mentions 'the whole

⁹⁸⁹ Jacobus de Verona, ed. R. Rohricht, *Revue de l'orient latin* 3 (1895), p. 181. Similarly: Pierre Mésenge in 1507: A. Barrois, 'Itinéraires en Terre Sainte conservés à la bibliothèque de Amiens', *RB* 38 (1929), pp. 404-420.

⁹⁹⁰ M. Gauderoy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mameloukes* (Paris 1923).

⁹⁹¹ Louis de Rochechouart, *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 1 (1893), 238; cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* vii, p. 128. It is possible that this is the church of Habacuc mentioned in earlier sources: Odoricus de Foro-Julii, AD 1330 (ed. Laurent, 1864), p. 156: 'Extra muros Joppe est capella Abacuc prophetae...'; Ludolph de Suchem (ed. Deycks), 92: 'Ex hac civitate [i.e. Ramle] Samuel propheta fuit ortus et ibidem sepultus. Iuxta hanc etiam civitatem Habacuc propheta portans messoribus prandium raptus est ab angelo et ad Danielelem prope Babyloniam ad lacum leonum deportatus.' Felix Fabri (AD 1483-4), i 543. The church was between Jaffa and Ramle and this may have been the spot. Cf. Theoderic, *Libellus de locis sanctis* (AD 1172), iii 36, trans. A. Stewart (1986), p. 55, who says somewhere in the region of Jaffa and Arimathea (Ramle) '...is the field where Abacuc the prophet was carried off by an angel...'. For two earlier traditions regarding the location of the Habacuc legend Eusebius, *On*, 70, 24 f.; 140, 15-18.

village of Yâzûr'.⁹⁹²

Rauwolf (1573-76) passed 'a beautiful hamlet named Iasura and nearby the camp of a great Turkish Lord', who demanded protection money.⁹⁹³ Zuallart, in 1586, was equally appreciative and observed a little more: 'Having travelled approximately one mile we found a village most beautifully situated with an excellent olive grove and other trees therein, on the ruins of an ancient castle named Iasor which must have been very beautiful, to judge from the remains. A little farther was a square mosque with nine little cupolas. Across the road there is a well or a cistern.'⁹⁹⁴ In 1602/3 Seusenius still referred to the castle as such. Nearby he saw a mosque with nine cupolas, the one in the middle being the highest.⁹⁹⁵ Other travellers in the seventeenth and eighteenth century made similar observations.⁹⁹⁶ Doubdan (1651-2) tells that it was believed to be the tomb of Gad.⁹⁹⁷ Not everyone discerned the ruins of the castle. van Egmond and Heyman observe: 'About two miles from Joppa we came to a small village, lying in the midst of a great many ruins, and a little beyond it pass'd through a large wood of olive-trees, which, contrary to the custom of the country were planted with some regularity; on our left hand we saw a large mosque, with no less than nine

cupola's'.⁹⁹⁸ Doubdan (1651-2) tells that the local population held this to be the tomb of Gad, son of Jacob.⁹⁹⁹ Later travellers merely saw a small village.¹⁰⁰⁰ As observed by Abel, Yazur was noticed by far more travellers than Beit Dajjan because of its proximity to the road to Ramle. It lies a little distance north of the spot where the roads to Ramle and Lydda separate, while Beit Dajjan lies three kilometres farther on the road to Lydda.

Archaeological Remains

Part of the site is now built over by a suburb of Tel Aviv.

The *SWP*, ii, p.258 records 'A small mud village, with gardens and wells, and with a kubbeh which is said to have been once a church.' Guérin, *Judée*, i, pp.26-30, discusses the site and notes older stones reused in the mosque. Clermont-Ganneau, *AR*, ii, p.5; *RAO* vii, p.128, noticed the remains of an old building of mediaeval appearance, which he thought was the church mentioned by Louis de Rochechouart and, possibly, that of Sainte-Marie des Trois Ombres mentioned in Crusader documents as belonging to the diocese of Lydda. Another possibility is that it was a church of Habacuc, mentioned above. The files of the *D.A.M.* (1929) mention ruins of a Mediaeval Castle (el Baubarya, i.e. the stables) and remains of the church incorporated in a mosque. 'The mound itself, at the summit of which today are the ruins of a crusader fortress...has not yet been excavated, although a survey of the site has revealed traces of settlement from the Chalcolithic period onward. In the surrounding *kurkar* hills, especially those to the west, various remains - mainly tombs - have been found.'¹⁰⁰¹

⁹⁹² St. H. Stephan, *QDAP* 10(1944), 184.

⁹⁹³ Leonhart Rauwolf, *Aigentliche Beschreibung*, (Frankfurt 1582), p.314.

⁹⁹⁴ Jean Zuallart (Giovanni Zuallardo), *Il devotissimo viaggio di Gierusalemme* (Rome 1587), iii, p.112. Abel, *RB* 36 (1927), 87 cites Cotovicus who, as usual, merely copied Zuallart.

⁹⁹⁵ 'Martinus Seusenius' *Reise in das heilige Land* ed. Mühlau, *ZDPV* 26 (1903), p.24: 'Sindt also nit wijt van Iaffa gekomen au Chesteau de Iazoi datseluege liggen latende totter Lincken handt op einer kleijnen hoochte. Darna sijn wij gepassiret ein musquer oder kerecke van den turcken to der rechteren handt, mit negen backouen, deren de middelste de hochste is.'

⁹⁹⁶ P. Roger, *La Terre Sainte* (1639), p.156; M. Nau, *Voyage Nouveau* (Paris 1679), p.30; G. Mariti, *Viaggi per l'Isola di Cipro e per la Soria e Palestine*, (Luca and Firenze 1769-71), iii, p.4. The two last mentioned are inaccessible to us. All of them cited by Abel, *op cit.*, p.88. Mariti seems to have been the last to discern the ruins of the castle.

⁹⁹⁷ J. Doubdan, *Le voyage de la Terre-Sainte* (Paris 1657), 53.

⁹⁹⁸ J.E. van Egmond and J. Heyman, *Travels Through Part of Europe, Asia Minor, the Archipelago, &c.* (London 1759), 299 f.

⁹⁹⁹ J. Doubdan, *Le voyage de la Terre-Sainte* (Paris 1657), p.53, may have been the first not to comment on the ruins of the crusader fortress. Similarly: C. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung...*, iii (Hamburg 1837), p.42 f. (visit in 1761-67): 'Die Dörfer Jäsur, Beit Didsjel und Serfanta, welche an diesem Wege liegen, sind nur klein, und die Häuser derselben liegen zum Theil in der Erde.'

¹⁰⁰⁰ de Saulcy, *Carnet de voyage en Orient*, ed. F. Bassan (1955), p.132; C.W.M. van de Velde, *Narrative* (1854), i, p.443 f.

¹⁰⁰¹ *NEAEHL*, i (1993), s.v. Azor, pp. 125-29 with entries on the tombs of the Chalcolithic, Bronze and Iron Ages and the prehistoric period respectively. Full publication in *Atiqot* 3 (1965), 1-83; 81-4. Note the

The remains of a substantial crusader castle are still visible on top of a low hill. This is the first prominent spot east of Jaffa in an area which is otherwise entirely level. The mosque is still extant and so is one other building belonging to the castle. Great quantities of reused ancient masonry are visible here: we counted 38 pillar shafts of marble. Marble does not occur naturally in Palestine and it was imported only from the second century AD till the end of the Byzantine period. The pillars and marble slabs were clearly taken from a substantial Byzantine church. This was an unexpected discovery, for the site is not mentioned in sources of the Roman and Byzantine periods, moreover, this cannot be the church mentioned in Crusader documents and by Rochechouart in the fifteenth century as its remains were re-used in the Crusader structure. We cannot confirm that the mosque was originally built as a church, but its west wall is partly made up of massive piers of the Crusader wall.

A little distance to the south-east the moslem sanctuary with nine cupolas, noticed by van Egmond and Heyman still stands, although transformed and converted into a synagogue. The site is marked as Biaret Heiderah on the *SWP* map.¹⁰⁰² Across the road a small shrine has been preserved which the map mentions as Sh. el Katānan.

127. Kh. Zabbud (Neve Ilan)

1579.1351

This is a small site on the Roman road from Abu Ghosh westward. The ancient remains have been destroyed by modern road-building.

SWP, iii, p.128: records only 'traces of ruins'. Baranki (23-7-1930) alludes to a 'watchtower of crude building on high hill off km 17 on Jaffa road' (*sic*).

Between Neve Ilan and Qasr, some 300 m. east of the milestation there we saw on 26-4-1985 a tower of 10 by 10m., with walls 0.70m thick. It is possible that this is the tower seen by Baranki. It may be noted that the site lies on a section of the Emmaus - Jerusalem road which was no longer used in the Early Muslim period and the tower is consequently likely to antedate the Muslim conquest.

early Hebrew or Phoenician jar inscription of the seventh or sixth century, *ibid.*, Pl. 28, 4-5 and cf. B. Peckham, *IEJ* 16(1966), 11, n.2.

¹⁰⁰² For a photograph from 1887: F. and E. Thévoz, *La Palestine Illustrée* (Lausanne 1888), i no. 5.

128. Kh. Zakariya (Nabi Dhikrawi)

el Habs (Site no. 60)

Kh. el Kalkh

1476.1479

1478.1480

1478.1479

(fig.5)

This is a complex of ancient remains on the road from Gimzo to Barfiliya, about one kilometre south-west of Mevo Modi'in. Part of the site now lies in the National Park of Ben Shemen and modern afforestation has destroyed many ancient remains in the area.

Kh. Zakariya: *SWP*, ii, p.358: records 'foundations of large rough stones surround the little Kubbeh of Neby Zackariya, and appear ancient'. Clermont-Ganneau describes an ornamented sepulchre with a carved façade which he saw on the spot. It had over the entrance a tympanum with an eagle carved on it and pilaster capitals with acanthus-leaves. The inner chamber had five arcosolia.¹⁰⁰³ He compares this tombs with Nabataean tombs of the first centuries BC and AD. On p.478 he notes: 'A little lower down still, in the bottom of the valley, is a rectangular birkeh, partly rock-hewn'. The files of the *D.A.M.* (1929) note: vaulted buildings, a 'maqam'...foundations of buildings, rock-cut cisterns, oil presses and a fine wine press. These are typical of the Byzantine period. Z. Bar'am from Kefar Hashmonai carried out a survey at the site.¹⁰⁰⁴ He points out that it is composed of two hills. On the eastern one he observed the remains of a church, large caves and cisterns. On the western hill there are remains of buildings, caves and agricultural terraces. Along the valley between the two hills (Nahal Gimzu), smaller caves were recorded. The site is near the ancient road and the sites of Mevo Modi'in and Ne'ot Kedumim. It is therefore possible that these structures were part of a larger monastic settlement.

Kh. el Kalkh: *SWP* ii, p.336, s.v. Khurbet el Kelkh: 'part of the large site including el Habs, Nebi Zackariya. The name is doubtful, because the plant so-called (i.e. hemlock) was growing here in abundance at the time of the visit. An immense number of cisterns exist here and many foundations. The place was evidently an important one.' Then follows a description of an inscribed baptismal font: 'It is of good hard stone, 5 feet 3 inches diameter with a sort of cruciform hollow formed by four circles, 1 foot 2 inches diameter inside. The inscription is written on the top surface, and occupies about a third of the

¹⁰⁰³ *AR*, ii, 354 ff.

¹⁰⁰⁴ "Mearata de-Lod" in the "Monk's Valley" in *Shefelat Lod - Journal of the Israel Cave Research Center* 19 (1993), 83-90 (in Hebrew).

circumference.' This was published also by Clermont-Ganneau, *op.cit.*, pp. 356 ff. (with drawing) and P. Séjourné, *RB* 1 (1892), 122-24; see also Germer-Durand, *RB* 2 (1893), 212.

The inscription: ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας
Σωφρονήας (καὶ) ἀναπ(αύσεως) Βαρ[ι]χα
[...] μου.

The files of the *D.A.M.* repeat this information and mention in addition moulded stones and rock-cut tombs.

el Habs (Site no. 60): *SWP*, ii, p.321, s.v. el Habs writes of a 'Hermit's cell cut in the rock', a birkeh, and an ornamented tomb. The latter is described in more detail by Clermont-Ganneau, *op.cit.*, p.355 f.: 'Inscribed tomb. Two loculi with demicupolas joined together. ... Each of the vaults has a cross carved on it.' Inscription: μιμόριον Γεωργίου. Clermont-Ganneau points out that a concentration of such tombs is found at Modi'in (Kubur el Yahud; see the relevant entry). Consequently both should be dated to the Byzantine period.

It would seem that the area was first settled in the Roman period, flourished in the Byzantine period and may have been occupied afterwards as well. Because of the destruction of the evidence by modern afforestation it is no longer possible to carry out any survey or excavation.

129. Zerifin (Sarafend, Sarafand el 'Amar)
1351.1516

This is a site one kilometre from the old Jaffa - Ramle road, two kilometres from the road to Lydda and about 5 km. west of Lydda.

M. Menahot 10,2:

The rule for the Omer is that it must be brought from near by. If [the harvest] near Jerusalem is not yet ripe, it is brought from anywhere. Once it was brought from Gagot Zerifin and the two loaves from the valley of Ein Sokher.

The mishnah mentions 'Gagot' i.e. 'the roofs of Tzerifin', but the Low and Kaufmann MSS read 'Ganot', i.e. 'the Gardens of Zerifin' which would accurately reflect the fertility of the area.

J.T. Sheqalim v 48d:

Rav Hisda said: 'Once there was drought in Israel and they did not know from where to bring [the Omer]. And a deaf-mute came and

pointed with one hand to the roof' and with the other to a cone-shaped hut. Then came Petahya and said to them: "Is there anywhere a place called Gagot Zerifin or Zerifin Gagot?" They went and found the place.'

BT. Menahot 64b:

'At that time [i.e. when the Hasmonaean kings fought each other and Hyrcanus besieged Aristobulus] it happened that the Omer was brought from Gagot Zerifin and the two loaves from the valley of Ein Sokher. For when the time of the Omer arrived they did not know from where to bring it. They proclaimed this and a deaf-mute came forward and pointed with one hand to the roof and with the other to a cone-shaped hut. Mordekhai said to them: "Is there anywhere a place called Gagot Zerifin or Zerifin Gagot?" They searched and found the place.'¹⁰⁰⁵

Josephus tells there was a drought at the time of the siege of Jerusalem by Hyrcanus.¹⁰⁰⁶

Midrash Hagadol leVayyikra 23, 10, ed. Steinsaltz, p. 638 also mentions Ganot [the gardens of] Zerifin.

The Madaba Map mentions a place [Σα]φάρεα, which has been tentatively taken to refer to Safiriye (q.v.). An alternative suggestion is [Σα]ραφέα, i.e. Serifin.¹⁰⁰⁷

C. Niebuhr, who travelled from Jaffa to Ramle in 1766 notes: 'The villages along the road, Jasur, Beit Didsjel and Serfanta, are only small and the houses lie partly under the earth.'¹⁰⁰⁸

The files of the *D.A.M.* mention tombs, cisterns, sarcophagus. The site is now occupied by an army camp and cannot be surveyed.

130. Kh. ed Ziab (Kh. ed Diab) 1649.1388

¹⁰⁰⁵ Cf. B.T. Sotah 49 b (in the Venice ed.: Ganot); B.T. Bava Qama 82 b: 'from Ganot Zerifin' (the Munich MS: Gagot Zerifin).

¹⁰⁰⁶ Josephus, *Ant.* xiv 2,2 (25-28).

¹⁰⁰⁷ Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer*, 92, s.v. Sapharcea; *TIR*, s.v. Sapaharaea, 222 and s.v. Seriphin, p.228.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Carsten Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung von Arabien*, iii (1837), p.36.

This is a site associated with the ridge section of the Ma'ale Jifna road. *AS Benjamin*, Site No. 289, p.43*, 220f (Heb., with references to earlier surveys); 76 dunams. Ruin, terraces, traces of buildings, burial caves, cisterns. MB(?)—few sherds, Iron II—few sherds; Hcll-40%, Rom-49%, Byz-8%; 201 sherds.

131. Unnamed Site in the Ramot Area¹⁰⁰⁹
1682, 1365

At this site a monastery dated by a building inscription to AD 762 was excavated in 1982. The excavators note that it is located "on an ancient path leading to Ein-Nebi Samwil, one km. north-east of a secondary Roman road descending from Jerusalem to Emmaus." Near the building a farm surrounded by enclosures, measuring 40,000 square metres was found.¹⁰¹⁰

¹⁰⁰⁹ See also the entry on Kh. Tililiya

¹⁰¹⁰ R. Arav, L. Di Segni & A. Kloner, *LA* 40 (1990), 313-320. See also *SWP* iii, 56f.; *ESI* 1 (1982), 59; 7-8 (1988/89), 90-2; *SEG* 1990.1481.

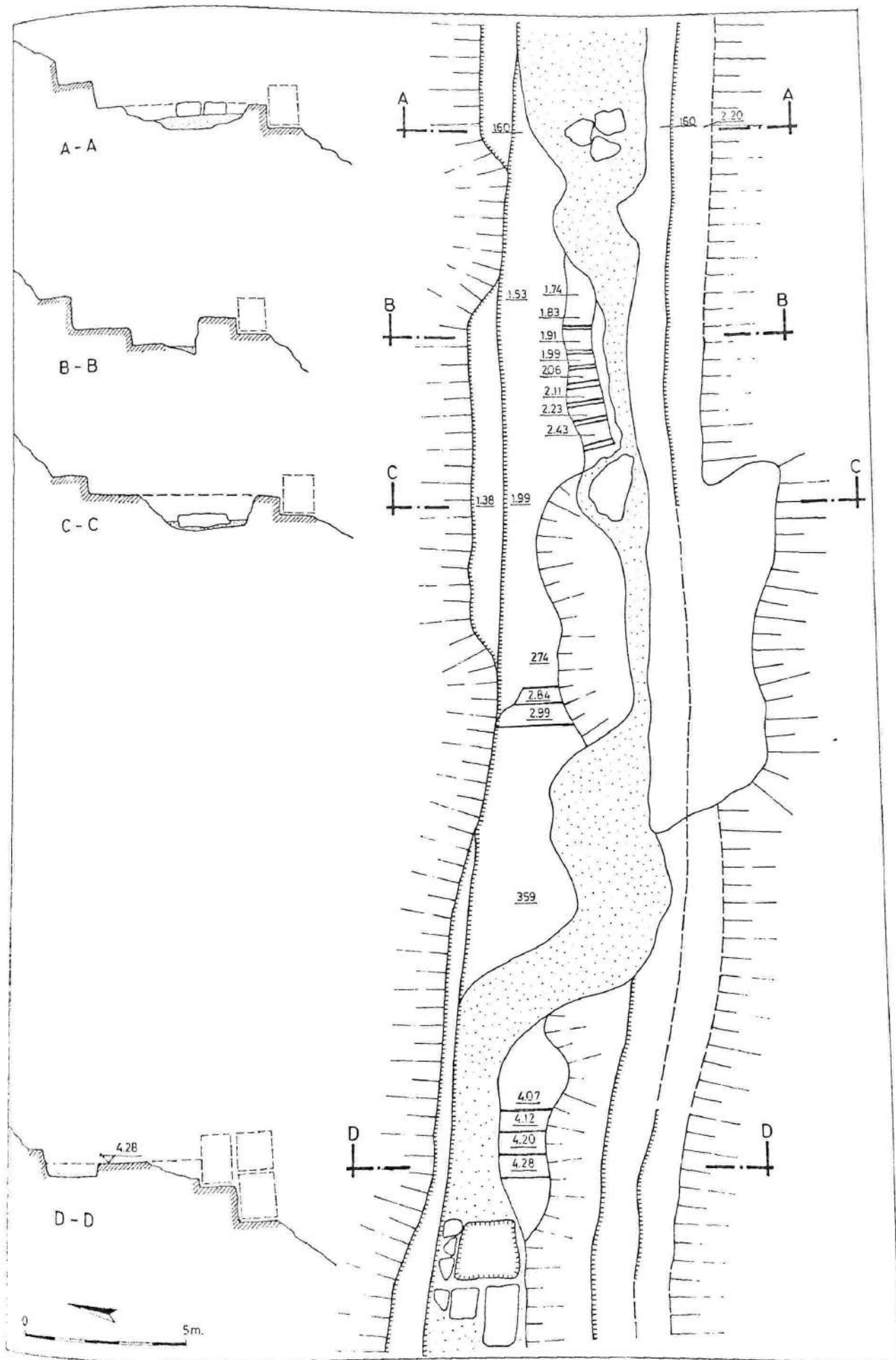
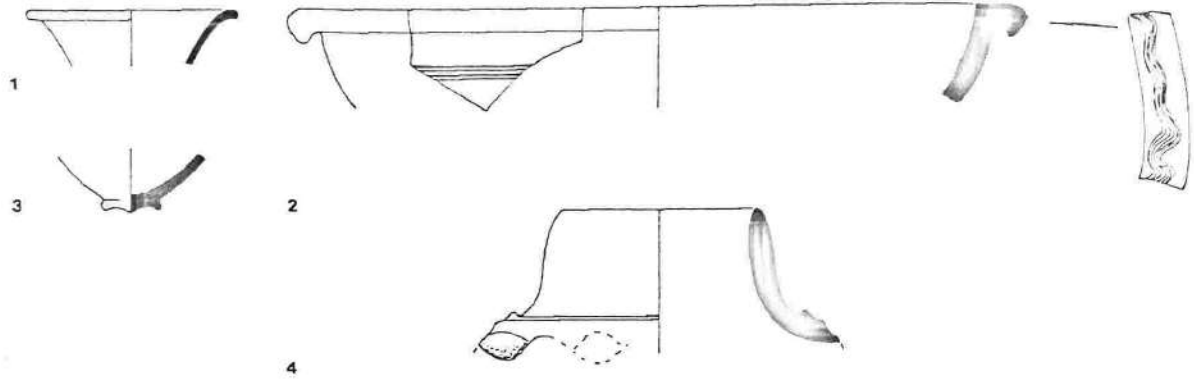
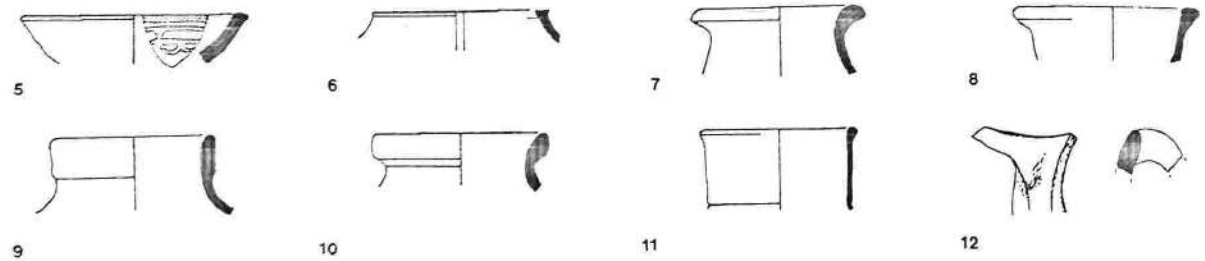


Fig. 19.6: Sections through road, west of Burej.

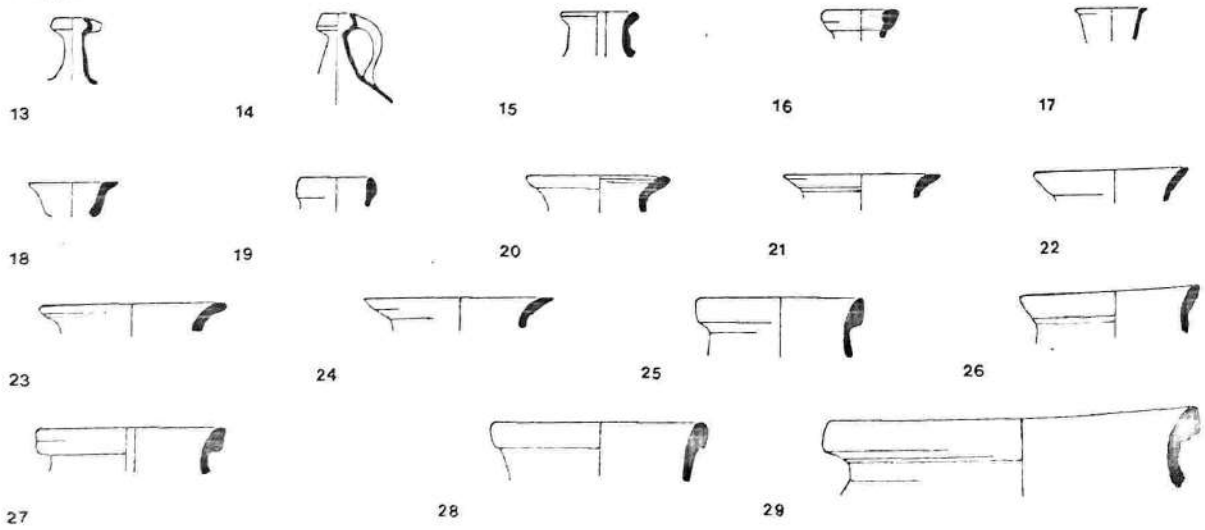
KH. ABU LEIMUN



ADASA, NORTH



AQED



BATTIN AL-URSH (HAR HARUAH)

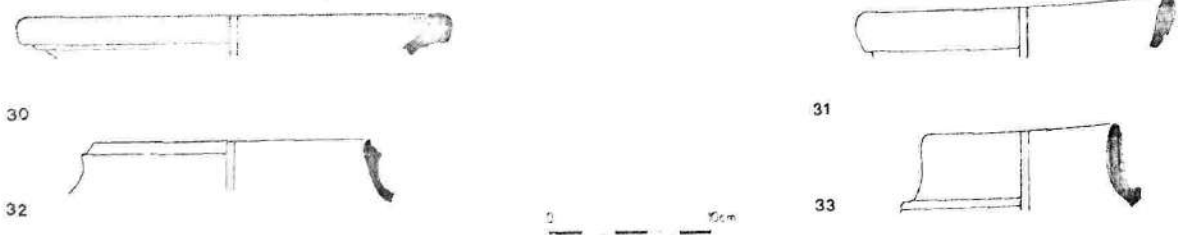
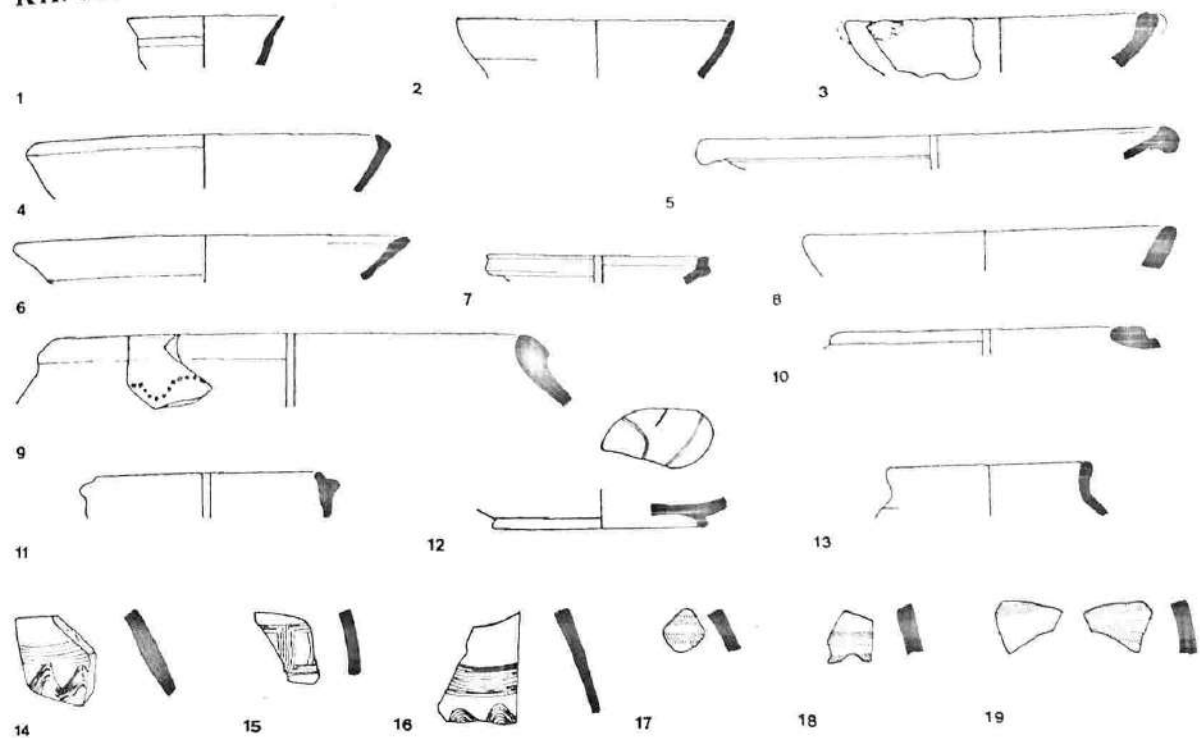
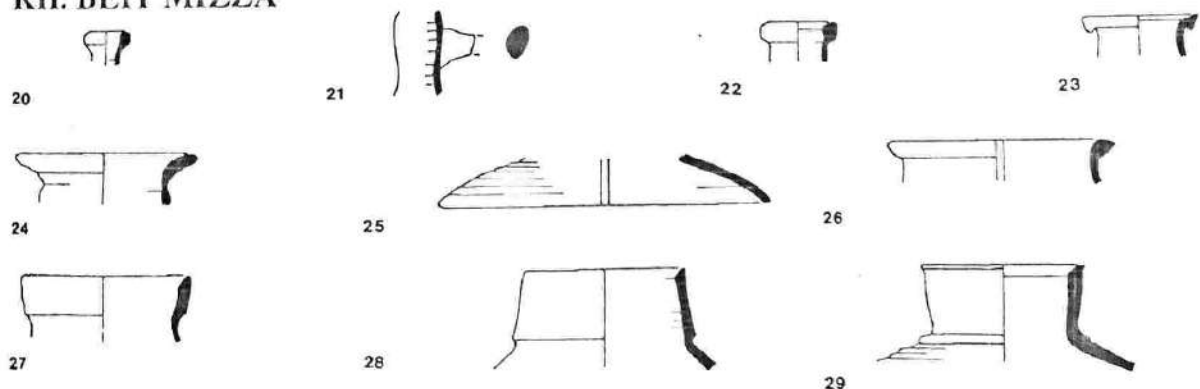


Fig. 20

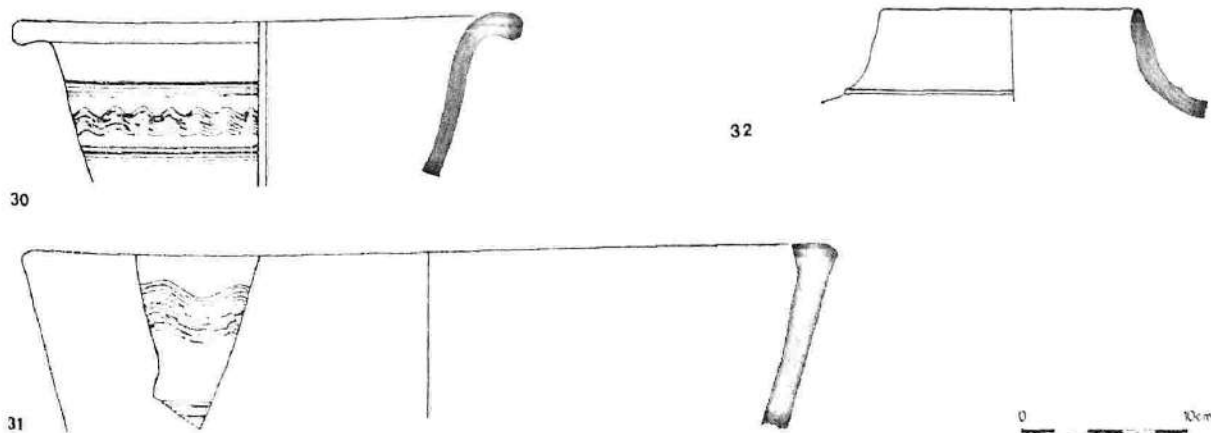
KH. BEIT ANNABA



KH. BEIT MIZZA



BIR MEZZA



0 10cm

Fig. 21

AL BURJ (KH.TITTORA)

1



2



3



KH. DALIYA

4



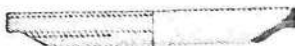
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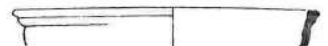
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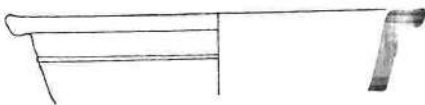
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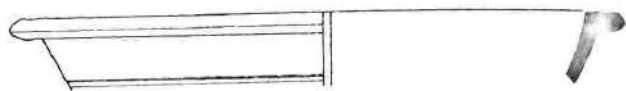
8



9



10



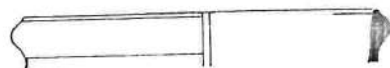
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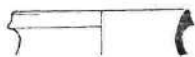
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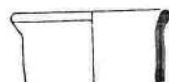
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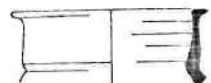
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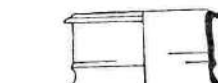
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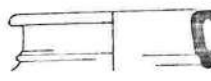
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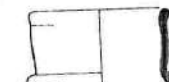
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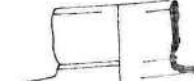
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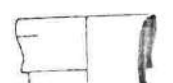
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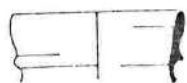
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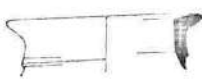
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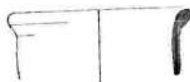
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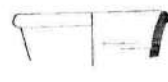
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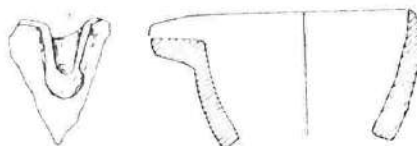
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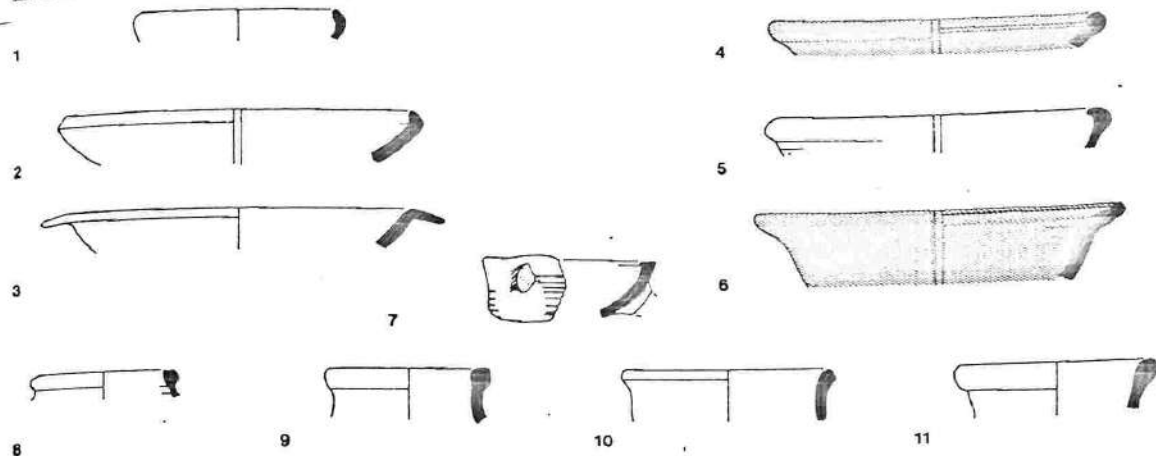
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0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41

Fig 22

EL HADITHA (HADID)



KH. HURIYA

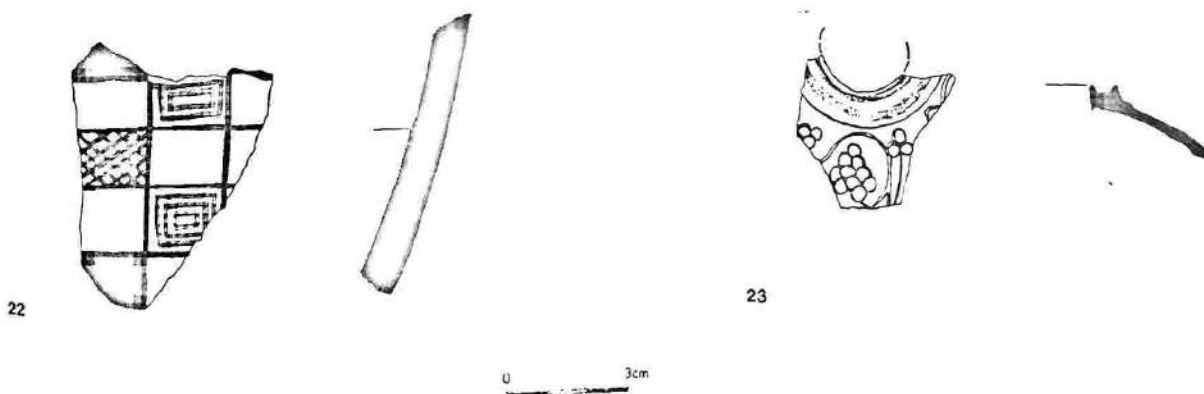
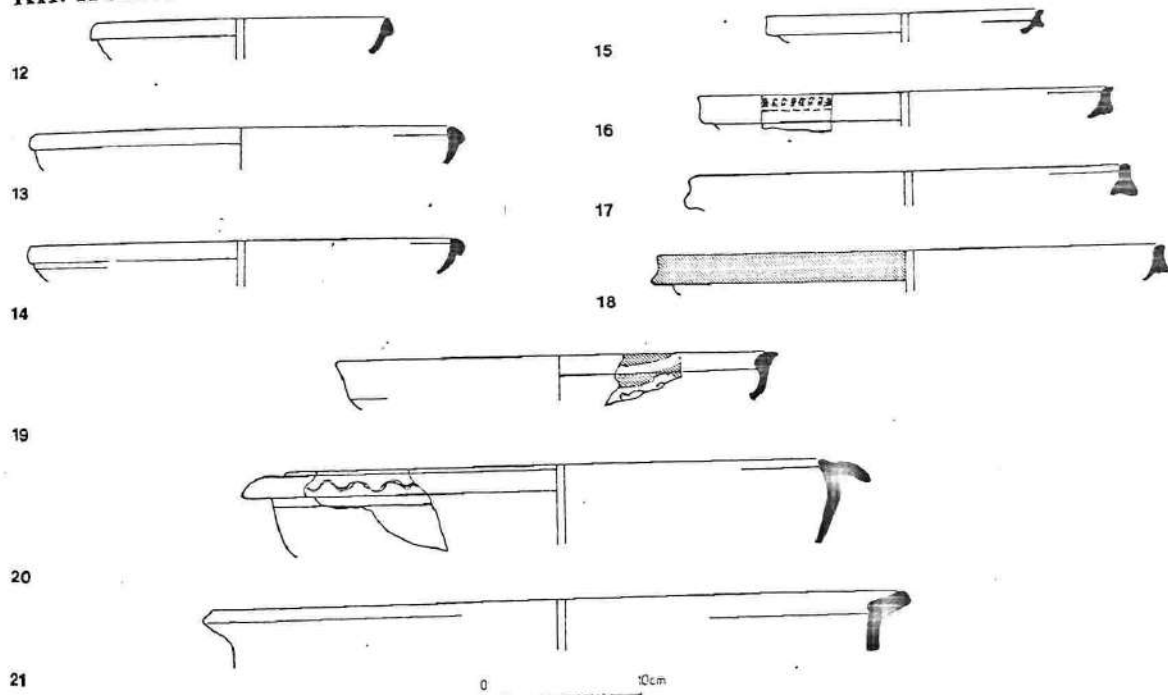
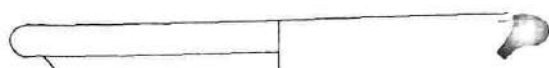


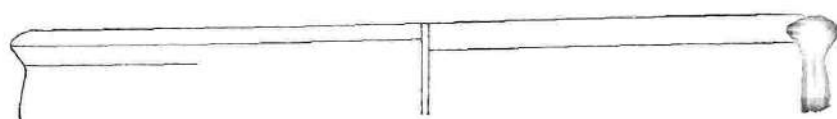
Fig.23

KH. 'ID

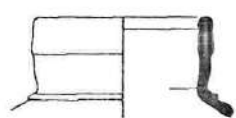
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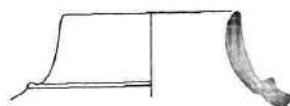
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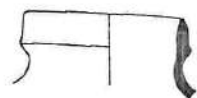
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5



KH. KAFR RUT

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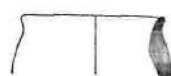
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7



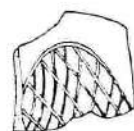
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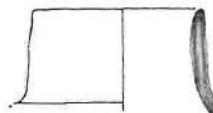
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KH. AL KUNAIYISA
(EL KENISEH)

10



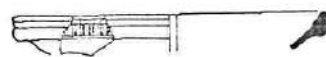
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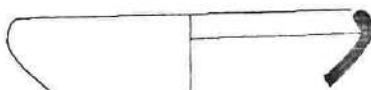
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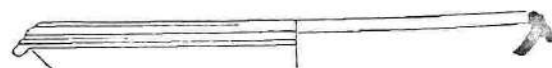
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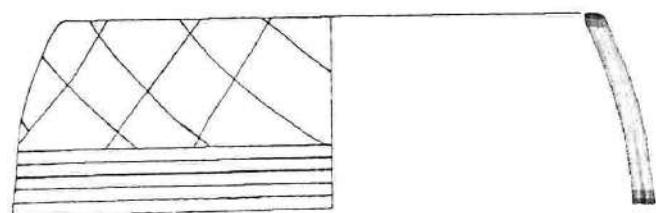
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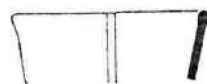
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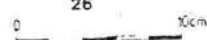
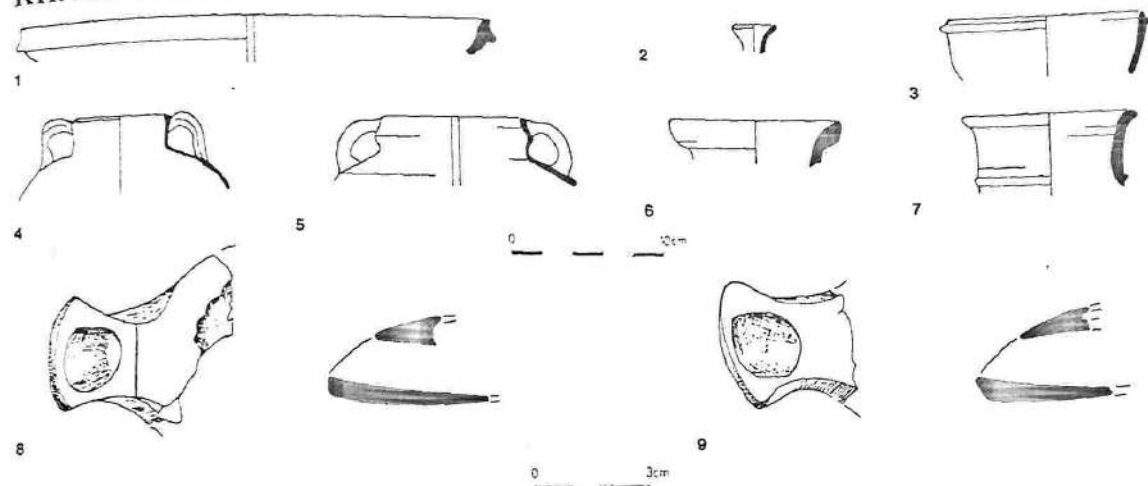
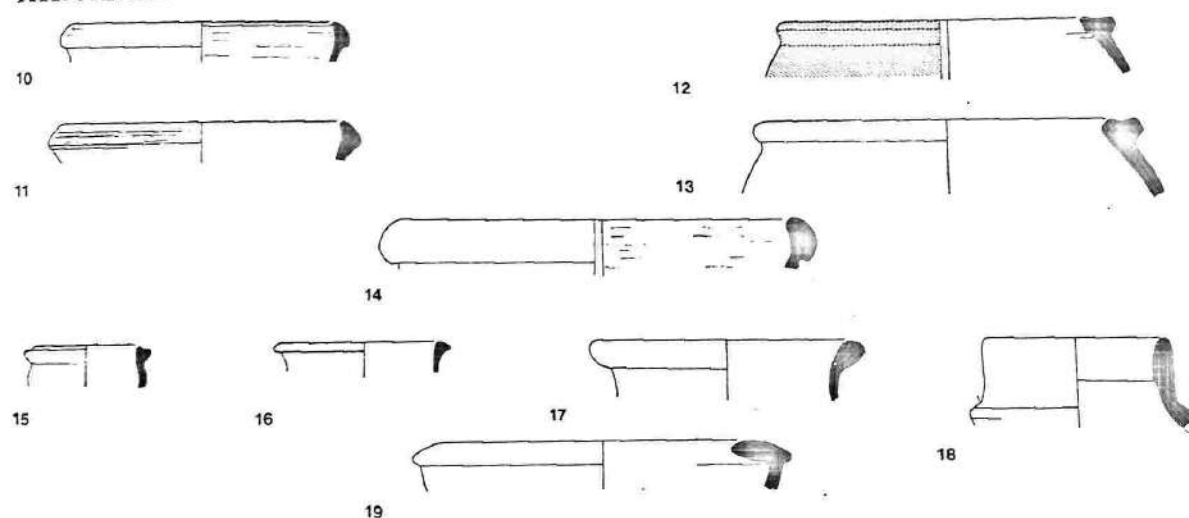


Fig. 24

KH. KUREIKUR



KH. AL LATATIN



HORVAT MAZAD

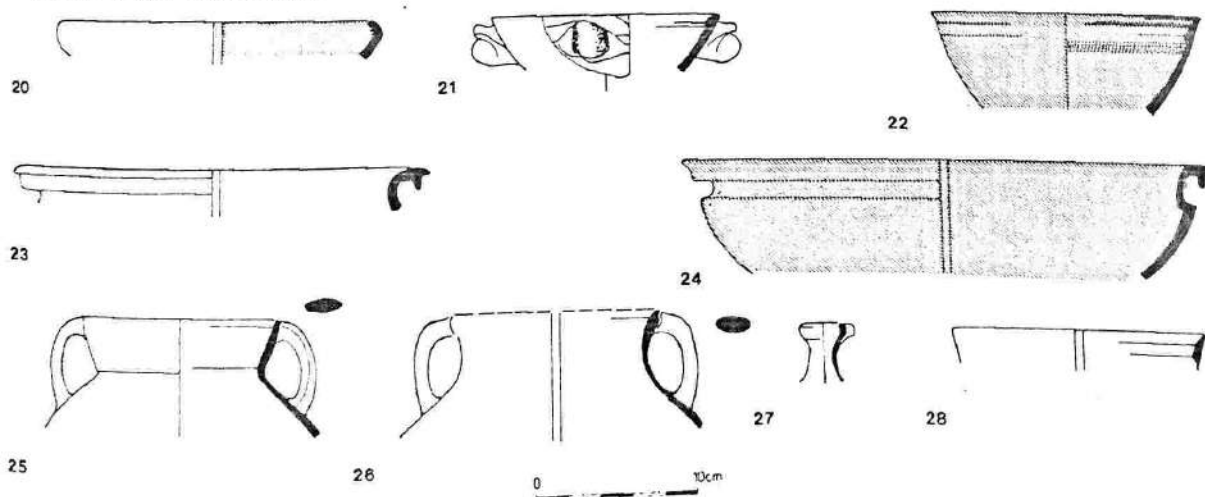
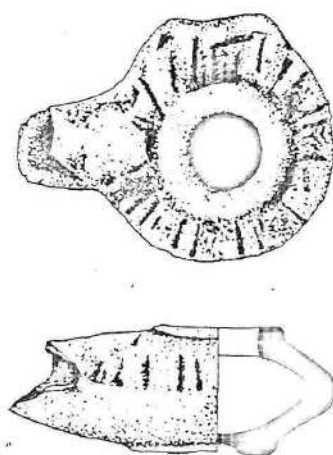
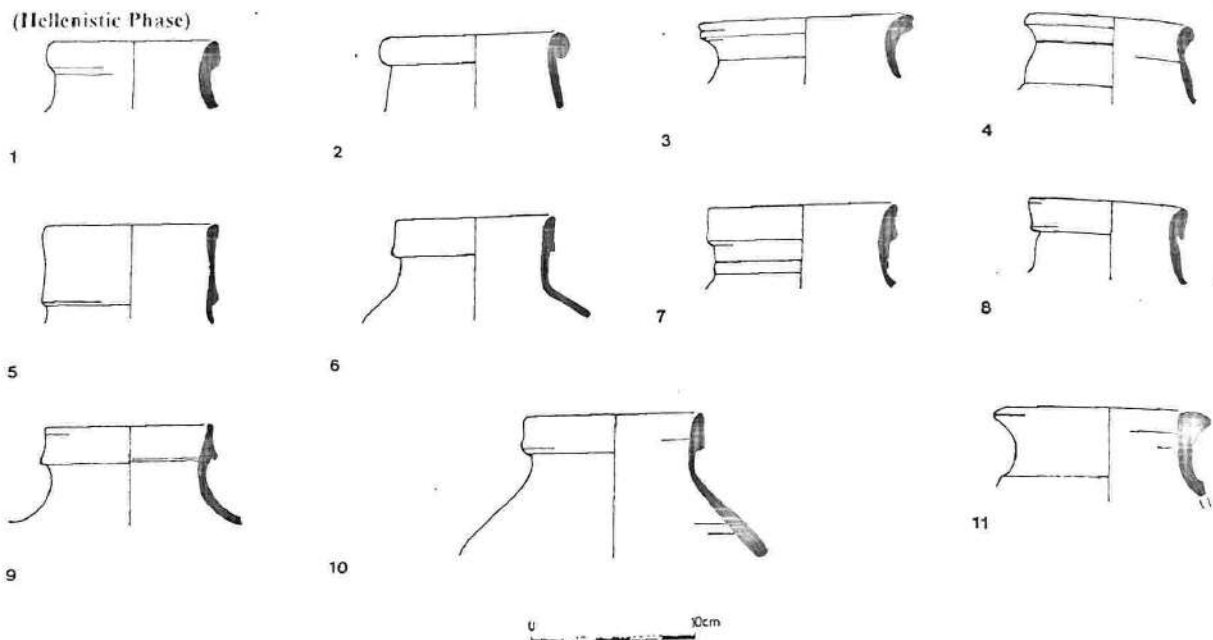


Fig. 25

Horvat Mazad
(Hellenistic Phase)



0 3cm

Fig. 26

Horvat Mazad
(Herodian)

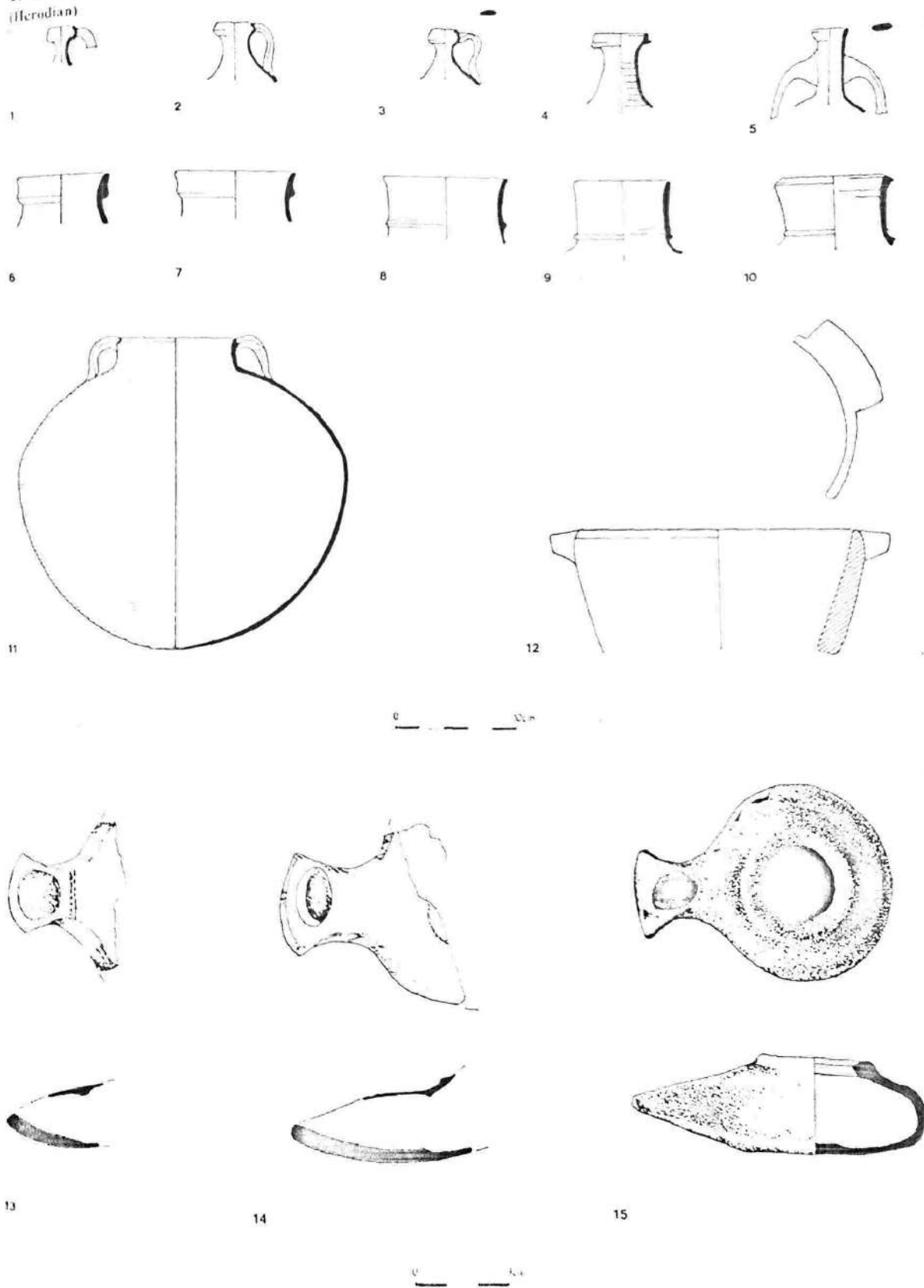
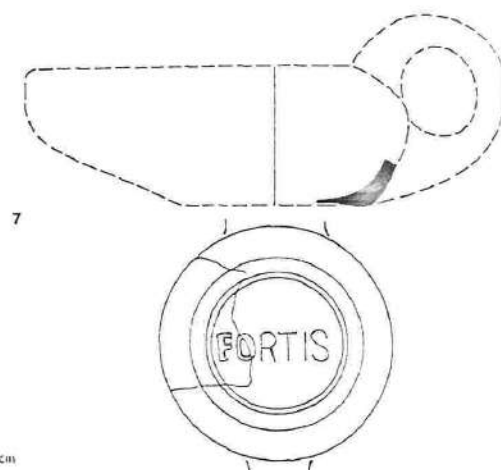
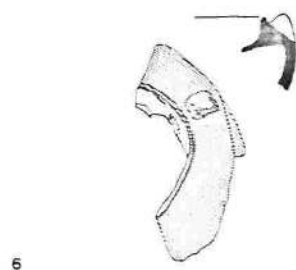
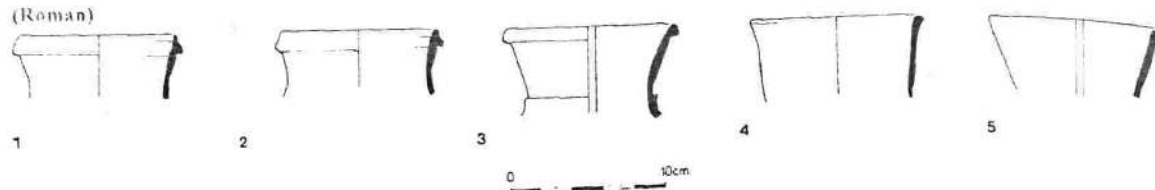
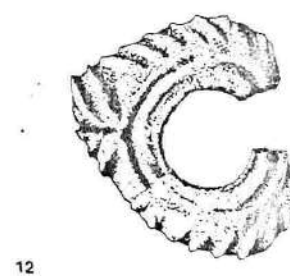
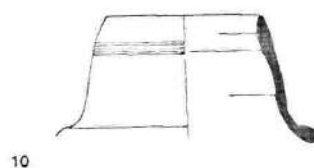
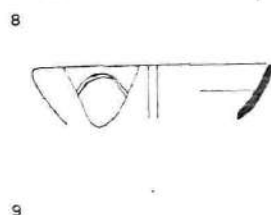


Fig 27

Horvat Mazad (Roman)



Horvat Mazad (Byzantine)



Horvat Mazad (Early Islamic)

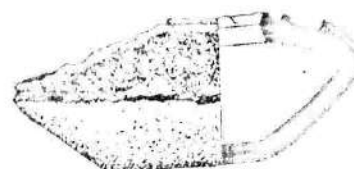
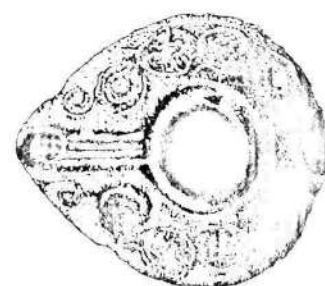
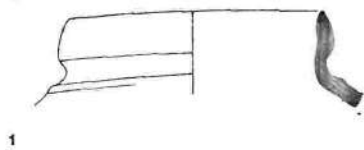


Fig.28

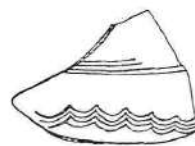
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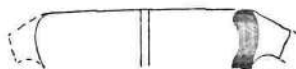
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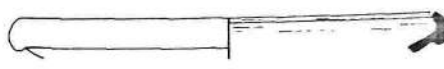
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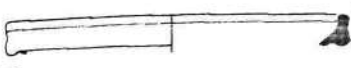
A-RAS I



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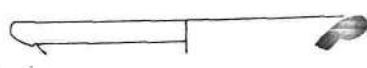
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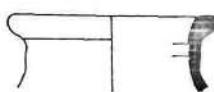
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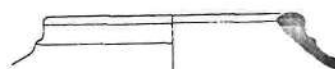
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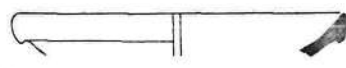
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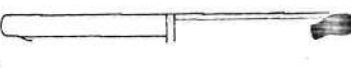
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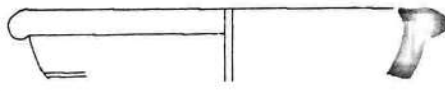
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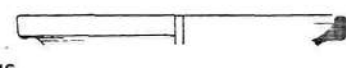
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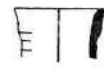
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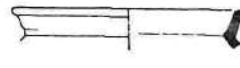
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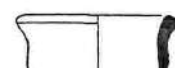
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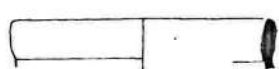
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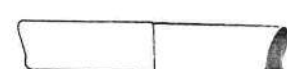
24



25



26



27

0 10cm

Fig. 29

APPENDIX I

THE POTTERY (Figs. 20-29)

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Introduction

We publish pottery which we collected as part of our surveys of a number of sites along the Jaffa - Jerusalem roads as well as pottery uncovered by the excavations we carried out at the sites listed below. Pottery from only 20 of the 133 sites is presented here. Five of these are excavated sites, namely Kh. Aqed (no.8), Kh.

Daliya (40), Kh. Kureikur (85), H. Mazad (95) and Rujum Abu Hashabe (113), and they include the main bulk of the pottery. This is due to the fact that at most of the sites we surveyed we found only very few publishable sherds. However, these were used by us for a general estimate of chronology. Pottery from sites surveyed and partly excavated by other teams was evaluated using their publications.

Only pottery which we assigned to the Hellenistic period onwards has been published. References to pottery from earlier periods referred to in the Gazetteer are based both on our observations and material presented by other studies. Since most of the pottery consists of surface finds it can obviously only reflect a small part of the history of the sites. Unlike other teams who combined surveys with sondages, we limited ourselves to surface survey only for most of the sites, with the pottery of the excavated sites providing a kind of model reflecting the development of the area.

Pottery is presented below according to site in alphabetical order, as it appears in figs.20-29. One main bibliographical reference only is given for relevant pieces (see list above). We have confined ourselves here only to pottery with exact parallels.

The Sites

Kh. Abu Leimun

Fig. 24:2, Large bowl. **cIV-VII AD** (Magness: 207, Form 2 A).

Fig. 24:1, Large jug of Fine Byzantine Ware dated **cVI-VII AD** (Magness: 197, Form 1F).

Fig. 24:4, Jar. **cVI-VIII AD** (Magness: 228, Form 6A).

Adasa, North

Fig. 24:7-10, Fragments of jars with thickened rim. First half of **cII BC** (Lapp types 11.2-3 and 21.1.C).

Fig. 24:11, Cylindrical neck of a jar. **cI AD** (Lapp: Type 11.C,F,G).

Fig. 24:6, Holmouth jar. **cVI-VII AD** (Magness: 234, Form 2).

Fig. 24:5, Glazed bowl. **Crusader-Mameluke period** (Abu Ghosh: 137, Fig. 32).

Kh. Aqed

Fig. 24:20-24, Large jugs with outflaring rim. **cIII-II BC** (Lapp: Type 21.1.).

Fig. 24:15-16, Large bottle-jugs. **cIII-II BC** (Lapp: Type 21.1.).

Fig. 24:25-29, Jars with thickened rim of a triangular shape. First half of **cII BC** (Lapp: Type 11.2A, 3).

Fig. 24:13-14, Small juglets with cup-shaped neck and rim. **cII-I BC** (Lapp: Type 31.1. B-D).

The Hellenistic pottery from Kh. Aqed has been published in part (Fischer 1995), but pottery from the **cI-II AD**, especially from the time of the Bar Kokhba Revolt is still awaiting publication (see Gazetteer s.v.).

Aqed.)

Battin al-Ursh (Har HaRuah)

- Fig. 24:30, Fine ware bowl. **cVI-VII AD** (Hayes:343, C-ware, Form 10).
Fig. 24:33, Large jar. **cVI-VIII AD** (Magness: 228, Form 6A-B).

Kh. Beit Annaba

- Fig. 25:1, Fine ware bowl. **cI AD** (Hayes 1989:32-33, Form 42, Pl. VI:7).
Fig. 25:7, C ware bowl. **cV-VI AD** (Hayes:329, Form 3, Fig.68).
Fig. 25:10, Holemouth jar. **cV-VI AD** (Magness:232, Form 1A).
Fig. 25:5, C ware bowl. **cVI-VII AD** (Hayes:344, Fig.71, Form 10).
Fig. 25:9, Holemouth jar with incised dots. **cVI-VIII AD** (Magness:233-234).
Fig. 25:12, Glazed bowl. **Early Islamic, cVIII-IX AD** (Matjar: 74, Fig. 11).

Kh. Beit Mizza

- Fig. 25:20, Juglet with narrow neck and rounded rim. **cII BC** (Lapp: Type 31.1.C).
Fig. 25:22, Flask with rounded rim. **cII BC** (Lapp: Type 29C).
Fig. 25:27-29, Three types of large jars. **cII BC** (Lapp:Type 11.2).
Fig. 25:24, Large jug with outflaring rim. **cI BC** (Lapp: Type 21.1.M).
Fig. 25:23, Large jug with cylindrical neck and T-shaped rim. **cI AD** (Lapp: Type 21.1.R).
Fig. 25:26, Large jar with pointed rim. **cII-IV AD** (Magness: 221, Form 1).
Fig. 25:25, Lid of cooking casserole. **cVI AD** (Magness: 215).
Fig. 25:21, Elongated neck of Fine Byzantine Ware jug. **cVI-VII AD** (Magness:240-241, Form 2B).

Bir Mezza

- Fig. 25:30, Large bowl with incised wavy lines. **cVI-VII AD** (Magness:206, Form 2A).
Fig. 25:32, Large jar with pointed rim and a neck curved inwards. **VI-VIII AD** (Magness: 227, Form 6A).
Fig. 25:31, Large bowl with incurved rim and wavy incisions. **cVIII-IX AD** (Magness: 210).

Al Burj (Kh. Tittora)

- Fig. 26:3, Holemouth jar. **cVI-VIII AD** (Magness:234, Form 2).

Kh. Daliya

- Fig. 26:13:15-16, Large jars with thickened rim. **cII BC** (Lapp: Type 11.2).
Fig. 26:9-10, Large bowls. **cI-II AD** (Magness:202).
Fig. 26:22-27, Narrow necked jars with thickened rim.

cI BC-cI AD (Netzer:Pls.2-3).

- Fig.26:30-36, Jars with collared rim. **cI BC-cI AD** (Netzer:pl.1)
Fig.26:41, Stone vessel typical of **cI BC-cI AD** (Magen 1984; Netzer:pl.11:1-5).
Fig.26:11, Holemouth jar. **cVI-VIII AD** (Magness:234, Form 2).

El Haditha (Hadid)

- Fig.27:2, Mortarium. **cII BC** (Lapp:Type 41).
Fig.27:3, Fishplate. **cII BC** (Lapp: Type 153.1).
Fig.27:1, Small incurved bowl. **cI BC-cI AD** (Lapp: Type 51.1.).
Fig.27:7, Late Roman D (Cypriot) small bowl. **cVI-VII AD** (Hayes:383, Form 11).
Fig.27:5, Late Roman D (Cypriot). **cVII AD** (Caesarea:128, Fig.5:13).
Fig.27:8-11, Various types of jars. **Umayyad period** (Caesarea:80, Fig.5:4-8).

Kh. Huriya

- Fig.27:21, Large bowl. **cIV-VI AD** (Magness:203).
Fig.27:15-18, C Ware. **cV-VI AD** (Hayes:331-337, Form 3).
Fig.27:12-14, Late Roman C Ware. **cVI-VII AD** (Hayes:343, Form 10).
Fig.27:20, Large bowl. **cVI-VIII AD** (Magness:206-207, Form 2A).
Fig.27:23, Lamp with moulded vinescroll. **cVII-VIII AD** (Lamps:130, 133-134, Group I, Variant B).
Fig.27:19, Glazed bowl. **Mameluke** (Abu Ghosh: Fig.32).
Fig.27:22, Handmade bowl with geometric pattern. **Mameluke** (Abu Ghosh: Pl. F).

Kh. Id

- Fig.28:3, Jar with squared rim. **cI BC- cI AD** (Lapp:Type 11.E).
Fig.28:5, Jar with elaborated rim. **cIII-IV AD** (Magness:222, Form 2).
Fig.28:4, Jar with pointed rim and ridge on shoulder. **cVI-VIII AD** (Magness: 227-229, Form 6).
Fig.28:2, Flat rim basin. **cVIII-IX AD** (Magness: 210).

Kh. Kafr Rut

- Fig.28:6-8, African red slip ware. **cII-IV AD** (Hayes:25-30).
Fig.28:12, Amphora of Gaza type. **cV-VI AD** (Caesarea: 123, Fig.1:9).
Fig.28:13, Jar with ridge on shoulder. **cVI-VIII AD** (Magness: 226, Form 5).

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- Fig.28:15, Incurved bowl. **cII-I BC** (Lapp: Type 151.1-2).
Fig.28:16, Sigillata bowl with profiled rim. **cI BC** (Hayes 1989: 83, Form 18, pl. XIX).

Fig.28:23, Collared rim of jar. **cI BC-cI AD** (Lapp: Type 11.2).

Fig.28:19, large Late Roman C ware bowl with ribbed rim. **cV AD** (Hayes: Form 8 H, Fig. 70).

Fig.28:17-18, C ware bowls. **cV-VI AD** (Hayes:Form 3, Figs.68-69).

Fig.28:21, 24, Short necked jars. **cIII-IV AD** (Magness:221, Form 1 and Form 4A).

Fig.28:20, 26, Holemouth jars, with sections of scratched lines. **cVIII-X AD** (Mafjar: Fig.10).

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Fig.29:6, Large jug. **cII BC** (Lapp: Type 21.1.A).

Fig.29:8-9, 'Herodian' lamps. **Last quarter cI BC-mid cII AD** (Lamps:80-81, nos.331-334).

Fig.29:4, Cooking pot. **50 BC-AD 70** (Lapp: Type 71.1).

Fig.29:1, Bowl with profiled rim. **50-68 AD** (Lapp: Type 54.2 F).

Fig.29:7, Neck of jar. **cI AD** (Caesarea: 172, fig.2).

Fig.29:5, Cooking pot. **cVI-VIII AD** (Caesarea: 127, Fig.4:3-4).

Kh. al Latatin

Fig.29:15, Roman amphorae. **cI-II AD** (Caesarea: 173, Fig.3:1-3).

Fig.29:10-11;14, D ware bowls. **cIV-V AD** (Caesarea:136, fig.2).

Fig.29:12-13, Holemouth jars. **cV-VI AD** (Magness: 233, Form 1B).

Fig.29:19, Incurved rim basin. **cVIII-X AD** (Magness: 210, Form V).

Horvat Mazad

Since Horvat Mazad is one of the sites where a systematic excavation was carried out, its pottery is presented according to five strata as revealed by the excavations, namely Hellenistic/Hasmonean, Herodian, Roman, Byzantine and Early Islamic.

Hellenistic phase (cII-I BC).

Fig.29:20, Incurved bowl. (Lapp:Type 151.1; Hayes 1989:Pl.XIX:12).

Fig.29:21, Bowl with pinched handles. (Lapp:Type 151.4).

Fig.29:22 and 28, Sigillata A bowl with profiled rim. (Hayes 1989: Plate III:4).

Fig.29:23-24, Kraters. (Hayes 1989: Pl. VIII:4).

Fig.29:25-26, Cooking pots. (Lapp: Type 71.1).

Fig.29:27, Juglet. (Lapp: Type 31.1).

Fig.30:1-4 and 11, Jars with thickened and rounded rim. (Lapp: Type 11.3).

Fig.30:5-10, Collared rim jars. (Lapp: Type 11.2).

Fig.30:12, Moulded lamp. (Lamps:13, No.220).

Fig.30:13, Pinched lamp. (Lamps:79, nos.329-330).

Fig.30:14, Wheelmade lamp. (Lamps: 78, No.324).

Herodian phase (50 BC - AD 70).

Fig.31:1-3, Incurved juglets. (Lapp:Type 31.1.D-F).

Fig.31:4, Jug with triangular shaped rim. (Netzer:112, Pl.1).

Fig.31:5, Flask. (Lapp: Type 29 F).

Fig.31:6-10, Jars with collared rim. (Lapp: Type 11.2).

Fig.31:11, Globular cooking pot. (Lapp: Type 71.1.P).

Fig.31:12, Stone vessel. (Magen 1984).

Fig.31:13-15, 'Herodian' lamps. (Lamps: 80-81, Nos.331-334).

Roman phase (cI-III AD).

Fig.32:1-5, Various types of Roman jars. (Caesarea:163, 172, Fig.2:1-10).

Fig.32:6, Sigillata lamp. (Lamps:35-36).

Fig.32:7, Imported lamp with remains of letters, probably **Fortis**, a well-known lamp producer. (Lamps:50, No.200).

Byzantine phase (cV-VII AD).

Fig.32:8, C ware. (Hayes: 344, 346, Form 10, **cVI-VII AD**).

Fig.32:9, Bowl of Fine Byzantine Ware. (Magness:193-194, Form 1A).

Fig.32:10, Jar with ridge on shoulder. (Magness:224-225, Form 4c).

Fig.32:11, Whole juglet of Fine Byzantine Ware. (Magness:239-240, Form 2A, **cVI-VIII AD**).

Fig.32:12, Moulded lamp of the 'candlestick' type. (Lamps:116-118, Nos.476-485).

Early Islamic/Mediaeval phase (cVIII-XIII AD).

Fig.32:15, Moulded lamp decorated with vinescroll. (Lamps:134, No.548, **cVII-VIII AD**).

Fig.32:13-14, Glazed bowls. (Abu Ghosh:137, Fig.32, **Mameluke**).

El Qubab

Fig.33:2-3, Fragments of jars with incised wavy lines. **cVI-VII AD** (Magness:228, Form 6A).

Fig.33:1, Jar with thickened rim. **cVII-IX/X AD** (Magness:230-231, Form 7).

Er Ras I

Fig.33:9, Thickened rim of jar. **cII BC** (Lapp: Type 11.3).

Fig.33:4, Amphora. **Roman** (Caesarea:125, Fig.3:2).

Fig.33:10, Thickened rim of jar. **cII-IV AD** (Magness:221, Form 1).

Fig.33:6-7, C ware bowls. **cV-VI AD** (Hayes:Form 3).

Fig.33:5, D ware bowl. **cVI-VII AD** (Hayes:379, Form 9).

Fig.33:8, Phocaeen red slip ware. **cVII AD** (Caesarea: 175, Fig.4).

Fig.33:11, Holemouth jar. **cVI-VIII AD** (Magness:234, Form 2).

Rujum Abu Hashabe

Fig.33:15, Fishplate. **cII BC** (Lapp:Type 53).

Fig.33:12-13, Incurved rims. **cI AD** (Lapp:Type 51.1.).

Fig.33:14 and 16, Bowls. **cI AD** (Lapp: Type 54.2).

Fig.33:20-27, Various types of jars. **cI-II AD** (Caesarea:172, Fig.2:1-10).

Fig.33:17, Basin. **cVI-VIII AD** (Magnez:206, Form 2 A).

Conclusions

The pottery from the sites along the roads from Jaffa to Jerusalem includes forms which can be dated to the Hellenistic period onwards. A few imported types co-exist with a large variety of local prototypes persisting from the Bronze and Iron Ages, as well as types created during the Persian period. On the other hand, cooking pots, bowls, jugs, juglets and some variants of oil lamps (for example the pinched ones) develop from one period to the next, which is of considerable help in dating the sites. Imports increase, especially during the Late Roman and Byzantine period, when North African Red slip ware and C and D wares are introduced. At all the sites along the roads there is a marked uniformity in the pottery repertoire of both local and imported wares and the development of pottery forms is similar throughout. Thus our evaluation of the pottery finds not only helps in dating the surveyed sites, but shows the social impact that the existence of the well-organized road system had upon the country in the Roman and Byzantine periods.

APPENDIX II

Subterranean Hide-Outs in the Northern Shephelah

by Yuval Shahar and Yigal Tepper

Introduction (by Benjamin Isaac)

In recent years remarkable material evidence of the methods used by the guerrilla fighters in Judaea has been found in the form of large numbers of subterranean hiding-places, some of which can with certainty be assigned to the revolt of Bar Kokhba. Most of these are within ancient settlements, their entrances masked by cisterns or other innocent-looking cavities in the rock. They are caves cut in the rock linked by low and narrow horizontal passages and by vertical shafts connecting different levels. The entrances are usually low and narrow and can be closed from the inside. Many hide-outs are well-provided with ventilation-shafts, water-cisterns, store-rooms and niches for lamps. Most have been found in the western and south-western foothills of Judaea, but a number have also been discovered in Lower Galilee. Many are difficult to date, for virtually all of them have been emptied of numismatic material by robbers of antiquities.

These caves correspond in a remarkable manner to Dio's description of the Jewish refuges in the Bar Kokhba revolt: 'To be sure, they did not dare try conclusions with the Romans in the open field, but they occupied the advantageous positions in the country and strengthened them with mines and walls, in order that they might have places of refuge whenever they should be hard pressed, and might meet together unobserved under ground; and they pierced these subterranean passages from above at intervals to let in air and light.'¹ Talmudic sources which deal with the Bar Kokhba revolt contain descriptions of people hiding in caves.

Some researchers, among them the authors of this appendix, Yuval Shahar and Yigal Tepper, who are among the most active explorers of such installations, are of the opinion that these refuges are all related to the Bar Kokhba revolt.² Other archaeologists and historians doubt that all these hide-outs are exclusively related to the period of the Bar Kokhba revolt.³ In their view, they were made and used from

the Hellenistic until the Byzantine period. Natural caves frequently served as hiding-places for bandits and rebels in various areas of Lebanon, Syria, and Judaea;⁴ but the phenomenon now encountered in Judaea is different, because we are not faced with natural caves, but with elaborate rock-cut installations found in settlements. They were clearly made by a village population which used them in a form of guerrilla warfare.

However the material is interpreted, it certainly offers a fascinating insight into the nature of resistance to the authorities organized in scores of underground installations. Several such hide-outs have been found in sites along the roads from Lydda to Jerusalem and, since most of material about such installations is not accessible in English, it seemed useful to present the evidence in a separate section attached to the Gazetteer.

Description (by Yuval Shahar and Yigal Tepper)

During our survey of subterranean hide-outs we looked at several early settlements in the Northern Shephelah⁵, in the area between the Ayalon valley to the south, and Nahal Modiin to the north. Subterranean hide-outs were found at six sites in this area (see Figs. 30.1 and 2) and three of them were investigated in previous years: Tel Gezer⁶, Horvat 'Aqed⁷, and Horvat Kureikur (see below). The distribution of the subterranean hide-outs in this area was already clear from the early stages of the survey. However, here, unlike in the Judaeian Shephelah, collapse of the tunnels and rock-falls due to the type of rock they were cut in, had previously prevented fuller investigation.⁸

In investigation the hide-outs of the Northern Shephelah there are several important aspects which must be taken into consideration.

A. Demarcation of the northern limits of the area of distribution of the hide-outs.

³ Cf. B. Isaac and A. Oppenheimer, *JJS* 36 (1985), 43f.

⁴ Cf. B. Isaac, *The Limits of Empire: The Roman Army in the East* (1990), 63 f.; 84 f.

⁵ The use here of the term 'the northern Shephelah' follows D. Nir, *Geomorphology of Israel* (1971), 188 f. (Heb.)

⁶ Kloner and Tepper, *op.cit.*, 100-104.

⁷ M. Gichon, *Cathedra* 26(1982), 30-42; A. Kindler, *Israel Numismatic Journal* 9(1986-7), 46-50.

⁸ Kloner and Tepper, *op.cit.*, 23-9.

¹ Dio lxix 12,1 (3); translation from the Loeb ed.

² Full discussion and presentation of the evidence, with copious maps, plans and photographs in A. Kloner and Y. Tepper, *The Hiding Complexes in the Judaeian Shephelah* (1987, Heb.). For two articles in English: A. Kloner, *The Jerusalem Cathedra* 3 (1983), 114-135; id., *Biblical Archaeologist* 46 (1983), 210-221.

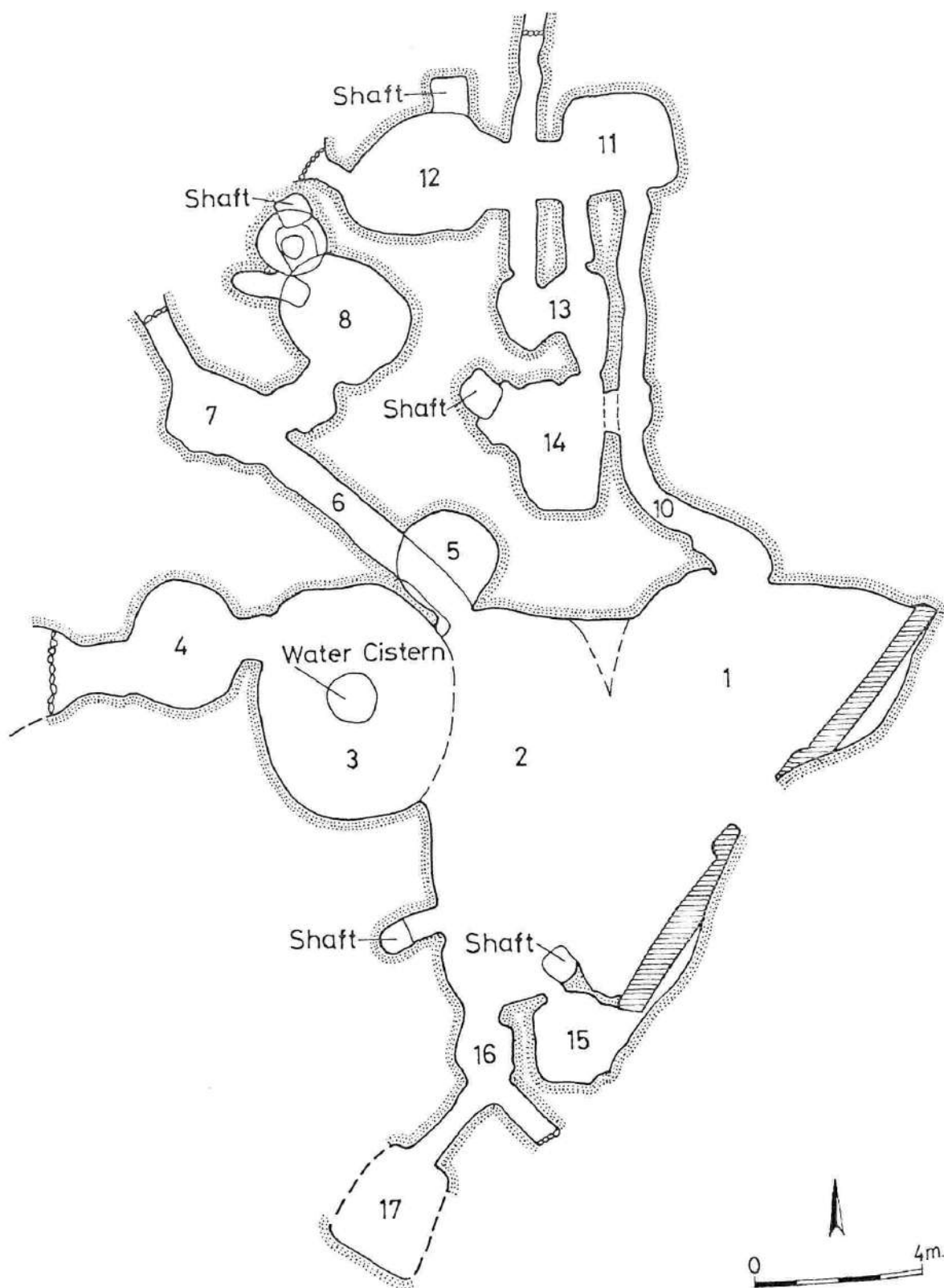


Fig. 30.2 Subterranean Hideouts: Kureikur

B. Technical aspects of the preparation of hide-outs in chalk.

C. The presence of subterranean hide-outs adjoining a major Roman road in Palestine - the Beit Horon road. The fact that the hide-outs were next to the road gave the rebels the possibility of controlling a central axis which was also used by Roman armies in the period before the Bar Kokhba revolt - whether or not it was already a paved Roman Imperial road.

This investigation concentrated on the subterranean hide-outs in three settlements — er-Ras,⁹ Kh. Kafr Rut (Lut) and Kh. Kureikur, which are directly connected to the route proposed for that portion of the Beit Horon Ascent which passes through the Shephelah.¹⁰

The hide-out at Tel er-Ras (fig.30.1, right)

For the site see Gazetteer, s.v. Modi'in. The two present-day entrances to the caves are both from trenches dug by the Jordanian army.

Cave B is a plastered cistern, with a square vertical entrance-shaft (marked 1 on the plan). Its sides are still covered with grey plaster which was of help in determining its shape. There is a similar cistern in a lower part of the tel. A second shaft (no. 2 on the plan), with a horizontal section of 0.60 x 0.50 m., cut through the plaster of the ceiling, is today blocked by building.

Cave A is one of the largest sorts of cisterns. Here too we have reconstructed its outline from the remnants of grey plaster which covered its sides. It measured 5 m. in diameter. In the centre is the opening for drawing out water (3). The cave walls between cistern A and cistern B (4 and 5) were broken through later to give access to the caves behind. Behind wall no. 5 are caves C and D (not marked on the plan), and beyond them a further round cave. Behind wall no. 4 is cave no. 23 and opening no. 11 to cave 10, which are described below. In the southern wall of cistern A is an opening to a tunnel (6), which is cut through the plaster covering the sides of the cistern. Tunnel no. 6 is the approach tunnel via cave E to cave F. Half-way along it is a sort of extension, circular in transverse section.

⁹ For the sites see the Gazetteer q.v.; for er-Ras see the entry on Modi'in.

¹⁰ The field work was carried out between 1982-1987. Taking part were O. Vidan, R. Chen, A. Kaspi, O. Levine, Y. Shahar, T. Tepper, Y. Smikon and the authors of this section. The kibbutzim Na'an and Yagur bore most of the expenses. Ora Paran drew the plans. We thank them all.

On the eastern wall of this extension a wall has been built to fill in the entrance to cave D, while from the west a tunnel leads to cave 10. The sides of caves E and F are covered in a white plaster, unlike the grey plaster on the sides of caves A and B. Both caves A and B, and cave F were used at earlier periods of settlement. Cave E, which lies between them was used for burial. The entrance to this cave (7) was a vertical shaft with a square transverse section 1.10 x 0.70 m. cut in the rock. Close to the surface of the ground, grooves have been cut in the sides of the shaft, to take the stone slabs which covered the entrance from the outside. The entrance from the shaft to the tomb has been cut in the shape of a doorway with doorposts, lintel, and threshold, and has been made to be closed off with a stone door. On either side of the cave are two niches, slightly curved on top. From the eastern niche a tunnel has been cut, giving access to cave E. Over the western niche there is a tunnel giving access to a square shaft (8), which has been blocked off by building. In the right-hand door-post, at the entrance from the shaft to cave F, a slot has been cut, which looks as if it might be a place for a *mezuzah*. Tunnel no. 9 leads to cave 10. This cave is large and irregularly shaped, with a shaft cut in the ceiling (12). In the north corner (11), is a passage to cave A, now blocked. In the south-west corner a niche has been cut, with the entrance to a tunnel (13). This tunnel, which is about 0.60 m. wide, has been cut unevenly, and runs for about 2 m. until it widens out to a space of about 1.00-1.20 m. wide which continues for about another 2.80 m. At this point it makes an almost right-angled turn northwards, and then continues for approximately another 2.40 m. In the centre there is a shaft cut in the floor (14), leading to cave 15.

Cave 15 is almost square and measures 5.00 x 4.00 m. In its northern corner an entrance has been cut, raised above the floor-level, to a tunnel (16) leading to cave G. Next to it is yet another tunnel (17), also leading to cave G. This cave is a large irregularly shaped cistern, with sides covered in grey plaster. There are two shafts for drawing water in its ceiling (19 and 20). Like cisterns A and B, and tomb E it was one of the original installations of the site. A further shaft (21) was cut later through the plaster, as was a tunnel (22) leading to cave 23. This cave is filled almost to the ceiling with earth and stones. The plan as drawn is only our estimation. From its northern corner is a passage through a man-made wall to cave B (24).

Both the earlier and the later caves at er-Ras were cut out of crumbling chalk rock, so that it is difficult at times to distinguish their original outlines. All the caves are full of fallen rocks and earth. Caves A, B, and G served as cisterns for the early settlement on the tel. Their sides and ceilings were covered in grey plaster (without potsherds). Cave F was a tomb

with two vaults, and as such also belongs to the group of early installations at er-Ras. So too Caves C and D (not shown on the plan). On the other hand, caves E, 10, 15, and 23, together with tunnels 6, 8, 9, 13, 14, 16, 17 and 22, were cut later, breaking down the walls of earlier caves and changing their original function. Caves E and F were plastered later as a single unit at the same time as the building of walls 4 and 5.

Thus the subterranean hide-out in tel er-Ras included earlier caves which were joined by tunnels to further caves, some of them earlier caves, and some of which had been excavated especially for hide-outs. In that period the entrances to the subterranean hide-out appear to have been via shafts no. 2, 8 and 12. The openings for drawing water, such as 19 and 20, were blocked up, as the cisterns ceased to be used to store water after tunnels were cut in their sides. The entrance to the tomb (7) was also filled in, as was the shaft (12) leading to cave 10 which appears to have been used only during the excavation of the cave. Opening no. 3 to cistern A does not appear to have been blocked, and was perhaps hidden by a building above. The activities of the Jordanian army have interfered with the remains and blocked some of the tunnels. In cave 10 near to the entrance to tunnel 9, we found 3 coins in the piles of earth. One of these is a coin of the Emperor Nero, while the two others are coins of the Bar Kokhba revolt, one of them from Year One and the other undated.

The Subterranean Hide-out at Kh. Kafr Rut / Horvat Lot (fig. 30.1, left)

The hide-out at Kh. Kafr Rut was investigated twice, in 1982 and 1987. During the five years between the two investigations cave-robbers were active, widening the tunnels between the cave complexes and damaging the remains by digging. The hide-out appears to have been divided into two wings. Today there is one entrance to both of them, to the east of the sheikh's tomb. The entrance is cut in the shape of a square shaft. The north and west sides are cut out of the rock, and the others are man-made. It would appear that formerly there was a sort of rock-cut courtyard which was reduced to a square shaft which was easier to hide. In the north wall of the shaft is an entrance (1) to caves A and B, which were formed by joining a bell-shaped cave (A) with an underground installation (B). The opening to the bell-shaped cave is now blocked. Its walls are plastered, and it was used in the past for collecting water. A tunnel (3) has been cut through the plaster to a further bell-shaped cave (C), with two openings for drawing water (4 and 5), and an exit shaft (6), now blocked. Cave B was an earlier installation. This cave was joined to the bell-cave A by removing a wall between them. Deep inside is a niche cut in the rock (7) with a hollow in its floor, apparently for a jar, while on the western wall are two

further niches (8 and 9) also with hollows in the floor for jars. On the eastern side are three hollows in the rock (10, 11 and 12). The last of these was partly destroyed when cave B was joined to the bell-cave A. It is not clear what cave B was used for, but it seems to have served as some sort of store at a stage prior to its use as an underground hide-out. Next to the original entrance to cave B (13), an oblong niche was cut in the rock, plastered up to the ceiling. In the west side of the entrance shaft to these two caves a further entrance has been cut (15), with holes in the doorposts for a lock. This gives access to another early installation (D), which is also bell-shaped, but does not reach human height. A tunnel (16) leads from this cave to another bell-shaped cave, with an opening for drawing water (17).

The group of caves we have described - A, B, C, D, and E - belonged to the early installation of the village above. At a later stage the walls dividing them were removed, so that they could no longer be used for their original purpose, and an inter-connected system of underground caves was created. There were only two entrances to this complex, hidden by buildings from above, via the present entrance shaft (1), and the shaft (6) in cave C. The rest of the entrances to the bell-shaped caves were deliberately blocked. This complex, then, forms one of the two wings of the subterranean hide-out at Kh. Kafr Rut.

There are three passages cut between this first wing and the second wing of the hide-out: between cave D and cave F (18); from niche 14 to cave F; and between caves B and G (19). The original entrances to the second wing of the hide-out is in the north (22), blocked at present by fallen earth and stones. From cave H a passage (23) has been cut connecting it with cave G. A small storage installation (24) was cut in the side of this tunnel at the same time. Attached to cave G are three little bottle-shaped caves (25, 27, and 20). Passage 31 joins cave F to a further bell-shaped cave I, which has two openings for drawing water (32 and 33).

In this wing of the subterranean hide-out the bell-shaped cave I appears to have been one of the early installations of the village, and maybe cave H was too. Tunnel 23 and caves F and G seem to have been excavated especially for the hide-out, joining up with earlier installations. Thus the second wing was created, in parallel to the first. From the evidence of tunnel 21 it would seem that at the beginning there was no connection between the two wings, but that each wing had its own entrance.

In the hide-out we have described we found pottery and fragments of sarcophagi. The finds date to the first and second centuries AD.

The hide-out at Kh. Kureikur (fig. 30.2)

Kh. Kureikur (Horvat Kurikur) is sited on a hill G.R. 1535.1475 (UTM 9625.5336) on the southern bank of Nahal Modi'in. The remains above-ground testify to a few walls but for the main part there are mostly rock-cuttings for agricultural use, cisterns, and caves. The area where the buildings are found is small - it looks as if the place served as some sort of centre for agricultural industry. In two caves within the area of the ruins - one on the east-facing hill-side, and the other within a cistern on the north-eastern side of the hill - we found entrances to the tunnels of subterranean hide-outs. The hide-out we describe is the one which opens into the cave in the eastern part of the site. The opening to the cave is cut out of a vertical rock-face, about 40 m. from the modern stone house on the top of the hill.

The hide-out itself is cut out of crumbling chalk and there have been many rock-falls. The numerals in the description which follows correspond with those in the plan. Areas 1, 2, 3 and 4 originally had separate functions, but were later joined together to form one unit which today serves as living quarters for a family of local shepherds. At first glance, we can still distinguish the original outline of each of these caves. This is shown on the plan by dotted lines. Cave 3 was a cistern, lined with plaster with the opening in the ceiling. Cave 4 was probably an underground store-room which was cut out of the layers of rock in the opposite direction from the cistern. The passage between the two caves was cut later and changed the shape of both, destroying the plaster on the sides of the cistern. The opening to the outermost cave 1 is cut in the vertical rock-face and there is a courtyard built in front of it. Cave 2 was an inner cave behind the wall which divided it from the first cave. There were two entrances into this cave: one a vertical shaft with squared sides cut in the ceiling, and the other, perhaps originally the main entrance, descending into it via a flight of steps on the west side. The subterranean hide-outs were cut out of the northern side of caves 1 and 2 as three separate wings.

Complex no. 1

The entrance to this complex was hidden in an internal appendage to cave 2 - no. 5 on the plan. The entrance is via a tunnel - no. 6 on the plan. The sides of the tunnel have suffered from many rock-falls, and it is difficult to reconstruct their exact dimensions. In the better preserved parts the tunnel measures 0.60 x 0.80 m. in vertical section. The tunnel leads, in an almost completely straight line, to a further underground cavity - no. 7 - which is irregular in shape, and continues for another two metres, after which it is blocked by fallen earth and stones. From cave 7 is a passage which joins it to cave 8, with a space next to it which appears to be the place for the stone which was used to block the

entrance to the tunnel. Cave no. 7 seems to have been the entrance hall to the hide-out within. Cave no. 8 is almost round, with a diameter of 3.20 m. In the farther wall are two openings: one, via a shaft with steps, was a back-entrance to the system, while the second formed a sort of cavity for collecting water that was deliberately introduced via the shaft with steps. Indeed, this part of the hide-out seems to have been intended as a system for the secret collection and storage of water. The water was stored in a bottle-shaped cavity cut out under the shaft, no. 9 on the plan. Its depth and diameter are about 1.80 m.

Complex no. 2

The entrance to complex no. 2 is by tunnel no. 10. The entrance to the tunnel, cut in the side of cave no. 1, is well-hidden and difficult to find. The measurements of a vertical section of the shaft are 0.60 x 0.50 m., and the shaft itself is 10 m. long up to cave no. 11. This cave is nearly square, 2.60 x 2.20 m., and its present height is 1.20 m. Another tunnel, parallel to tunnel no. 10, runs south from cave 11, joining it to cave no. 13, which forms a cross-roads. Its shape is formed by the junction of the various tunnels: one of these runs back northwards, in parallel to the tunnel coming from cave 11, to join cave 12; a second runs south to cave no. 14. The latter cave is rectangular and measures 3 x 2 m. On its western side is a square shaft which once led above ground, but has been blocked by building. It would seem that this shaft served as the original entrance to the hide-out, perhaps from an upper building. At some stage a passage was cut from the eastern wall of cave 14, joining it to tunnel 10. Cave 12 appears to have been another wing of the complex; here too there is a square shaft connecting it to the outside. To the west is a passage to a further cave, blocked now by fallen stones. The passage between caves 11 and 12, 1.40 m. wide, creates a kind of internal space. Thus the complex we have described consists of three caves, 11, 12 and 14, which are interconnected; tunnel 10 connects these to the first complex and to other neighbouring caves.

Complex no. 3

Complex no. 3 is a small hide-out on the southern side of caves 1 and 2. It has been damaged in part by later cutting away of the external rock-face. In this complex are two inner caves - nos. 15 and 17, a tunnel connecting them to the southern wing of cave 2, and an exit-shaft with steps to the outside.

From those portions of underground hide-out presented here, and from the presence of a further system in the northern part of the site which has not been described, it would appear that the extent of the subterranean hide-outs at Kh. Kureikur is considerably greater than we have described. Inside the complex no

potsherds were found, presumably because of the rock-falls, which covered the remains of human occupation.

Although this complex cannot be dated there are a number of features it has in common with other hide-outs, some of which could be dated to the period of the Bar Kokhba war:

- (1) Earlier caves were used changing the original shape and function.
- (2) The measurements of shafts and hide-outs are similar.
- (3) The hide-outs serve as an underground floor of the settlements in which they were made, they were linked with the upper level by shafts and various branches of the underground complex are interconnected.
- (4) Other, datable hide-out complexes have been found in the same area such as those described below.

Summary

The three subterranean hide-outs described above form part of a wider pattern of distribution of subterranean hide-outs in the settlements of the Northern Shephelah. In the area between Latrun and Gezer to the south, and Nahal Modi'in to the north a number of other hide-outs have been found to date, among them those at Barfiliya, at Sha'albim,¹¹ and at Gezer.¹² These are all sites immediately associated with the roads under discussion in this book. The fact that underground hide-outs were discovered near the Beit Horon road and the Emmaus - Aelia road fits in with similar finds along other main roads: the Aelia - Eleutheropolis road (marked by a milestone of AD 130);¹³ the Aelia - Hebron road, also marked by a Hadrianic milestone.¹⁴ Similar discoveries of

underground hide-outs near Roman roads have been made in Lower Galilee.¹⁵

The proximity of hide-outs to main Roman roads is of interest. It shows to what extent their preparation went unnoticed by the authorities. It is also possible that some of the underground hide-outs were intentionally made near these roads and that they were intended to fulfill a tactical function in the war with the Romans.¹⁶

It is probable that further surveys of this area will produce more results. In two out of the three subterranean hide-outs here discussed there were actual finds which provide evidence of use at the beginning of the second century AD: in Kh. Kafr Rut / Horvat Lot pottery and fragments of sarcophagi, and at er-Ras, pottery and coins. This probably shows they were used in, or even excavated during the Bar Kokhba revolt, a fact to be taken into account in the discussion about the date of such installations.¹⁷

¹¹ The existence of hide-outs on these sites is known only through oral information. The authors of this appendix had no opportunity to inspect them and nothing further is known. For the sites, see Gazetteer, q.v.

¹² A large underground hiding complex was found in Macalister's excavations. There were no finds to help in dating it, but it is of the same type as many others discovered in recent years which are firmly dated by coin-finds and pottery to the first and second centuries AD. see: Kloner and Tepper, *Hiding Complexes* (1987, Hebr.), 100-104. For Gezer see Gazetteer, s.v.

¹³ Hide-outs at Tel Azeqah: Kloner and Tepper, 171-85; the milestone: Thomsen, no. 282.

¹⁴ Hide-out complexes in Ein Arub, Horvat Berakhot. Kophin: Kloner and Tepper, 263-5; 271-4. For the Hadrianic milestone: Thomsen, no. 296.

¹⁵ Kloner and Tepper, 279-326.

¹⁶ Cf. Y. Shahar in Kloner and Tepper, 191-205.

¹⁷ See the introduction to this appendix, above.

The coins discussed here were found during a survey of underground hideouts in and around er-Ras (Midiya)¹, some 11 km to the north of Kh. Aqed². As well as Bar Kokhba coins, the find also included coins from the 3rd century BCE to the 14th century CE as listed below.

3rd and 2nd centuries BCE

- 6 coins of Hellenistic kings
- 1 city coin from Side in Pamphylia
- 1 city coin from Ascalon

2nd and 1st centuries BCE

- 5 Hasmonean coins

1st century CE

- 2 coins of Agrippa I
- 2 coins of Roman procurators of Judaea

2nd century CE

- 2 Bar Kokhba coins

6th century CE

- 1 coin of Justin II

14th century CE

- 1 coin of AlSalih Salah AlDin Salih

Details of the coins are given in the catalogue below.

The presence of a variety of Hellenistic coins in the underground hideouts would seem to indicate that er-Ras (Midiya) was populated during the Hellenistic period, although no remains from this period were recorded by Kochavi in his survey of the area.³

¹ Thanks are due to Y. Tepper for entrusting me with the publication of the coin find; to Dr A Kindler and Cecilia Meir for helping me and allowing me access to the library of the Kadman Museum; to A Berman whom I consulted about the Mameluke Dirham; to Judy Hen who read the English text and to Donna Ron for typing it.

² For evidence linking Aqed with Bar Kokhba, see gazetteer entry under this heading.

³ M Kochavi (ed.) *Judaea, Samaria and the Golan. Archaeological Survey 1967-8*, Jerusalem 1972 (Heb.), p 235 no 226.

(Axis of coins is upright, unless otherwise stated)

1. Surface find at er-Ras

- (1) AE, 18.5-20.5 mm, 5.10 gm.
ob: Laureated head of Apollo to r., border of dots.
rev: Double cornucopiae, on r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕ
on l. ANTIOX, border of dots
Antiochus III, 223-187 BC.
ref: D. Barag & S. Qedar, 'Beginning of
Hasmonaean Coinage', *INJ* 4 (1980), 21, Pl. 9:2,
attributed to Gaza
- (2) AE, 14.5-15.5 mm., 2.95 gm.
ob: Head of Artemis to r., an arrow (?) on l. above
shoulder.
rev: Apollo standing, naked, to r., lyre in out-stretched
hands. on r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, on l. ANTIOXOY
ref: Newell, p.22, No. 17, Pl. 42:17
- (3) AE, 11.5 mm, l. 1.65 gm.
ob: Laureated head of Apollo to r., border of dots.
rev: Apollo is standing, naked to l., holding an
arrow in his r. hand, resting his l. hand on bow. on r.
BACIAEWC, on l. ANTIOXOY
ref: Similar to type in *BMC, Syria*, p.28, No. 5.
- (4) AE, serrated 13-14 mm, 2.04 gm.
ob: Radiate head of Antiochus IV to r.
rev: Hera (?) standing, dressed, frontal, holding
sceptre in r. hand. On r. BACIAEQC, border of dots.
Antiochus IV Epiphanes, 175-164 BC
ref: *BMC, Syria*, p. 38, No. 41.
- (5) AE, 12.8-14.1 mm., 1.06 gm.
ob: Diademed head of Alexander Balas to r.,
border of dots.
rev: Cornucopiae, on l. from bottom to top in two
lines: date EXP / BAC, on r. AA. Border of dots.
Alexander Balas (150-145 BC), year 148/7 BC.
- (6) AE, 16 mm, 4.90 gm; axis ←
ob: Helmeted head of Athena to r. (?)
rev: Pomegranate. City coin of Side (?) in
Pamphylia, third and second centuries BC.
ref: Sear 1979, p. 495, No. 5437.
SNG 31, pt. 11, No. 183.
- (7) AE, 12.5-14.5 mm., 1.74 gm.
ob: Turreted head of Tyche to r.
rev: Galley, 6 oars, 2 sitting figures (?) above AC
below L AC?
City coin of Ascalon, 111 BC (?)

⁴ I have cited Meshorer's book *Ancient Jewish Coinage* throughout, as being the most detailed descriptive catalogue on the subject, but I do not accept his dating of the coins of Hyrcanus, Jannaeus and Aristobulus.

2. Surface find at er-Ras, on the tel.

(1) AE, 13-14.6 mm., 1.90 gm. Prutah
ob: Within laurel wreath, inscription in ancient Hebrew characters.
Yehohanan the High Priest and Hever of the Jews
rev: Double cornucopiae, pomegranate between border of dots.
John Hyrcanus I, 135-104 BC
ref: Similar to type in Meshorer, vol. I, No. 9.

(2) AE, 11.5 mm., 1.26 gm. Prutah
ob: Remnants of wreath and inscription in early Hebrew characters, illegible.
rev: Double cornucopiae, pomegranate in between.
Alexander Jannaeus, 103-76 BC.
ref: Similar to type in Meshorer, vol. I, Hb 2.

(3) AE, 14.8-17 mm., 1.68 gm. Prutah.
ob: Greek inscription within wreath.
NEP/ΩNO/Σ
rev: Palm branch, around it Greek inscription, (L E KAIC)APO(C)
Governorship of Festus, year 5 of Nero, i.e. AD 59.
ref: Similar to type in Meshorer, vol. II, No. 35.

(4) AE, 20-23 mm, 5.42 gm. K = 20 nummi; axis l.
ob: On l. Justin, on r. Sophia enthroned frontal. Remnants of Latin inscription on l. and r.
DN IVS(TI)NVS (PP AVG)
rev: Large K, above cross between Θ+C, to l. A/N/N/O, to r. date XI, beneath TES.
Justin II (567-578), 11 year, AD 576.
Mint of Thessalonica.
ref: Similar to type in Sear 1974, p. 85, No. 366.
BMC, Byz. i, p.89, No. 121.

(5) AR, 19.5-23.5 mm., 2.50 gm. Dirham; axis ←
ob: Arabic inscription.

The Sultan the King.../Salah AID.../
Muhammad Bin/Qala'un.
rev: Arabic inscription
----/---Muhammad/Rassul Alla/---/----.
Al-Salih Salah AlDin Salih, AD 1351-1354 (752-755 A.H.), a Mamluk Sultan of Egypt and Syria.
ref: Resembles types in Balog, 189, 190, Pl. XIII

3. Hiding Complex, er-Ras

(1) AE, 18.5-20.4 mm, 6.45 gm.
ob: Diademed head of Zeus Ammon to r., border of dots.
rev: Eagle standing to l. on thunderbol, around it

Greek inscription, BACILEWCITTOLEMAIOY, in field to l. club, between the eagle legs date, Z, border of dots.

Ptolemy IV (221-204 BC), his 7th regnal year, 214 BC.
Mint of Tyre.

(2) AE, 16.5-17.5 mm, 2.94 gm. Prutah.
ob: Canopy with fringe, around it Greek inscription, BACIAEΩC AΓPIPIA
rev: Three ears of barley with two leaves, to l. L, to r. ζ.
Agrippa I (AD 37-44), his 6th regnal year, 42/3.
ref: Similar to type in Meshorer, vol. 2, No. 11.

(3) AE, 15-17 mm., 2.27 gm., Prutah.
ob: Two shields and two spears crossed, around these Greek inscription, NEWK(KLAU K)AICAP.
rev: Palm tree with 6 branchces, two bunches of dates, above BPIT, across field, below L I(Δ), KAI.
Governorship of Antonius Felix, year 14 (AD 54) of Claudius (AD 41-54).
ref: Similar to type in Meshorer, vol. II, No. 29.

(4) AE, 22.5-26 mm, 13.58 gm.
ob: Palm branch within wreath, around these inscription in ancient Hebrew characters.
Shim'on NSY' Israel
rev: Lyre with 6 strings, around it an inscription in ancient Hebrew characters.
(Year o)ne of the Redemption of Isr(ael). Border of dots. First year of the Bar Kokhba war, AD 132/3.
ref: Similar to type in Mildenberg, p. 302, No. 23; Meshorer, vol. II, No. 6a.

(5) AE, 23.5-26 mm., 12.14 gm.
ob: Palm tree with 7 branches, two bunches of dates, across field inscription in ancient Hebrew characters: SHIM
rev: Vine leaf, around it inscription in ancient Hebrew characters.
Year B of fr(eedom of Israel)
Second year of the Bar Kokhba war, 133/4.
ref: Similar to type in Mildenberg, p. 318, No. 92; Meshorer, vol. II, No. 42.

1. Hiding Complex at Kh. Kafr Rut

(1) AE, 13.5-14.5 mm, 1.75 gm. Prutah
ob: Within wreath inscription in ancient Hebrew characters:
----/----/ Hever of the / Jews
rev: Double cornucopiae, pomegranate in between.
John Hyrcanus I, 135-104 BC

(2) AE, 10.5-13.2 mm, 0.75 gm. Half-prutah.
ob: Remnants of star

rev: Remnants of anchor in circle, around it
several Greek letters ...ΞΑΝΔ...
Alexander Jannaeus (103-75 BC), probably some time
between 78 and 63 BC.
ref: Similar to type in Meshorer, vol. i, Ce.

(3) AE, 11.6-15.4, 2.00 gm. Prutah.
ob: The worn remnants of wreath and inscription,
illegible.
rev: Double cornucopiae, ear of corn in between,
border of dots.
Mattathias Antigonus (40-37 BC)
ref: Similar to type in Meshorer, vol. i, y.

(4) AE, 15.5-17.6 mm, 2.85 gm. Prutah.
ob: Canopy with fringe, around it Greek
inscription BASILEWS...
rev: Three ears of barley with two leaves, to r.
Agrippa I (AD 37-44), year 6.
ref: Similar to type in Meshorer, vol. ii, No. 11.

Abbreviations

- Balog, P., *The Coinage of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria* (1964)
BMC, Syria Gardner, P., *Coins of the Seleucid Kings of Syria in the British Museum* (repr. 1963)
BMC, Palestine Hill, G.F., *Greek Coins of Palestine in the British Museum* (1914)
BMC, Byz. Wroth, W., *Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, i (1908).
Meshorer, Y. *Ancient Jewish Coinage*, vols. i-ii (1982).
Mildenberg, L., *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War* (1984).
Newell, E.T., *The Coinage of the Western Seleucid Mints* (1941)
Sear, D.R. *Byzantine Coins and their Values* (1974)
Sear, D.R., *Greek Coins and their Values*, ii (1979)
SNG *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, (Danish National Museum, Lycia, Pamphylia, vol. 31, Copenhagen, 1955).

Bacchides' forts and the roads to Jerusalem in the Hellenistic period.

In the first book of Maccabees (9, 50-53) there is the following statement about Bacchides, the general of the Seleucid army, following his victory over Judas Maccabaeus at the battle of Alasa and after he had defeated Jonathan the Hasmonaeon on the banks of the River Jordan:

καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, καὶ ὠκοδόμησαν πόλεις ὀχυράς ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ, τὸ ὀχύρωμα τὸ ἐν Ἱεριχῶ καὶ τὴν Ἀμμαούς καὶ τὴν Βαιθωρών καὶ τὴν Βαιθηλ καὶ τὴν Θαμναθα φαραθὼν καὶ τὴν Τεφὼν, ἐν τεύχεσιν ὑψηλοῖς καὶ πύλαις καὶ μοχλοῖς. 9.51 καὶ ἔθετο φρουρὰν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἐχθραίνειν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ. 9.52 καὶ ὠχύρωσεν τὴν πόλιν τὴν Βαιθσουραν καὶ Γαζαρα καὶ τὴν ἄκραν καὶ ἔθετο ἐν αὐταῖς δυνάμεις καὶ παραθέσεις βρωμάτων.¹

'And he returned to Jerusalem and fortified [a number of] towns in Judaea: the forts at Jericho, Emmaus, Beit-Horon, Beit-El, Thamnatha of Pharathon, and Thephon, with high walls, gates, and bars. And he placed in these garrisons to intimidate Israel. And he fortified the towns of Beit-Sur, Gazara and the Acra, placing there troops and stores of victuals.'

Not all the places mentioned in this list of Bacchides' forts are connected to the road-system. The Acra was sited inside Jerusalem, and not on one of the roads leading to the city, so that we need not deal here with the problematic question of exactly where it was situated.² As for Gazara, an attempt has already been made elsewhere by one of us to deal with the problems of the identification of this site.³ It has been suggested there that the site mentioned in 1 Macc. 9, 52, is not Gezer, which generally appears in our sources as Gazera [Γαζηρα - see Gazetteer], but Gazara

[Γαζαρα] 'which is on the border of Ashdod', as specified in 1 Macc. 14, 34. This then might be Tel Yaoz at the sea outlet of Nahal Soreq, where there are considerable remains from the Hellenistic period. Thus we shall not deal here with this site either.

Most of the sites fortified by Bacchides can be divided into two groups. The first includes all the sites whose identity is not seriously questioned by modern scholarship: i.e. Emmaus, Beit-Horon, Beit El, Jericho and Beit Sur. The second group of sites whose identity is debatable comprises Thamnatha of Pharathon and Thephon. The identification of these sites depends on the geographical starting point of the scholar who is dealing with them. On the one hand there is what may be called the 'northern' approach, whose main proponent is Abel⁴, which proposes identifying all Bacchides' forts in an area north of Jerusalem. The other approach, which may be called the 'ring' theory, proposed by Avi-Yonah,⁵ seeks these sites in an area which ringed all of Jerusalem.

In our opinion, the debate about the identification of Bacchides' forts should be based on the following premises. First of all, the situations of Emmaus, Beit-El, Jericho and Beit-Sur, whose identification is certain, make it clear that the list reflects an area ringing Jerusalem, and not merely north of the city. This means that the 'ring' theory as proposed by Avi-Yonah is basically a correct point from which to start, and will serve us as a starting point in our discussion here.

Secondly, a topographical analysis of the military operations carried out by the Seleucid commanders against Judas Maccabaeus show that each and every one of these operations was carried out along one of the main routes to the mountains and the capital⁶. Thus it is reasonable to assume that, from a strategic point of view, Bacchides' first concern after his victory over the Jews, was to assure his control of these arteries, by building forts at key points along their routes. From a tactical point of view, it would seem reasonable to seek the sites of these forts at high points, where they could not only be in command of a critical

¹ E. Kappler, *Maccabaeorum liber I* (1936), 104-105 which is the same here as *Septuaginta* ed. A. Rahlfs (1935, repr 1979) 1072.

² For the site of the Acra: Y. Tsafrir 'The location of the Seleucid Akra in Jerusalem' *RB* 82 (1975), 501-521; E-M Laperrousaz, 'Encore l'Acra des Seleucides et nouvelles remarques sur les pierres à bossage pré-herodiennes de Palestine', *Syria* 56 (1979), 99-144; B. Bar-Kochva, *Judas Maccabaeus* (1989), 445-465.

³ I. Roll, 'Gazara: a coastal city from the Hellenistic and Hasmonian periods in the Land of Israel', *Eighth Israeli Archaeological Conference: Summaries of Papers* (1981) 8 [Heb].

⁴ F.-M. Abel, 'Topographie des campagnes machabéennes' *RB* 34 (1925), 202-208; id., *Les livres des Maccabées*, (1949), 172-175.

⁵ M. Avi-Yonah, *The Holy Land* (1977), 53-54.

⁶ F.-M. Abel, 'Topographie des campagnes machabéennes' *RB* 32 (1923), 495-521; id., *RB* 33 (1924) 201-217; M. Avi-Yonah, 'The Battles in the Book of Maccabees' *Sepher Yohanan Levi* (1949), 13-24 (Heb); O. Plöger, *ZDPV* 74 (1958) 158-188; S. Wübbing 'Zur Topographie einzelner Schlachten des Judas Makkabäus', *ZDPV* 78 (1962) 159-170; B. Bar-Kochva, *Judas Maccabaeus* (1989).

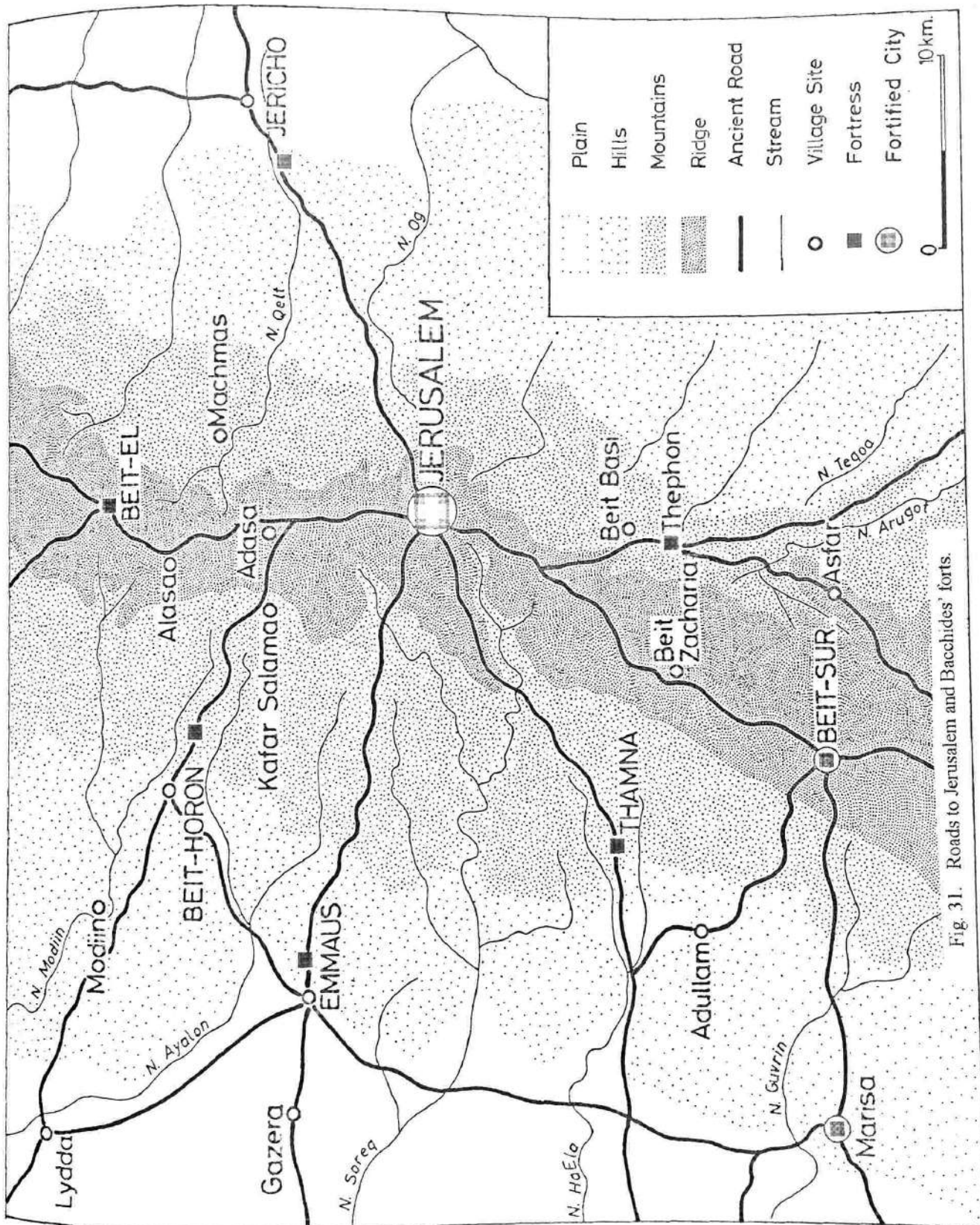


Fig. 31. Roads to Jerusalem and Bacchides' forts.

length of road, but also serve as a look-out over wider areas. Sites like this could naturally be used as defences with a relatively small number of soldiers manning them, which would be in keeping with accepted Hellenistic military concepts.⁷

Thirdly, the identification, and in particular the siting on the ground of each one of Bacchides' forts must be based on archaeological finds at the proposed sites, and in particular on their dating and typology. Thus a site where remains of fortifications have been discovered, which can be dated to the middle of the second century BC can form a concrete basis for serious discussion of this subject. In our view, such a basis is preferable to the more theoretical debates based on local place-names which, inevitably, often depend on hearsay evidence.

We shall now attempt to identify the fortresses of Bacchides and their sites one by one, according to the criteria set above. The discussion of these sites will be brief, concentrating only on aspects directly connected to the subject, as follows: the whereabouts of the site, the type of site and its connection with the road, and the type of archaeological finds discovered there, and their date. We shall begin with Jericho, and continue to deal with the sites in a counter-clockwise order.

1. Jericho

Traditionally, the forts which commanded and defended Jericho have been sited outside the oasis itself, on the heights to its west. The peaks which could have served for this end are Jebel Qarantal to the north west; the cliff of Nuseib al-'Uweishira to the north of Wadi Qelt and Tel el-'Aqabah, which is identified as Cypros. The excavations conducted by E. Netzer and E. Damati at this last site revealed the foundations of a round tower from the Hasmonaean period beneath the Herodian palace⁸. Since this type of fortification is typical of Hellenistic military building, it is possible that this is in fact a pre-Hasmonaean architectural feature, which dates to the time of Bacchides. It should further be noted that Cypros commands the place where the road from Jericho to Jerusalem begins its ascent.

⁷ I. Shatzman, *The Armies of the Hasmonaeans and Herod* (1991), 36f.

⁸ E. Netzer, sv 'Cypros', *NEAEHL* I (1993), 315-317.

2. Beit-El⁹

The accepted identification of Beit-El is with the village of Beitin, where some of the largest springs on the mountain ridge are to be found. The site is centrally situated on a high point, and was the traditional crossroads of the mountain ridge road and the roads which climbed to meet it on either side from the coastal plain and from the Jordan valley. Excavations conducted here by Albright and later by Kelso¹⁰, revealed two stages of building from the Hellenistic period, but without any fortifications at all. However, Hellenistic pottery from the second century BCE was also found amidst the remains of the tower (sometimes referred to in the report as a 'tumulus') which is sited on a hill which commands the site from the north-east. This hill, known by the name of Rujum Abu 'Amar, commands not only Beit El, but also much of the ridge road which passes directly beneath it. Thus Kelso's proposal¹¹ of identifying this place with Bacchides' fort seems reasonable.

3. Beit-Horon

We have already discussed in some detail in Part II and in the Gazetteer the two villages of Beit-Horon and the ascent between them, as well as their military importance and their relation to the road system. In the present context, it should be noted that the best place for a Bacchidean fort would be the more westerly of the two hills of Upper Beit-Horon, which today is known as Abu Shusha. This hill-top commands the top of the Beit-Horon ascent, and is an excellent look-out point for the whole of the ascent, and for a considerable distance further west. Even though the later, massive building from the Byzantine period onwards destroyed or covered up any earlier remains, the foundations of the mediaeval fort on the top of the hill include building stones from an earlier period, and allow us to assume that this was the natural place for a Bacchidean fort. Further evidence to support this contention can be found in *AS Benjamin*, which also

⁹ Beit-El is Biblical Bethel. The form of the name of the site has been chosen to conform with the spelling found on the British mandatory maps of Palestine, which we have used consistently throughout the book. Readers more familiar with other versions of these names (for example from translations of the Bible and Apocrypha) will find most of them under the relevant entry in the Geographical Index.

¹⁰ J.L. Kelso et al., *The Excavations of Bethel* (1934-1960), (1968).

¹¹ Kelso *op cit*, pp. 39;52.

found Hellenistic pottery at this site¹².

4. Emmaus

Emmaus is sited at the border between the Ayalon Valley and the hills at the far western end of the Neve Ilan ridge, not far from the Beit Liqiya and Beit-Horon ascents. Because of its situation, it was central to the road network of western Judaea from the Hellenistic period onwards. At this important crossroads it was possible to choose between different roads to Jerusalem, as we have shown in some detail in Part II and in the Gazetteer. However, no finds from the Hellenistic period have been revealed on any of the hills naturally commanding this area where fortifications were built at various times, such as the hill with the Crusader castle or the hill where the Latrun police station is sited. This is also true of the hill where the town of Emmaus itself grew up. On the other hand, at Kh. 'Aqed, east of Emmaus, excavations by Mordechai Gichon and Moshe Fischer¹³ unearthed impressive remains from the second century BC, as noted in the Gazetteer. These comprise a fortified hill-top surrounded by a wall with towers, with a gateway built of ashlar, guarded by a pair of semi-circular towers. The site¹⁴ commands both the spring of 'Ein 'Aqed, the principal water-source for the town of Emmaus, as well as the route which climbs eastwards over the Neve Ilan ridge towards Jerusalem. There is an excellent view from here over the Ayalon Valley and the road which crossed the valley from west to east.

5. Thamnatha

Thamnatha is mentioned in I Maccabees 9, 50-53 cited above. In the versions of the text edited by Kappler and Rahlfs¹⁵ it is cited not as a separate name of a place, but has the name 'Pharathon' added to it. Pharathon does not have the words καὶ τῆν - 'and also' - in front of it, although these words are consistently used before all the other place names in the list of Bacchides' forts. The suggestion made by Abel¹⁶

and Goldstein¹⁷ of emending the text and inserting the word καὶ before the name Pharathon, on the basis of some Latin manuscripts and a parallel text in Josephus (*Ant.* xiii 1, 3-15), is unnecessary in this case. Thus we should not relate to 'Pharathon' as the name of another fort, but as an epithet of Thamnatha. From the combination of these two names we can deduce that by the description 'Thamnatha of Pharathon', the source is referring to Thamna, which is in the territory of Pharathon. This is the only case in the list of Bacchides' forts where the name of an area is added to a place-name. It looks as if the intention here was to distinguish between the more northerly Thamna east of Lydda, which was better known than the other Thamna. The name 'Pharathon' probably refers to the valley of Φερεταί mentioned by Josephus (*BJ* iv, 11, 4-512) in relation to Idumea. This starting point would bring us to the mountainous area south west of Jerusalem and Emeq HaElah, perhaps Josephus' Φερεταί Valley. From a topographical point of view, the best candidate for identification with Bacchides' Thamna is Kh. Tibne. This site is west of Mt Sansan, on a promontory which descends gently towards Emeq HaElah. The promontory is a continuation of the ridge which stretches from Beitar in a south-westerly direction. Transit of the ridge is not difficult, and it would appear that the road which connected Jerusalem with the Shephela and the southern coast ran along here in the Hellenistic period. Kh Tibne has not yet been excavated, and no serious survey of the site has been published. A brief notice was published of a preliminary survey by Z. Meshel and A. Mazar¹⁸ which notes that there are remains of a fort at this site, and that pottery from the end of the Iron Age was found here. However, there is no way of knowing from this report whether these were the only potsherds on the site, or whether there were any present from other periods. Thus the question of whether there was any use of this fort at later periods remains an open one. At any rate, the siting of the fort, at the top of a promontory where it commands the ascent, with a view over Emeq HaElah to the west, is very similar in plan and topography to the sites of Upper Beit Horon and Kh. 'Aqed.¹⁹

6. Beit Sur

Beit Sur commands the central portion of the

¹² *AS Benjamin* nos. 28; 143.

¹³ M. Gichon sv 'Eqed, Horvat' *NEAEHL* ii (1993), 416-417; M.L. Fischer, 'Bacchides at Emmaus' in *Dor leDor* (1995, Heb.), 87-98.

¹⁴ G. Galil, 'Pirathon, Parathon and Timnatha', *ZDPV* 109 (1933) 49-53.

¹⁵ *Opp cit* note 1 above.

¹⁶ F.-M. Abel, *Les livres des Maccabées* (1949), 172.

¹⁷ J.A. Goldstein, *I Maccabees (The Anchor Bible)* (1976), 386.

¹⁸ A. Mazar, 'The Excavations at Khirbet Abu et-Twein and the System of Iron-Age Fortresses in Judah', *Eretz-Israel* 15 (1981), 246 (Heb.).

¹⁹ *TIR* sv Thamna II identifies Thamnatha with Kh. et Tibbane, a site west of Beth Shemesh.

ridge road which leads from Jerusalem to the south. It is better documented than any other site here, both historically and archaeologically. As a result, its identification is not in doubt. The excavations conducted here by Sellers *et al.*²⁰ revealed the remains of a walled settlement from the Hellenistic period. Within the wall the excavators uncovered the foundations of a most impressive tower which was built at the beginning of the Hellenistic period and restored and re-built twice later. On the basis of carefully dated pottery and coins the excavators attributed the second re-building to Bacchides. The fort is square, with groups of rooms joined to form a courtyard. It should be noted that this ground-plan is completely different from the other site which can be attributed to Bacchides — i.e. Kh. 'Aqed. We can perhaps deduce from this that the Seleucid general did not create brand new forts according to a single master-plan, but restored and re-fortified existing buildings, using the original ground-plan of each one. This conclusion is also in keeping with the text in the book of Maccabees quoted above.

7. Thephon

The problems in the identification of Thephon are even more complex. It has been identified with the northern Tapuah²¹, with the southern Tapuah²² and with Bejt Nattif²³. Avi-Yonah suggested identifying Thephon with Teqo'a²⁴ on the basis of the parallel verse in Josephus (*Ant* 13,1,3-15) where the name Τοχόαν appears instead of Thephon. The problem is that in 1 Macc. 9, 33 — i.e. in one of the verses before the list of Bacchides' forts — there is a mention of τῆν ἔρημον Θεκωε — the desert of Teqoa — without any error. It is difficult to accept that the writer of chapter 9 of the book of Maccabees wrote the name 'Teqoa' correctly in verse 33, while writing it unrecognizably in verse 50, unless the error derives from a later copyist. Nevertheless, about three kilometres north of Teqo'a is a site called Kh. Bad Faluh, on top of a promontory directly commanding the fork where the Jerusalem road branches into two. One of these branches turns south east to Ein Gedi and southern

Jordan, while the second runs south towards Carmel and the Negev. The ancient remains are covered today by a modern village, but the survey of 1967²⁵ found a large quantity of Hellenistic potsherds and coins scattered all over the surface of the site. We should add that Kh. Bad Faluh is generally identified with the biblical settlement of Netopha²⁶, and it is possible that this name survived into the Hellenistic period as Thephon.

To sum up, we have attempted here to deal with the problem of the identification and siting of the forts of Bacchides, by an analysis of the literary sources, the topographical background and the archaeological finds. This combination has produced a picture of a system of forts built around Jerusalem at key topographical points, which ensured complete control of critical sections of the seven main arteries leading to the capital. Each and every one of these points, sited as they were on hill-tops, also provided an excellent look-out over a considerable part of the ascent of the road towards Jerusalem, as well as the wider area round about. By building this string of forts a day's march away from Jerusalem, Bacchides must have hoped to subdue the whole of Judaea and bring it under Seleucid rule once more. In the event he was unable to carry this out. It would seem that one of the reasons for this was that the Jewish rebels had a better knowledge of the countryside and the many alternative ways of moving around other than the main arteries. We have discussed the smaller roads that existed between Jaffa and Jerusalem in some detail in Part II. Thus it would seem that the Seleucid control of main roads only was unable to prevent the re-organisation of the Hasmonaean revolt under the leadership of Jonathan and his successors.

²⁰ O.R. Sellers *et al.*, *The 1957 Excavations at Beth-Zur* (1968).

²¹ F.-M. Abel, *Les livres des Maccabées* (1949) 173, note 50.

²² A. Kahana, *The Apocrypha II*, (1948, Heb.), 142, note 50.

²³ C. Möller & G. Schmitt *Siedlungen Palästinas nach Flavius Josephus* (1976), 36-37.

²⁴ M. Avi-Yonah *The Holy Land* (1977,) 54.

²⁵ M. Kochavi (ed), *Judaea, Samaria and the Golan* (1972, Heb.) 44, site no 49.

²⁶ Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible* (1979), 440: Kochavi *op. cit.*, 28.

THE MILESTONES

The catalogue of milestones is organized along the same lines as that in our *Roman Roads in Judaea*, i. 55:

- (1) The stones are listed in geographical order, from west to east.
- (2) If possible an eight-figure Israel Grid Reference number (G.R.) is given for each piece.
- (3) When the exact find-spot is unknown, or the milestone was clearly not found *in situ*, we give the find-spot and/or the presumed original location.
- (4) For milestones that have disappeared we cite the best description available.

All the milestones are of local limestone and made out of one piece consisting of a square base and tapering, conical pillar (except for the Byzantine stone II e which is a rectangular stele). The location of the milestations may be found on the general map, fig. 44.

The Jaffa - Lydda Road

No milestones have been found.

The Beit Horon Road

No milestones have been found as yet along the western section of this road, from Lydda to Kafr Rut. Between the latter site and the junction with the Neapolis - Aelia road, milestones belonging to six milestations have been seen in the past and by us. These are all anepigraphic, and we have therefore no means of knowing whether the distances on the milestones were counted from Aelia or from Lydda. However, in the literary sources the distance from several sites is reckoned from Jerusalem (see above, Part I). We shall therefore number the milestations from Jerusalem to Lydda, but list them moving from west to east in the same order as we have described the roads in Part II.

Mile XIX

A. Alt, in his report of his excursion along the Beit Horon road in 1931, notes the discovery of a milestation west of Lower Beit Horon on the south slope of 'wadi el kibli' (Wadi es-Sakir), south south-west of Safa, near Kafr Rut, a point identified by him with Milestation XVII from Jerusalem.¹ Here he saw two fragments of anepigraphic pillars without base,

170 and 148 cm. long.² In spite of all our efforts, we did not find these stones. They may have been removed for re-use in the neighbourhood. Since the next milestation, Mile XVIII, is about 1.5 km. from this spot, the original location must indeed have been below Kafr Rut, as stated by Alt, i.e. at or near G.R. 1542.1457. However, Alt was certainly mistaken in identifying this point as Mile XVII, for measurements along the extant and the presumed line of the road clearly indicate that it represents Mile XIX.

Mile XVIII

A milestone was found 800m. east of Najmat el-Hadali, at G.R. 1553.1451, in a terrace wall north of the road, probably near its original location. It is the upper part of an anepigraphic pillar: h. 0.75m., upper diam. 0.46, lower diam. 0.60.

Mile XVII

No milestones have been found.

Mile XVI

We saw two pieces of pillars in the village of Beit 'Ur el-Tahta:

- (a) The first is a fragment lying on the ground among trees, south of the main east-west street at the western edge of the old centre of the village (G.R. 1581.1447): h. 0.60m., upper and lower diam. 0.40.
- (b) The second pillar was placed upright in front of a house at the eastern edge of the village. A piece has been cut away vertically from the top and a hole drilled in the lower part of the resulting fracture: h. 1.20m., upper diam. 0.58.

These two pillars are not associated with any extant ancient remains in the village, unlike other architectural fragments (see the entry in the Gazetteer), so that we can assume that they were milestones indicating Mile XVI from Jerusalem.

Mile XV

Three fragments of milestones were found along the well-preserved stretch of the road described in Part II, about half-way between the two Beit Horons. Two of the fragments (a and b) were found in section no.7 as described in Part II, at G.R. 1591.1439. This seems to have been the original location of the milestation. The third piece (c) was seen in secondary use in the south wall of the structure near section no.8.

- (a) This is a fragment of a pillar with moulding at the top and the remains of an illegible inscription: H.

¹ A. Alt, *PJb* 28 (19320, 18).

² *Ibid.*, n.5.

0.93m., diam. 0.40, height of moulding 0.12, diam. of moulding 0.44.

(b) Fragment of pillar: h. 0.32, diam. 0.44.

(c) Fragment of pillar with moulding at the top: h. 1.00m., h. of moulding 0.10.

One of these stones was probably seen by P.-M. Séjourné almost a century ago, one mile west of Upper Beit Horon, embedded in the road and apparently anepigraphic.³ Three decades later Alt saw all three stones in a far better condition than they are now. He mentions a pillar of 2.70m. length with part of the base, upper end broken off, and two fragments of pillars of 0.85 and 0.63m. length, all without inscriptions.⁴ Alt seems to have been mistaken once more when he calculated the distance from Jerusalem as 14 miles rather than 15.

Mile XIV

Séjourné mentions a milestone at Upper Beit Horon that he could not study because it was re-used in a wall alongside the road, at the point where the road, having skirted the village, begins to descend to Lower Beit Horon.⁵ We did not find this stone.

These two observations by Séjourné are the only reference we know of that Peter Thomsen failed to include in his comprehensive article on roads and milestones, although the road as such appears on his map.⁶

From Mile XV to the junction with the Jerusalem - Neapolis road at Kh. el Hawanit only one milestation has been found, at Mile VIII.

Mile VIII

Two anepigraphic milestones were found about 700m. west of Sha'ab Siyag at G.R. 1674. 1409, lying near the southern edge of the road, apparently at the original location of this milestation.

(a) This milestone is undamaged. The front and back were hewn so as to form a flat surface. The upper column is elliptical in shape: h. 1.05m., upper diameters 0.35 by 0.47; base: h. 0.50, w. 0.39, l. 0.55.

(b) This stone is broken at both ends. Pillar: h. 1.32m., upper diam. 0.55. Only 0.20m. of the upper part of the base has been preserved.

This milestation was first noticed by G. Dalman, followed by Alt, H.J. Stoebe and ourselves.⁷

At Kh. el-Hawanit (G.R. 1717.1373) the Beit Horon road joined the Neapolis - Jerusalem road which runs over the watershed. Between this spot and Jerusalem two milestations have been found.

Mile IV

West of Tel el-Ful (Gibeah?) an anepigraphic pillar was seen at the turn of the century.⁸

Mile III

In the same years two milestones were found at Shuafat, one of them anepigraphic, the other bearing two Latin inscriptions.⁹ These milestations belong to the Neapolis - Jerusalem road and will be discussed further in our forthcoming final report on this road.

The Lydda - Emmaus Road

As observed in Part II, no remains of this road nor any milestones belonging to it have been found. Two pieces of information that proved unhelpful must be mentioned:

In the modern settlement of Sha'alabim, in Mr Kahanian's garden, there is a milestone standing upside-down. When visiting the village in July 1985 we made enquiries about the provenance of the stone, but without success. The stone must therefore be considered as being of uncertain provenance and cannot be assigned with any certainty to the nearby Diospolis - Nicopolis road.

In the late 1970's we were told that there was a milestone in a private garden in Mishmar Ayalon, a modern village about 1 km. west of el-Qubab. When we visited the village no one knew of the presence of such a stone anywhere in the vicinity.

³ P.-M. Séjourné, *RB* 7 (1898), 122.

⁴ A. Alt, *PJb* 28 (1932), 18, n.3.

⁵ Séjourné, loc.cit.

⁶ Thomsen, *ZDPV* 40 (1917), Tafel 1, cf. 77, road xxxvii A.

⁷ G. Dalman, *PJb* 8 (1912), 18; A. Alt, *PJb* 28 (1932), 18, n.1; H.J. Stoebe, *ZDPV* 80 (1964), 27.

⁸ J. Germer-Durand, *Échos d'Orient* 4 (1900/1), 201; H. Vincent, *RB* 10 (1901), 98f.; cf. Thomsen, no. 262.

⁹ C. Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* i (1888), 280; J. Germer-Durand, *ibid.*, 199-200; cf. *CIL* III 14384^{a,b}; Thomsen, no. 263.

The Emmaus - Beit Horon Road

Four milestations were found along this short branch road. Distances were counted from Emmaus - Nicopolis.

Mile II

Three milestones were found about 3 km. north-east of Emmaus, on the east bank of the Ayalon River, on or near their original site, at G.R. 1513.1407. A fourth stone (d) was found some distance to the west near the river bed. We found another two fragments (e, f) a few hundred metres to the east where they had previously been displaced by farmers.¹⁰ Now at Beit Avner, Tel Aviv University.

(a) This is a rectangular slab on which two inscriptions have been incised, one on top of the other (Inscription no. 4 a-b). h. 1.30m., lower width 0.60, upper 0.57. The stone now stands near the Frenkel Gate opposite the Art Gallery at Tel-Aviv University.

(b) The lower part of the base and the upper part of the pillar are missing. Pillar: h. 0.60m., diam. 0.65; base: h. 0.30m., l. 0.70, w. 0.70. There are no traces of an inscription.

(c) This fragment of a pillar clearly belongs to (b): h. 0.80m., diam. 0.65.

(d) The base and lower part of the pillar have been preserved, the latter being elliptical in shape. Base: h. 0.53m., l. 0.65, w. 0.46; pillar: h. 0.50m., diameters 0.65 by 0.50. There are no traces of an inscription.

(e) This is a small fragment of a pillar, h. 0.60m.

(f) This is a small fragment of a pillar, h. 0.40m.

Both (e) and (f) are badly preserved and there were no traces of inscriptions.

Mile IV

(a) The fourth milestation was found about 4 km. north of the second in a cultivated field of the settlement of Mevo Horon (G.R. 1538.1431), not *in situ*. One base with the lower part of the pillar (slanted a little to the right) has been preserved. Base: h. 0.53m., l. 0.60, w. 0.59. Column: h. 0.77, upper diam. 0.56. There is a poorly preserved inscription on the pillar which gives the distance from Nicopolis as 4 miles (Inscription No.5). The stone is now in Kefar

Hashmonai where we studied it with the kind permission of Zohar Bar'am.

(b) Another fragment was discovered at G.R. 15325.14225, in the fields of Mevo Horon. H. 0.55m.; diam. 0.45m. A partly preserved inscription gives the distance from Nicopolis as 4 miles. (Inscription No. 6).¹¹

Mile V

P.-M. Séjourné mentions a milestone which he saw near the village of Beit Sira.¹² This stone must have marked the distance of 5 miles from Nicopolis. It has not been seen by anybody else.

Mile VI

A stone was found near the Roman road, on a low ridge, about 1 km. north-east of Beit Sira (G.R. 1553.1445). It is the upper part of a well-preserved pillar, carefully dressed, h. 0.77, diam. 0.40. We saw no traces of an inscription. If this was a milestone it indicated the distance of 6 miles from Nicopolis. It was seen first by Séjourné and subsequently by Alt. We saw it on the same spot in 1980.¹³

The Emmaus - Jerusalem Road

Five milestations were found along this road. Three of these included an inscribed milestone, but none gives an indication of distance. One of the inscriptions mentions Aelia Capitolina as *caput viae*. We have therefore numbered the milestations from Jerusalem eastward.

Mile XV

Three columns were found at G.R. 1531.1379, about 1.5 km. SE of Yalu, i.e. 3 Roman miles from Emmaus. They were seen lying on a saddle between hills 354 and 377. We are grateful to Eli Shenhav for informing us of the discovery of these milestones.

(a) Column broken in two pieces: h. 1.10m., upper diam. 0.45, lower diam. 0.48.

¹¹ H Hizmi, *Archaeological Newsletter* 95 (1990), 76, with photo 101 (Heb.); *AS Benjamin*, Site No. 120, 111 (Heb.), photo.

¹² P.-M. Séjourné, *RB* 7 (1898), 123.

¹³ Séjourné, loc.cit.; Alt, *PJb* 28 (1932), 18; 30 (1934), 11, n.3; *ZDPV* 69 (1953), 17, n.55.

¹⁰ The location of fragments (e) and (f) was kindly brought to our notice by E. Ayalon.

(b) Column, the upper part of one side of which was smoothed: h. 1.06 m., upper diam. 0.50, lower diam. 0.54.

(c) Lower part of a column: h. 0.84m., lower diam.

Mile XIV

This milestation was first identified by the *SWP* which mentions a milestone 'beside the path on the ascent'.¹⁴ Two decades later Germer-Durand found eight milestones on the same spot, more or less damaged and without inscriptions.¹⁵ Next Mader saw 15 milestones, some of them entirely preserved.¹⁶ Thomsen concluded that the *SWP* and Mader were referring to two different milestations and records them under two separate numbers.¹⁷ In 1971 we counted even more: 18 pieces belonging to at least 10 milestones.¹⁸ Sixteen pieces were scattered over the slope south of the Roman road and two others were lying north of it. The milestation is located near the lower, western end of the spur of Mazad, at G.R. 1536.1364. It indicated the 14th miles from Jerusalem and the 4th from Emmaus. The only inscription is found on milestone (a).

(a) Both base and pillar are entirely preserved. Base: h. 0.70m., l. 0.70, w. 0.60. Pillar: h. 1.80m., upper and lower diam. 0.60. The pillar bears a Latin inscription with the titulature of Maximinus Thrax (Inscription no.3).

(b) The base and column are entirely preserved, but most of it is still buried in the ground. The following measurements could be taken: base: h. 0.70m., w. 0.70. Column: h. 1.85m.

(c) Base and column are entirely preserved. Base: h., l. and w.: 0.55m. Column: h. 1.70, upper and lower diam. 0.55.

(d) The base has been preserved, but the upper part of the column is missing. Base: h. 0.57m., l. 0.80, w.

0.70; column: h. 1.18m., lower diam. 0.70.

(e) Base and column, the upper part of which is missing. Base: h. 0.60 m., l. 0.55, w. 0.55. Column: h. 1.25m, upper diam. 0.50, lower diam. 0.55.

(f) Base and column, the upper part of which is missing. Base: h. 0.59 m., l. 0.65, w. 0.60.

(g) Base and column, the upper part of which is missing. Base: h. 0.53 m., l. 0.53, w. 0.50. Column: h. 0.82m., lower diam. 0.50m.

(h) Base and column, the upper part of which is missing. Base: h. 0.40 m., l. 0.42, w. 0.42. The column is almost square. Extant height: 0.77 m.

(i) Fragment of column, h. 0.75m., almost square in shape. It seems to belong to milestone (h).

(j) Base and lower part of column. Base: h. 0.50m., l. 0.48, w. 0.45. Column: h. 0.48, diam. 0.45.

(k) Base and lower part of column. Base: h. 0.45m., l. 0.48, w. 0.48. Only a few centimetres of the column have been preserved.

(l) Irregularly shaped column without base. h. 1.20m. Lower diam. 0.50 x 0.35m.

(m) Column without base. H. 1.22m., lower and upper diam. 0.46.

(n) Fragment of column: h. 0.75m., diam. 0.40.

(o) Fragment of column: h. 0.70m., diam. 0.40. Fragments (n) and (o) were found on the slope, about four metres apart. They seem to derive from one milestone.

(p) Fragment of column, h. 0.60m., diam. 0.42.

Two plinths were found near the northern edge of the Roman road. One of these, (q) seems to be *in situ*, thus marking the original location of the milestation.

(q) Rectangular plinth, partly buried in the ground. L. 1.55m., w. 1.05. The surface is smooth.

(r) Fragment of plinth broken on two sides. This fragment of worked stone clearly belonged to a plinth. l. 0.77m., w. 0.75.

Mile XIII

Fragment of the lower part of an inscribed

¹⁴ *SWP* iii, p.56 and sheet xvii.

¹⁵ J. Germer-Durand, *Échos d'Orient* 1 (1897-8), 168 and map on p.165.

¹⁶ E. Mader, *ZDPV* 37 (1914), 34-5, n.3.

¹⁷ Thomsen, nos. 274-5.

¹⁸ We are grateful to Ze'ev Meshel for information on the location of this milestation.

milestone, discovered in secondary use as building material at the site of Horvat Mazad.¹⁹ The distance from Mile XIV is one Roman mile, so the original location of this stone cannot have been far from Mazad.

Measurements: h. 0.50m., l. 0.42, w. 0.34.

The stone bears a fragmentary inscription from AD 162 (Inscription no.2).

Mile XII

The base and lower part of a column were found at the northern edge of the Roman road, about 1 km. west of Neve Ilan, at G.R. 1565.1355. The stone was seen first by Germer-Durand,²⁰ noted again by Mader,²¹ and listed by Thomsen.²² It was seen again in the 1970's by Ze'ev Meshel, and by E. Shenhav and A. Dvir, to whom we are grateful for information. However, we were unable to find the stone, apparently because of the extensive afforestation in the area. We therefore give the description and measurements as recorded by E. Shenhav and A. Dvir. Base: h. 0.60m., w. 0.75, l. 0.37. Column: preserved height, 0.55m., diam. (elliptical), 0.65 x 0.35.

Miles XI-X

No milestones were found.

Mile IX

The presence of two milestones, north-east of Abu Ghosh, one of them inscribed and the other anepigraphic, was noted in 1905 by I. Benzinger,²³ J. Germer-Durand,²⁴ and H. Vincent.²⁵ They were seen again by G. Dalman.²⁶ Thomsen erroneously assumed

that they marked the eighth mile from Jerusalem.²⁷ The inscribed milestone was transferred to the courtyard of the Benedictine monastery at Abu Ghosh where we studied it with the kind permission of the Lazarite fathers. The anepigraphic stone is missing.

Fragment of a column, upper and lower parts missing. h. 0.52m., diam. 0.53. Inscription no.1 (Marcus Aurelius, AD 162).

For the Latin inscriptions found at Abu Ghosh, now in the monastery and near the Church of Mary 'Ark of the Covenant' (Deir el-Azhar), see the entry on Abu Ghosh in the Gazetteer.

Between Mile IX and Jerusalem no milestones have been found.

Along the southern branch of the Roman road, from Mazad to Emmaus, east of Deir Aiyub, a broken column was found at G.R. 1529.1371. It bears no inscription, but could be part of a milestone. h. 1.10m., upper diam. 0.48, lower diam. 0.50.

In the early 1980's two broken columns were seen by Y. Shahar, Y. Tepper and their colleagues below Kh. 'Aqed, to the north, in a terrace wall running east-west. Both disappeared and we could not find them. It is not certain that the columns were milestones and suggestions that the terrace represents the line of a Roman road cannot be proved.

¹⁹ M. Fischer, *ZDPV* 103 (1987), 122, n.14.

²⁰ J. Germer-Durand, *Échos d'Orient* 8 (1905), 13.

²¹ Mader, *ZDPV* 37 (1914), 34f., n.3.

²² Thomsen, no.273.

²³ I. Benzinger, *MitNDPV* 1905, 26f.

²⁴ J. Germer-Durand, *Échos d'Orient* 8 (1905), 13.

²⁵ H. Vincent, *RB* 2 [NS] (1905), 97f.; cf. *RB* 4 [NS] (1907), 417f., esp.418.

²⁶ G. Dalman, *PJb* 9 (1913), 35.

²⁷ Thomsen, no.272.

The Milestone Inscriptions

Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, 162

1. (The Emmaus-Jerusalem road, IX; Pl. 97-8)

[Imp(erator) Caesar M(arcus) Aurelius Antoninus
Aug(ustus) Pont(ifex) Max(imus) trib(unicia)
pot(estate) xvi co(n)s(ul) iii Imp(erator) Caesar
L(ucius) Aur(elius) Verus Aug(ustus) trib(unicia)
pot(estate) ii co(n)s(ul) ii
Div]i Antonini fili
Hadriani nepotes divi
T[rai]ani Parthici prone-
[potes] Divi Nervae abnepotes
Col(onia) Ae[l]ia C[apit]olina m[ile] p[ro]p[ri]a IX
ἀπὸ Κολ(ωνίας) Αἰλίας Καπιτωλ(ίνας) 10.
μίλ(ια) θ']

Height of the lettering: 7-8 cm.

I. Benzinger, *MuNDPV* (1905), 26f.; H. Vincent, *RB* 2 (1905), 97f.; *ibid.* 4 (1907), 417; G. Dalman, *PJb* 9 (1913), 35; P. Thomsen, *ZDPV* 40 (1917), No. 272.

For the restoration of the text compare Thomsen, No. 261, which marks the fifth mile on the Aelia - Neapolis road. The indication of distance in Latin and Greek is found there, while on the present fragment only the Latin is attested.

2. (The Emmaus - Jerusalem Road, xiii; Pl. 99-100)

[Imp(erator) Caesar M(arcus) Aurelius Antoninus
Aug(ustus) Pont(ifex) Max(imus) trib(unicia)
pot(estate) xvi co(n)s(ul) iii Imp(erator) Caesar
L(ucius) Aur(elius) Verus Aug(ustus) trib(unicia)
pot(estate) ii co(n)s(ul) ii
Div]i Antonini fili Divi Hadriani nepotes divi
T[rai]ani P[arth]ici
[pronepotes] Divi Nerv[ae]
[abnepotes] ἀπὸ Κολ(ωνίας)
[Αἰλίας Καπιτωλ(ίνας) μίλ(ια) ιγ']

Height of the lettering: 8-9 cm.

There is no space for an indication of distance in Latin, which is attested on inscription no. 1, above of the same year.

For historical comments on the milestones of the year 162, see Isaac, *PEQ* 110 (1978), 49f.; Isaac & Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea* i (1982), 92. As observed there, all milestones of Marcus Aurelius found in Judaea, Arabia and Syria were set up in this year. Moreover, this is by far the most extensive series attested in Judaea, while the name of Marcus is rarely

found on milestones in other parts of the empire. The execution of the programme reflected by these inscription coincides with the start of the Parthian war (winter 161-2).

Maximinus Thrax, (?)235-38

3. (The Emmaus - Jerusalem Road, xiv a; 101-102)

Imperatori
Caesari Gaio
Iulio Vero
Maximino Pio
Felici Augusto
et Gaio Iulio
Vero Maximo
Caesari filio
Maximini
Augusti
invictos pios
felices

The average height of the lettering is 5 cm. Note the switch from dative to accusative in the plural, l. 11-12. This is a common phenomenon on milestone inscriptions in the region.

I. Roll, *Eretz Binyamin* (1972), 272-4.

For historical comments, see Isaac, *PEQ* 110 (1978), 55. As observed there, numerous milestones found in most provinces of the empire, date to Maximinus' reign.²⁸ In Judaea alone they have been found along eight roads. The question remains whether these stones reflect actual work carried out, or an element of propaganda. In either case is it an exceptional phenomenon in a period when few dated milestones were set up. It may also be noted that the names of the emperor and his son were not erased on stones in Judaea, although this is frequently the case in other provinces.²⁹

Constantine and sons, 333-337

4 a-b. (The Emmaus - Beit Horon Road, II a; Pl. 103-104)

Two inscriptions, a later one carved on top of an earlier one.

a) The earlier inscription is in Latin:

D(ominis) [n(ostris)]

²⁸ G.M. Bersanetti, *Studi sull'Imperatore Massimino il Trace* (1940), 23-36.

²⁹ Isaac, *PEQ*, op.cit., 55 and n.28.

Fl(avio) Constan[tino]
P(io) F(elici) invicto A[ug(usto)]
et Constanti[n]o
et Constanti[n]o
et Constant-
e
mi(lia passuum) ii

b) The later inscription is in Greek:

Ἀπὸ Νι-
κοπόλε-
ως
μῖ(λία) β'

6. (The Emmaus-Beit Horon Road, iv b)

Ἀπὸ Νι-
κοπόλε-
ως
μῖ(λία) δ'

These references to 'Nicopolis' obviously post-date the granting of city status to Emmaus, and its re-naming as Nicopolis in the reign of Elagabalus (218-221).³³

I. Roll & E. Ayalon, *PEQ* 118 (1986), 124f.
Lines 2-3 of the Latin inscription give the names and titles of Constantine the Great and lines 4-7 name his three sons. Constantius, the youngest son of Constantine received the title of *Caesar* in 333 and Constantine died in 337, so this brackets the date of the inscription. The bottom line gives the distance of two miles, which, as indicated in the later, Greek inscriptions, is the distance from Emmaus/Nicopolis.

In Judaea one other milestone of the same years, 333-37, was found: on the Caparcotna (Legio) - Diocaesarea (Sepphoris) road.³⁰ In this case the Constantinian inscription is secondary. Many milestones of these years have been found in the provinces of Arabia and Syria.³¹ On the stone discussed here the Greek inscription, being secondary, must be post-Constantinian. Milestone inscriptions which can definitely be assigned to a date later than 337 are rare throughout the Near East.

Below the inscription a palm branch design is incised. This is often interpreted as a symbol of victory and may be connected here with the name of the city, Nicopolis.

Undated inscriptions

5. (The Emmaus-Beit Horon Road, iv a; Pl. 105)

[Ἀπὸ]
[Νικο]πόλεως
μῖ(λία) δ'

³⁰ M. Avi-Yonah, *QDAP* 12 (1946), 97, no.16.

³¹ Thomsen, index., p.93; Goodchild, *Berytus* 9 (1948-9), 127.

³² Photo: *AS Benjamin*, Site No.120, p.111 (Heb.).

³³ See the entry on Emmaus/Nicopolis in the *Gazetteer*, with discussion of the date of the grant of city status.

V
CONCLUSIONS

1

Distances in Literary Sources and along the Roads

A - Distances measured on the ground

1 The Beit Horon Road

Stretch	km.	Roman Miles	cumulative
Jerusalem - Kh. el Hawanit	5.8	4	4
K. el Hawanit - Kh. al Latatin	7.7	5	9
Latatin - Upper Beit Horon	7.2	5	14
Upper - Lower Beit Horon	3	2	16
Lower Beit Horon - Kafr Rut	4.6	3	19
Kafr Rut - Modiin	6.2	4	23
Modiin - Lydda	10.4	7	30
Total	44.9	30	--

2 Jerusalem - Emmaus

Jerusalem - <i>bivium</i>	1.5	1	1
<i>bivium</i> - Motza/Colonia	4.8	3	4
Colonia - Abu Ghosh	7.2	5	9
Abu Ghosh - Yalu	10.4	7	16
Yalu - Emmaus	3.2	2	18
Total	27.1	18	--

3 Emmaus - Lower Beit Horon

Emmaus - Lower Beit Horon	10.8	7	7
---------------------------	------	---	---

4 Emmaus - Lydda

Emmaus - Qubab	4.8	3	3
Qubab - Lydda	13.3	9	12
Total	18.1	12	--

5 Lydda - Jaffa

Lydda - Beit Dagon	8.6	6	6
Beit Dagon - Yazur	3.5	2	8

Conclusions

Yazur - Jaffa	5.8	4	12
Total	17.9	12	--

6 The Secondary Road Jerusalem - Biddu - Beit Liqya - Lydda

Jerusalem - Biddu	13.1	9	9
Biddu - Beit Liqya	10.6	7	16
Beit Liqya - Barfiliya	10.2	7	23
Barfiliya - Lydda	11	7	30
Total	44.9	30	--

B - Literary Sources

Roman Road	actual	T.P.	It.B.¹	Theod.²
Beit Horon Road	30	--	--	--
Jerusalem - Emmaus	18	19	22 ³	--
Emmaus - Lower Beit Horon	7	--	--	--
Emmaus - Lydda	12	12	10	12
Lydda - Jaffa	12	--	--	12

¹ 600, 1-3, CCSL 175, 20.

² 139, 4, CCSL 175, 116.

³ via Beit Horon.

Distances in Literary Sources and along the Roads

The following discussion will compare distances along the roads from Jaffa to Jerusalem as measured on the ground, with those indicated in the ancient literary sources. The former are based on measurements derived from the archaeological remains. When these were absent we attempted to obtain a likely set of measurements from the reconstructed course of the road as dictated by the topography. The milestones are particularly valuable in this context. The literary sources provide information primarily on the distances along the main roads, hardly ever along the secondary roads. The only example relevant to us here is the distance of 5 m. from Jerusalem to Ramatha, given by Theodosius (sixth century).⁴

Ramatha in this case refers to Naby Samwil, and the distance is therefore probably measured along the Jerusalem-Biddu road. Consequently the only secondary road to be mentioned in this connection is the road Lydda - Barfiliya - Beit Liqiya - Biddu - Jerusalem. This reflects its significance as the most important of the secondary roads between Jaffa and Jerusalem.

In the previous pages we have tabulated the results as follows: (A) — Distances measured in the field for each main road. We give the distances for each stretch in kilometres and in Roman miles. The last column shows the cumulative distance from Jerusalem. The distances are listed moving from Jerusalem to the coast in an east-west direction because this reflects the procedure in most literary sources. This is at variance with our practice in Parts I and II, where we describe the roads from west to east. The second table (B) lists the distances as given by three literary sources: the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* (AD 333) and Theodosius' *De situ Terrae Sanctae* (early sixth century).⁵ The information given by other literary sources will be discussed afterwards.

⁴ 62 Theodosius, *de Terra Sancta*, xxiv in T. Tobler and A. Molinier (eds.), *Itinera Hierosolymitana* (1879)71; ed. Geyer, CCSL 175, p.114-125: 'De Hierusalem usque Ramatha, ubi requiescit Samuel, millia quinque'.

⁵The editions used: *Tabula Peutingeriana*, *Codex Vindobonensis* 324 (Graz, 1976) for the Peutinger Table; for the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*: P. Geyer & O. Cuntz, CCSL 175, 1-26; for Theodosius, *ibid.*, 114-125.

The Peutinger Table

The map which we now know as the Peutinger Table generally reflects the Roman road network in this region in its most developed form.⁶ Two items from the Peutinger Table require comment here. The map marks the cities of Jaffa (Ioppe) and Lydda (Luddis), but these places are not linked by a road. It does show a road making for the east from Emmaus (amavante), which veers sharply to the north and again eastwards, to Gophna. We have no information that such a road ever existed: it is not mentioned in any ancient source, there are no remains on the ground, and the topography excludes convenient direct travel between these two places. Furthermore, below the name 'amavante' we see the number xviii, which corresponds almost exactly with the distance between Emmaus and Jerusalem, 18 m. A possible explanation is that our copy of the map has conflated four separate roads to Jerusalem, namely (1) Emmaus through Abu Ghosh, (2) Emmaus - Lower Beit Horon (3) the eastern stretch of the Beit Horon road, (4) Antipatris - Gophna (not discussed in the present study).

The Itinerarium Burdigalense (AD 333)

This pilgrim's itinerary gives the distance from Jerusalem to Nicopolis as 22 m. This is almost certainly the route through Beit Horon. The actual distance from Jerusalem to Lower Beit Horon is 16 m. The distance from there to Emmaus is another 7 m., which give a total of 23 m. This almost corresponds to the figure in the Itinerary. The discrepancy is greater in the case of the Emmaus - Lydda road, which is given as 10 m. while the actual distance is 12 m.

Theodosius, de situ Terrae Sanctae (early sixth cent.)

Theodosius' account of Holy Land sites includes distances for the Jerusalem - Emmaus - Jaffa road which are entirely accurate: Jerusalem - Silo (i.e. Abu Ghosh / Kiriath-jearim, see Gazetteer) 9 m. and Silo - Emmaus 9, which gives a total of 18 m. Emmaus - Lydda: 12 m. and Lydda - Jaffa, again 12.

Eusebius' Onomasticon

The aim of Eusebius' (c. 260 - c.340) work was to clarify Biblical topography in the geographical terms of his own age. The *Onomasticon* is essentially a list of Biblical place names and their identification

⁶ The date of the Peutinger Table is a complex matter. It contains material which definitely belongs to the second century, but also reflects elements belonging to later periods.

with third-century places, primarily cities and villages, but also other prominent features such as mountains, plains, deserts and rivers. It is therefore an invaluable source of information on third-century Palestine. The date of composition is not quite certain and falls between the late third century and the first three decades of the fourth.⁷ Eusebius usually tries to locate a site or settlement in relationship to a public road.⁸ Thus several of the settlements along the Jaffa - Jerusalem roads are listed in this work.⁹ Most of the relevant information in the *Onomasticon* is correct, but there are some inaccuracies and some discrepancies between the Greek text and Jerome's Latin translation.

Eusebius mentions two sites along the Beit Horon road. He mentions Gibeon as a village seven miles from Aelia on the road to Nicopolis.¹⁰ This is the correct distance. The *Onomasticon* also mentions Beit Horon: 'There are two villages, approximately twelve miles from Aelia on the road to Nicopolis, one of which is named Upper Beth-horon, built by Solomon, and the other Lower Beth-horon which is assigned to the Levites.'¹¹ The real distances are 14 m. for Upper Beit Horon, and 16 m. for the lower village.

Between Emmaus and Jerusalem the *Onomasticon* has two items worth citing. As observed in the Gazetteer, the identification of Kiriath-jearim with a site at or near modern Abu Ghosh is based on Eusebius, *On.* 114, 23-7 (Klostermann), where

⁷ Klostermann's introduction, pp. ix-x, argues for a date around 330. See now T. Barnes, *JTS* n.s. 26 (1975), 412-5, arguing that it was written no later than 300, perhaps even earlier; also: *ibid.*, *Constantine and Eusebius* (1981), 110f. Note, however, that the opening sentence of the work gives Eusebius the title of bishop of Caesarea in Palaestina, which he became ca. 315.

⁸ See the analysis by M. Noth, *ZDPV* 66 (1943), 32-63.

⁹ All references are also found in the Gazetteer.

¹⁰ 48, 9: Βηρώθ. ὑπὸ τὴν Γαβαών. καὶ ἔστι νῦν κώμη πλησίον Αἰλίας κατιόντων ἐπὶ Νικόπολιν ἀπὸ ζ' σημείων. The identification of Beeroth, which is incorrect, is irrelevant for our purposes. Jerome places Beeroth further to the north and therefore locates it seven miles along the road to Neapolis.

¹¹ Eusebius, *On.* 46.22; Jerome 47.18ff. (Klostermann).

Kariathiareim is described as a village 9 miles from Aelia on the road to Lydda.¹² In 48, 22-4, however, he places it at ten miles from Aelia. As observed in the Gazetteer, Eusebius identifies Aijalon with 'Alous, a village near Nicopolis.¹³ Jerome, however, adds: 'But the Hebrews state that Aialon is a village near Nicopolis, two miles on the road to Aelia.'¹⁴ Jerome thus correctly identified the site two miles north of Emmaus/Nicopolis.

The *Onomasticon* mentions a few sites between Emmaus and Jaffa which we have listed in the Gazetteer because they are connected with the road-system, although they are a little distance removed from the roads. Eusebius, however, does not describe these as places along roads, apparently because, in his view, they were too far removed from the highway. The *Onomasticon* 66,21 reports that Gazer 'is now called Gazara, a village belonging to Nicopolis, four miles to the north'.¹⁵ The distance is approximately right, but Gezer is WNW rather than north of Emmaus. That does not mean Eusebius did not know where it was, for he calls a place north of another if it was anywhere between WNW and ENE. Eusebius places Bethannaba at 4 m. east of Diospolis, while Jerome makes it 8. This discrepancy is the result of disagreement about the identification of Biblical Nob (see Gazetteer, s.v. Kh. Beit Annaba).

Other Authors

Josephus does not often give distances relevant for the present study. He twice gives the distance from Jerusalem to Gibeon, in both cases incorrectly, namely as 40 stades / 5 m.¹⁶ and as 50 stades / 6 m.¹⁷ The actual distance is 7 m. (as given by

¹² Καριαθιαρεῖμ ἡ καὶ Καριαθβάαλ ἡ καὶ πόλις Ιαρεῖμ. μία τῶν Γαβαωνιτῶν, φυλῆς Ιούδα, μεταξύ Αἰλίας καὶ Διοσπόλεως ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ κειμένη ἀπὸ σημείων θ'.

¹³ Eusebius, *On.* 30.26 f. (Klostermann): Αἰλῶν ... κώμη δὲ ἐστὶν 'Αλοῦς περὶ Νικόπολιν.

¹⁴ *On.* 19,16 (Klostermann): 'Porro Hebraei affirmant Aialon vicum esse iuxta Nicopolim in secundo lapide pergentibus Aeliam.'

¹⁵ Γαζέρ ... καὶ νῦν καλεῖται Γαζάρα κώμη Νικοπόλεως ἀπέχουσα σημείοις δ' ἐν βορείοις. Lat.: 'Nunc Gazara villa dicitur in quarto milliaro Nicopoleos contra septentionem.'

¹⁶ *Ant.* vii 11,7 (283). The biblical source does not give a distance.

¹⁷ *BJ* ii 19,1 (516).

Table 1 - Sites: Types and Chronology
(See General Map of Sites, Fig. No. 32)

Sites	M.R.	T Y P E										P E R I O D S										NO
		S	C E	G	A	M O	C H	M S	R S	W	M I	P	H E	H R	R	B	E I	C	M A	O		
ABU FUREJ	1519.1464	x										x		x		x	x				1	
ABU GHOSH	1603.1350						x	x	x		x	x			x	x	x	x	x		2	
ABU LEIMUN	1662.1371	x			x							x	x		x	x					3	
ADASA I, NORTH	1704.1393				x								x	x		x	x		x		4	
ADASA II, WEST	1656.1396	x													x	x					5	
ADASA III, SOUTH	1728.1371	x					x									x					6	
AJANJUL.KH	1523.1421	x										x	x								7	
AQED.KH.	1507.1384	x			x			x				x	x	x	x						8	
AQUABELLA	1620.1338	x			x			x											x		9	
ATRASH.KH.	1674.1336							x		x			x	x		x					10	
BAB AL WAD	1523.1358	x							x		x					x	x		x	x	11	
BADD ABU- MUAMAR, KH.	1645.1403				x							x	x		x	x	x				12	
BALLUT EL HALIS	1691.1394	x											x			x	x				13	
BARFILIYA	1490.1464	x			x											x	x			x	14	
BATN AL URSH	1589.1364							x		x		x	x								15	
BEIT ANNABA	1451.1454	x										x		x		x	x	x			16	
BEIT DAGAN	1339.1563	x		x			x									x	x				17	
BEIT DUQUU	1624.1407	x										x	x		x	x	x				18	
BEIT HORON.L.	1582.1446	x		x	x		x				x	x	x	x	x	x				x	19	

Sites	M.R.	T Y P E										P E R I O D S										No
		S	C E	G	A	M O	C H	M S	R S	W	M I	P	H E	H R	R	B	E I	C	M A	O		
BEIT HORON,U.	1608.1436	x			x		x					x	x		x	x				x	20	
BEIT IKSA	1672.1360	x										x	x			x				x	21	
BEIT INAN	1605.1400			x	x										x	x					22	
BEIT KIKI	1689.1353			x	x					x					x	x				x	23	
BEIT LIQYA	1565.1418	x																		x	24	
BEIT MIZZA	1652.1349	x		x	x							x	x	x	x	x	x			x	25	
BEIT NAQUBA	1619.1345	x		x											x	x					26	
BEIT NUBA	1531.1400	x		x			x						x			x		x		x	27	
BEIT SIRA	1543.1439	x														x	x				28	
BEIT THUL	1571.1366	x		x	x											x					29	
BEIT TULMA	1663.1345	x																x			30	
BEITUNIA KH. EL	1657.1378	x			x							x	x			x					31	
BIDDU	1643.1377	x										x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	32	
BIR AL BIYAR	1684.1402	x										x		x	x	x	x				32A	
BIRIYA, KH. AL	1473.1501	x										x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	33	
BIR MEZZA	1534.1386	x		x	x							x				x					34	
BIR NABALA	1686.1394	x			x					x			x			x		x			35	
BIYAR, KH. AL,	1691.1374	x		x					x	x		x	x		x	x		x		x	36	
BUREJ, KH.AL	1584.1409	x														x		x			36A	
BURJ. AL-	1520.1455	x			x							x	x		x	x	x	x		x	37	
BURJ, KH. AL-	1678.1367			x						x		x	x		x	x	x		x		38	
BURJET TUT	1682.1334	x			x											x		x			39	

Sites	M.R.	T Y P E										P E R I O D S										NO
		S	C	G	A	M	C	M	R	W	M	P	H	H	R	B	E	C	M	O		
DALIYA	1538.1464	x											x	x		x					40	
DANTYAL	1433.1488			x										x							41	
DEIR ABU SALAMA	1461.1507	x			x											x	x		x		42	
DEIR AIYUB	1519.1372	x									x			x			x			x	43	
DEIR /AZHAR	1600.1353				x		x	x		x		x		x	x	x	x				44	
DEIR/SH.	1600.1358	x		x	x						x				x	x					45	
DEIRYA	1563.1445	x														x					46	
DHAR HASSAN	1561.1355										x				x						47	
DHUHEIRIYE	1440.1504	x														x					48	
DUREHIMA	1626.1418									x						x					49	
DUREISH	1549.1445				x											x	x				50	
EIN ABDALLAH	1652.1422				x											x	x	x			51	
EN B. SURIQ	1647.1369				x		x						x			x	x		x		52	
EMMAUS	1491.1384	x		x	x		x	x					x	x	x	x	x	x	x		53	
FUL, TELL EL	1720.1376	x						x				x	x	x							54	
GEZER	1425.1407	x											x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	55	
GIBEON	1676.1396	x											x	x	x	x	x	x		x	56	
GINZO	1450.1486	x		x									x				x	x	x	x	57	
GIV'AT RAM	1693.1326			x		x	x	x							x	x	x	x			58	
GIV'AT ZE'EV	1652.1413	x											x			x	x	x			59	
HABS, EL	1478.1480	x		x													x				60	
HADITHA, EL	1456.1523	x		x	x		x	x				x	x	x		x	x				61	
HALAYIL	1536.1455	x		x	x											x	x				62	

Sites	M.R.	T Y P E										P E R I O D S										NO
		S	C E	G	A	M O	C H	M S	R S	W	M I	P	H E	H R	R	B	E I	C	M A	O		
HAMID, TELL	1399.1458	x										x	x	x	x	x				x	63	
HAMMAM, EL	1497.1488	x			x								x	x		x					64	
HARMUSH	1476.1507	x		x	x		x							x		x	x				65	
HAWANIT	1717.1373	x													x	x	x				66	
HEIT ZEIDAN	1532.1378	x		x												x					67	
HIBA, KH.	1504.1395	x		x	x											x					68	
HIRSHA, KH.	1547.1372	x		x	x											x					69	
HITAN SNUBAR	1564.1391				x											x					70	
HITAN EL WAR	1584.1383	x			x											x					71	
HURIYA, KH.	1540.1460	x			x		x									x	x	x	x		72	
IBN AWAD	1556.1450	x														x					73	
ID, KH.	1674.1403	x		x	x								x		x	x	x				74	
JAFFA	1265.1623	x										x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	75	
JIFNA, KH.	1603.1418	x											x		x	x					76	
JUBEIA, KH. AL	1640.1330	x			x											x					77	
JUDEIRA, KH.	1588.1416	x		x			x						x	x	x	x	x	x			78	
KABBARA	1623.1341	?		x									U	N	K	N	O	W	N		79	
KAFIRA, KH. AL	1602.1375	x										x									80	
KAFR RASIYA, KH.	1542.1411	x			x										x	x	x	x			81	
KAFR RUT	1540.1457	x	x	x	x									x		x	x	x	x		82	
KEFRATA, KH.	1461.1430	x														x			x		83	

Sites	M.R.	T Y P E										P E R I O D S										NO
		S	C E	G	A	M O	C H	M S	R S	W	M I	P	H E	H R	R	B	E I	C	M A	O		
KUNAYISA	1461.1440	x		x	x							x		x		x	x	x		x	84	
KUREIKUR	1535.1475	x		x	x								x	x		x	x				85	
KURUM, KH.	1680.1365			x								x				x					86	
LATATIN	1660.1417	x										x			x	x	x				87	
LATRUN	1484.1376							x				x	x					x		x	88	
LIFTA	1687.1337																	x		x	89	
LOUZA, KH	1658.1359	x		x	x											x		x		x	90	
LYDDA	1408.1515	x										x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	91	
MANNA, KH.	1558.1446				x		x							x		x					92	
MAQTA	1536.1364									x	x				x	x					93	
MASKAH KH. AL	1600.1399	x																x			94	
MAZAD, H	1552.1359			x					x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x		95	
MEVO MODIN	1485.1490				x	x	x									x					96	
MIDIYA	1506.1492	x														x					97	
MODIN / KUBUR AL YAHUD	1498.1484			x											x	x					98	
MOTZA	1658.1336	x		x	x	x	x					x		x	x	x	x	x			99	
NABI SAMWIL	1672.1377			x	x	x	x					x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	100	
NAMMAT AL H.	1545.1453	x					x						x	x	x	x	x				101	
NIJAM, KH.	1625.1372									x		x	x			x				x	102	
QANBUTA, KH. AL	1512.1423	x														x	x				103	
QASTAL	1637.1336									x			U	N	K	N	O	W	N		104	
QUBAB, AL	1456.1416	x														x	x	x		x	105	

Sites	M.R.	T Y P E										P E R I O D S										NO
		S	C	G	A	M	C	M	R	W	M	P	H	H	R	B	E	C	M	A	O	
QUBEIBEH, KH. AL	1450.1504			x										x		x						106
QUBEIBA, AL	1628.1385	x			x		x						x	x	x	x	x	x	x			107
RAMLE	1378.1490	x															x	x	x	x		108
RAS AL ALAWI	1669.1340	x		x	x										x	x						109
RAS AL MUGHAR, KH	1619.1387	x											x									110
RAS, ER I	1507.1489			x								x	x	x	x	x	x					111
RAS, ER II	1713.1360	x			x							x	x	x	x	x						112
RUJUM ABU HASHABE	1632.1419									x		x			x							113
SAPHIRIYA	136.156	x														x						114
SARIS	1571.1338	x														x						115
SHA'AB SIYAG	1680.1407	x		x	x							x	x	x	x	x						116
SHA'ALABIM	1488.1422	x										x		x		x	x					117
SH. GHARBAWI	1496.1491	x		x	x											x	x					118
SHEIKH SULEIMAN	1520.1418	x											x	x		x			x	x		119
SHILTA	1520.1472				x								x	x		x		x				120
TARSI, HHA	1491.1486	x										x				x						121
TILLIYA, KH	169.135							x				x			x	x						122
TIRA, KH. AT	1618.1418	x																		x	x	123
UMM RUJUM	1506.1455									x												124
YALU	1524.1386	x		x	x			x														125
YAZUR	1301.1509						x	x				x				x	x	x			x	126
ZABBUD, KH.	1579.1351									x												127

TABLE I: LEGEND

TYPES

S	SETTLEMENTS (ALL SIZES, FROM FARMSTEADS TO CITIES)
CE	CEMETERY
G	GRAVES
A	AGRICULTURAL INSTALLATIONS
MO	MONASTERY
CH	CHURCH, CHAPEL
MS	MILITARY SITE
RS	ROADSTATION
W	WATCHTOWER
MI	MILESTONE

CHRONOLOGY

P	PRE-HELLENISTIC (BRONZE AGE, IRON AGE, PERSIAN PERIOD)
HE	HELLENISTIC (3RD-1ST CENTURY BC)
HR	HERODIAN (1ST CENTURY BC- 1ST CENTURY AD)
R	ROMAN (2ND-4TH CENTURY)
B	BYZANTINE (-7TH CENTURY)
EI	EARLY ISLAMIC (-11 CENT.)
C	CRUSADER (12TH-13TH CENT.)
MA	MAMELUKE (14TH-16TH CENT.)
O	OTTOMAN (-19TH CENT.)

KEY TO PERIOD MAPS

- ⑫ NUMBERED SITE IN TABLE
- SITE WITH REMAINS FROM PERIOD OF MAP
- SITE WITHOUT REMAINS FROM PERIOD OF MAP
- FORTIFIED TOWN
- ANCIENT HIGHWAY (ATTESTED)
- - - ANCIENT HIGHWAY (PRESUMED)
- - - ANCIENT ROAD
- WADI, NAHAL

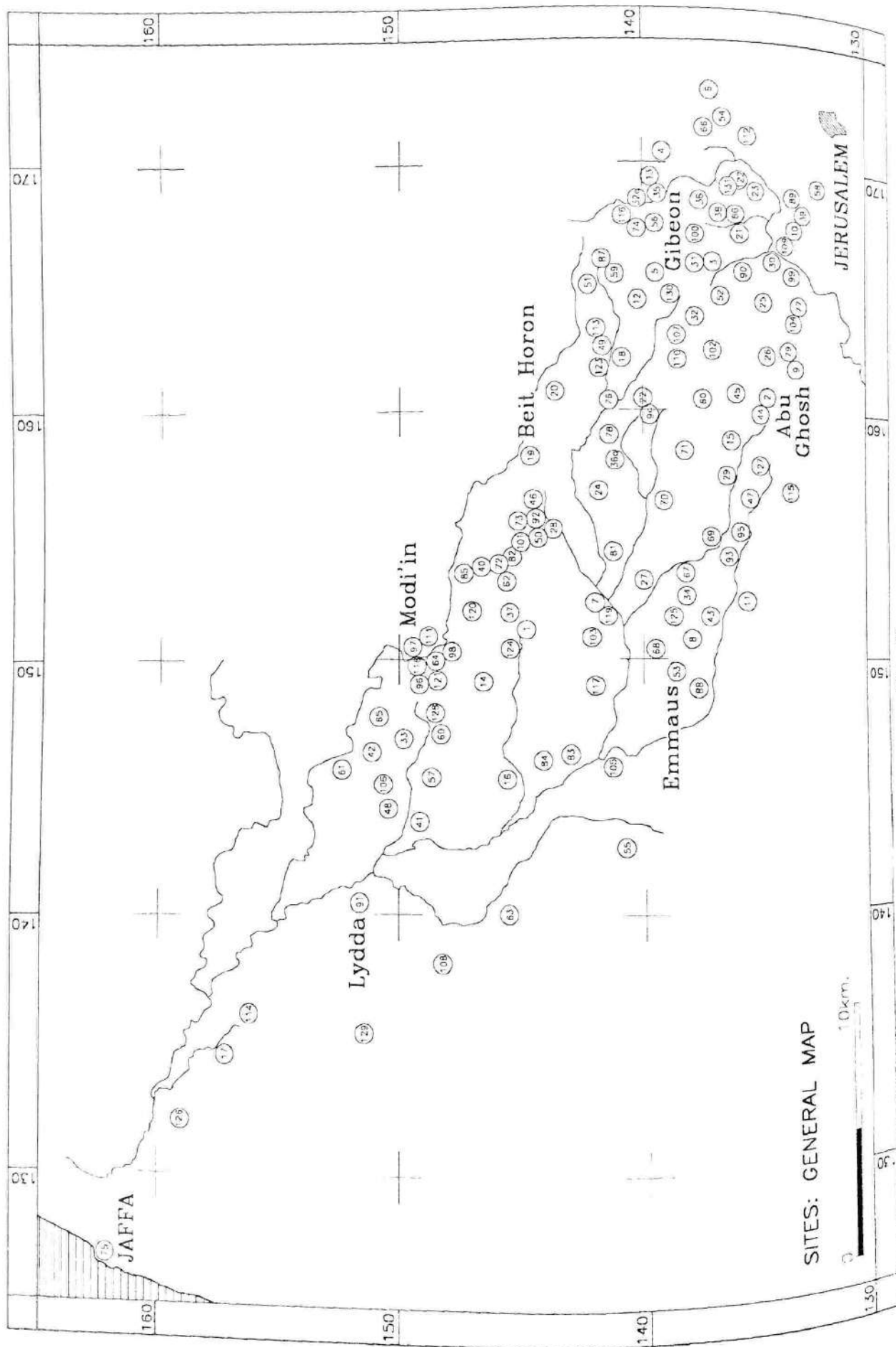
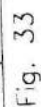


Fig. 32



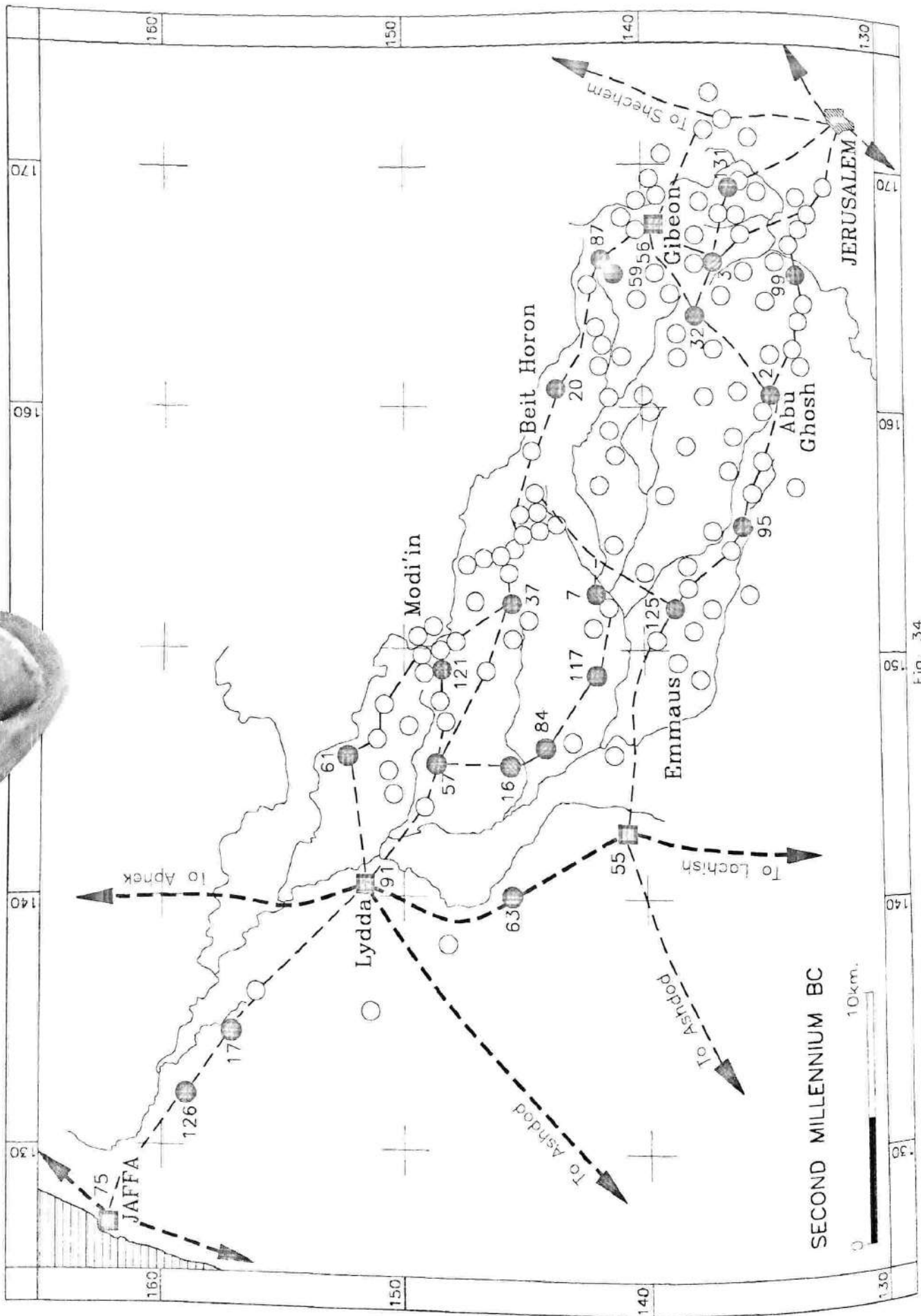
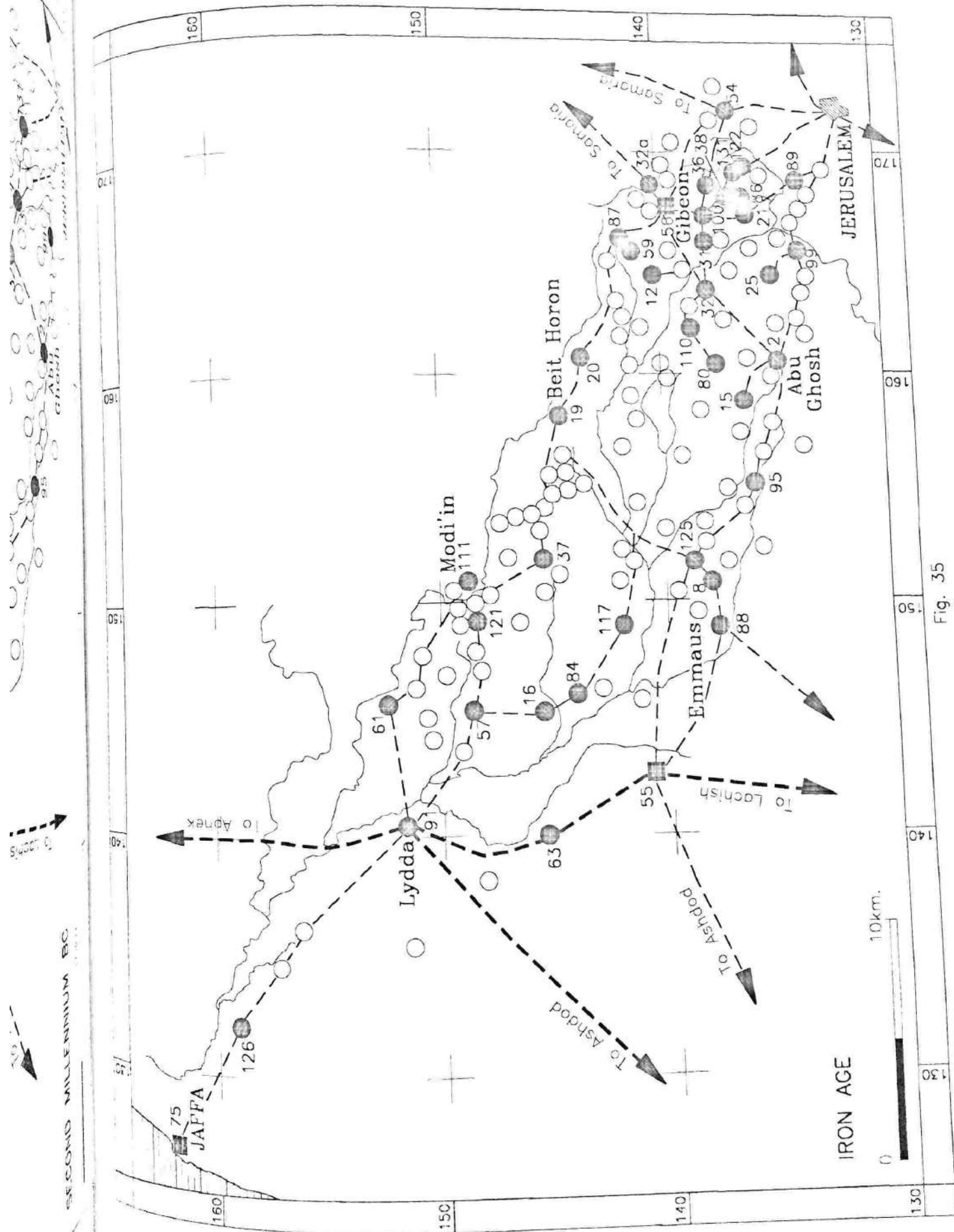


Fig. 34



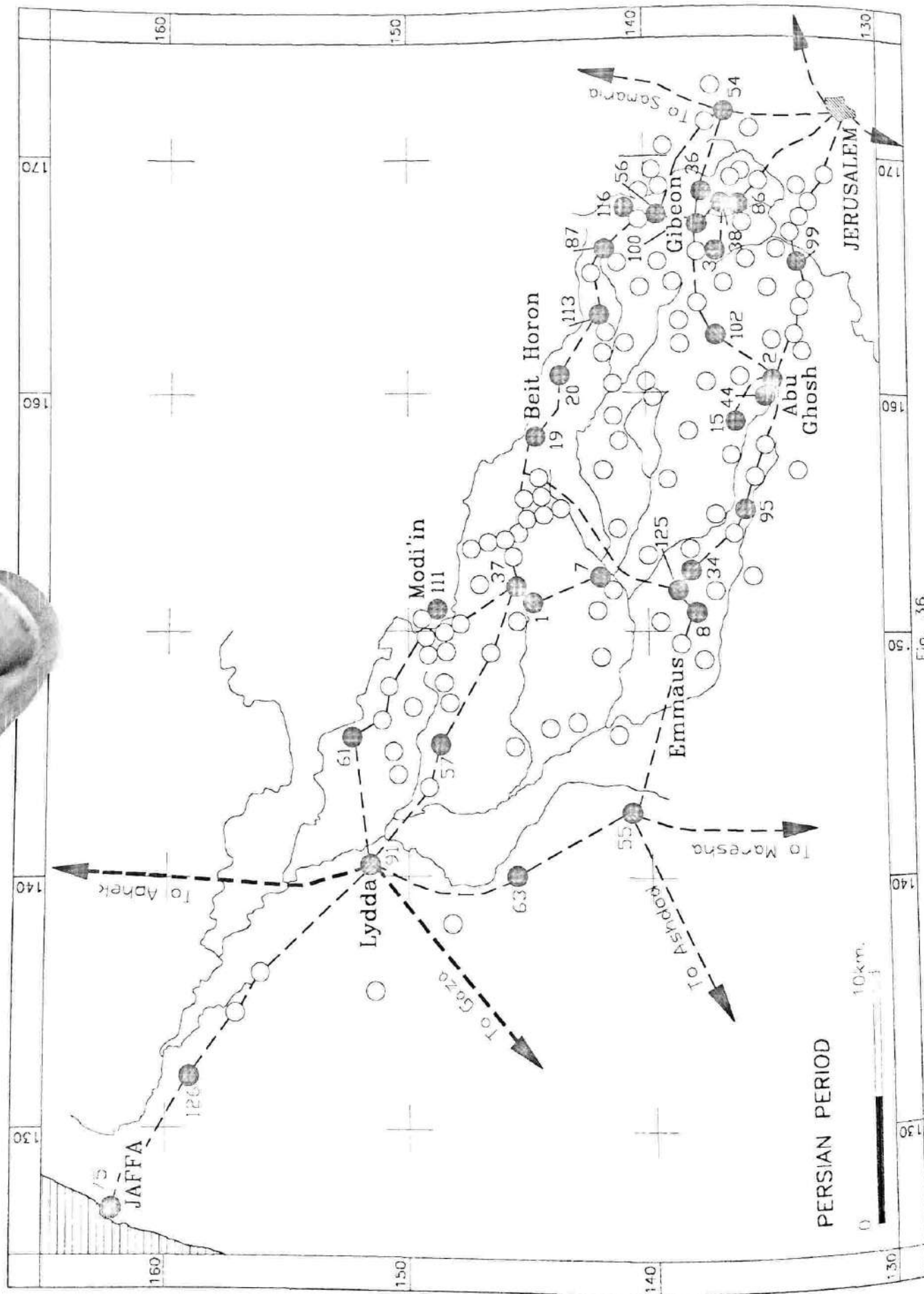
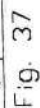
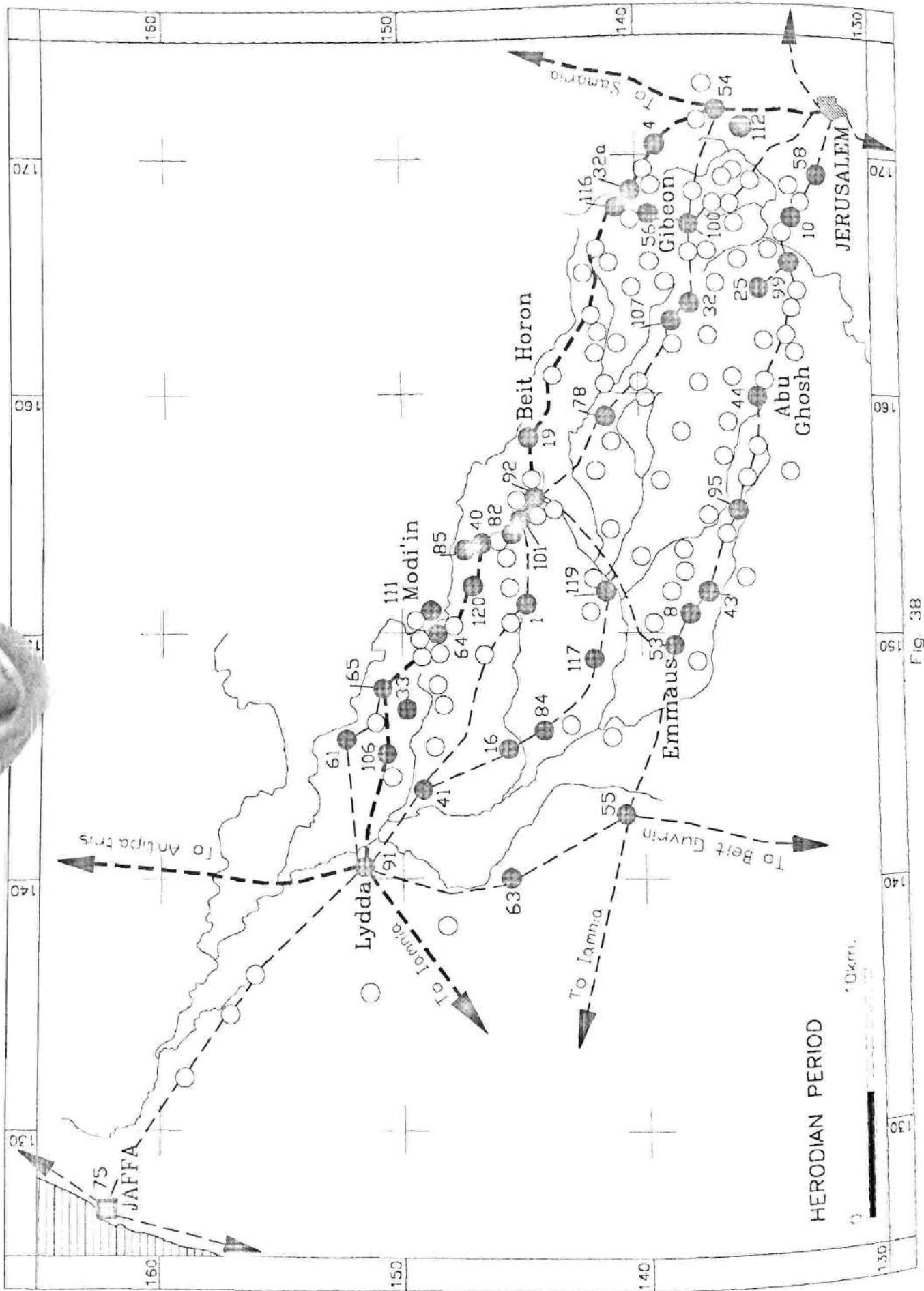


Fig. 36





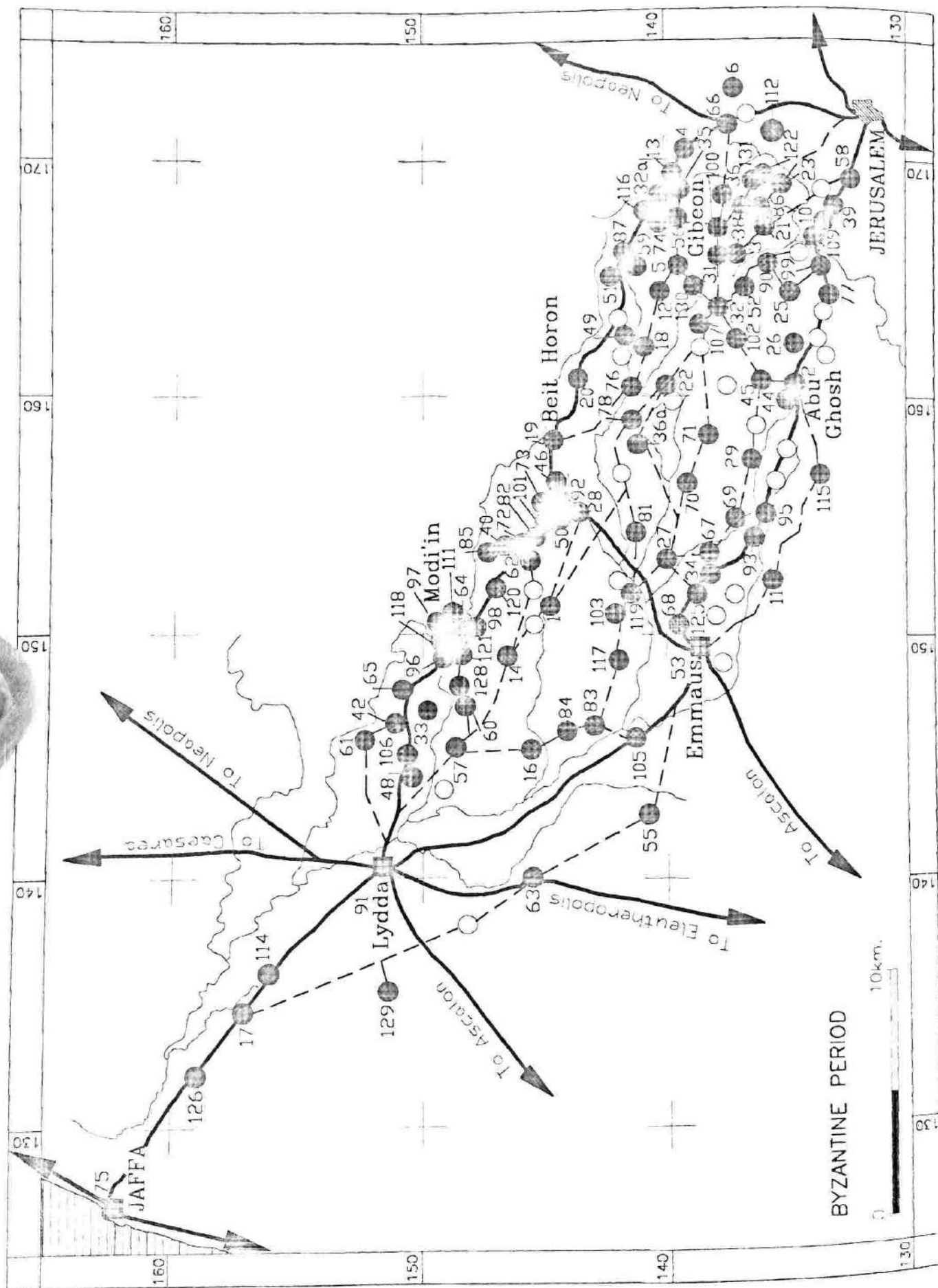


Fig. 40

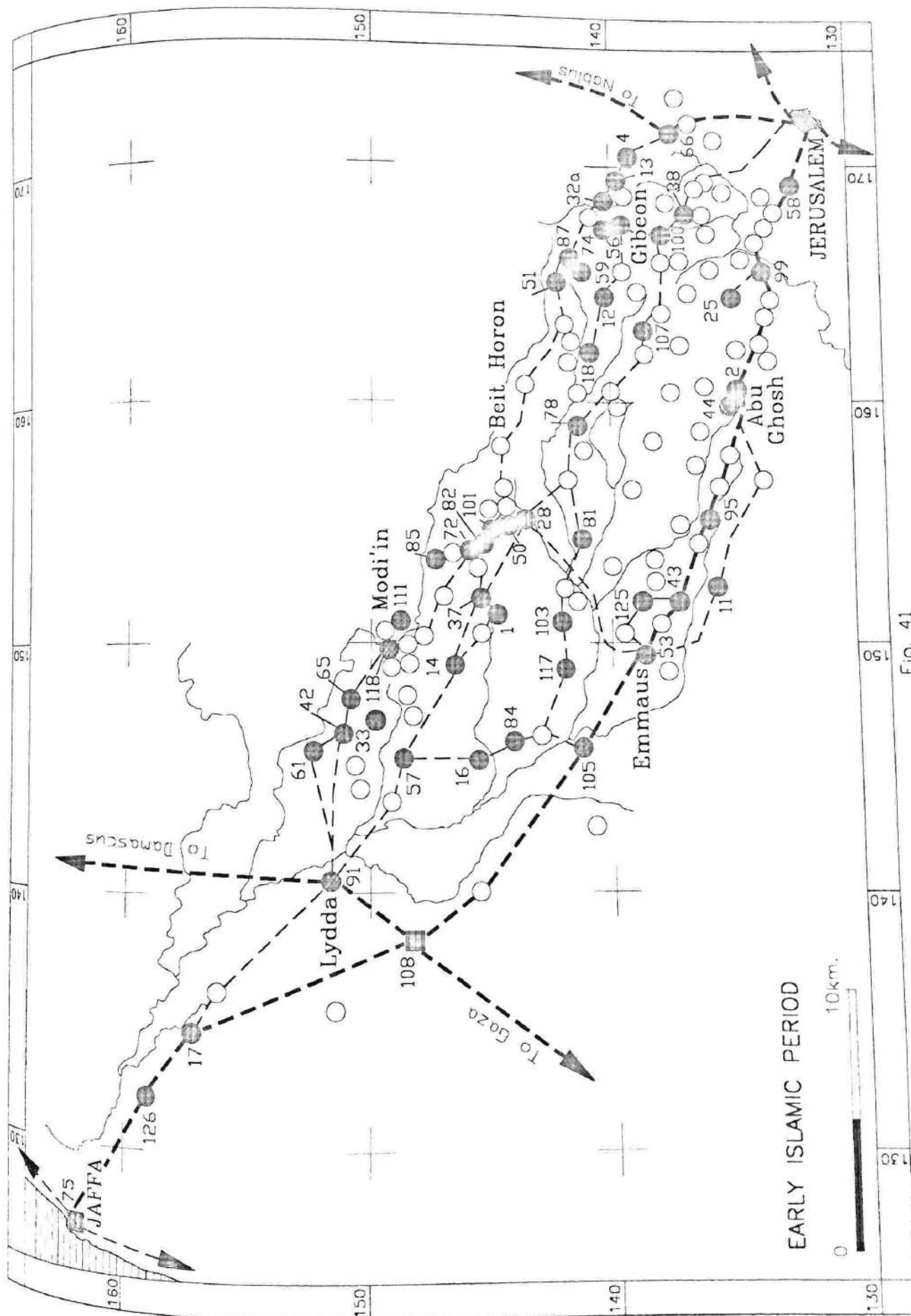


Fig. 41

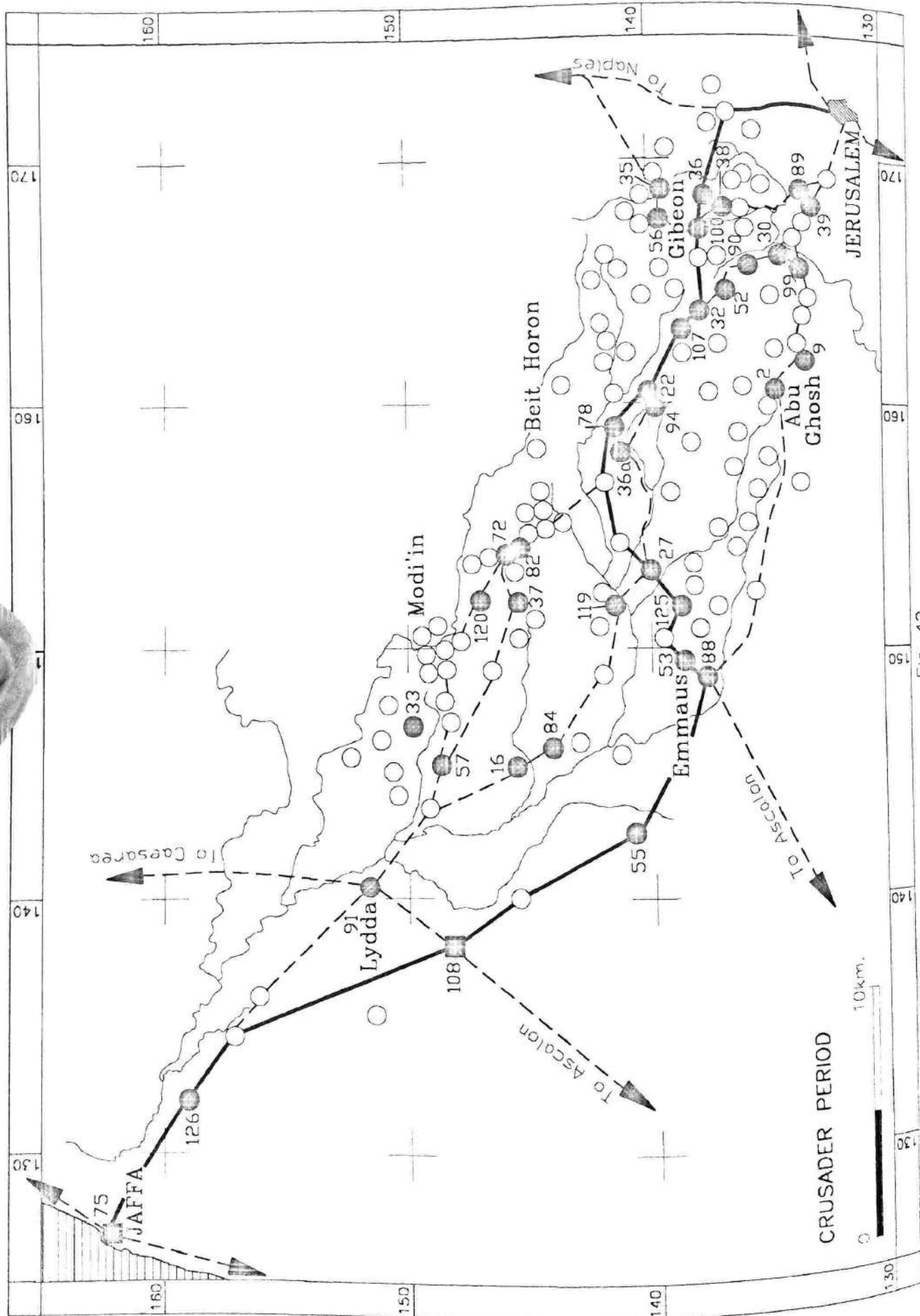


Fig. 42

Abu Ghosh

CRUSADER PERIOD

CRUSADER PERIOD

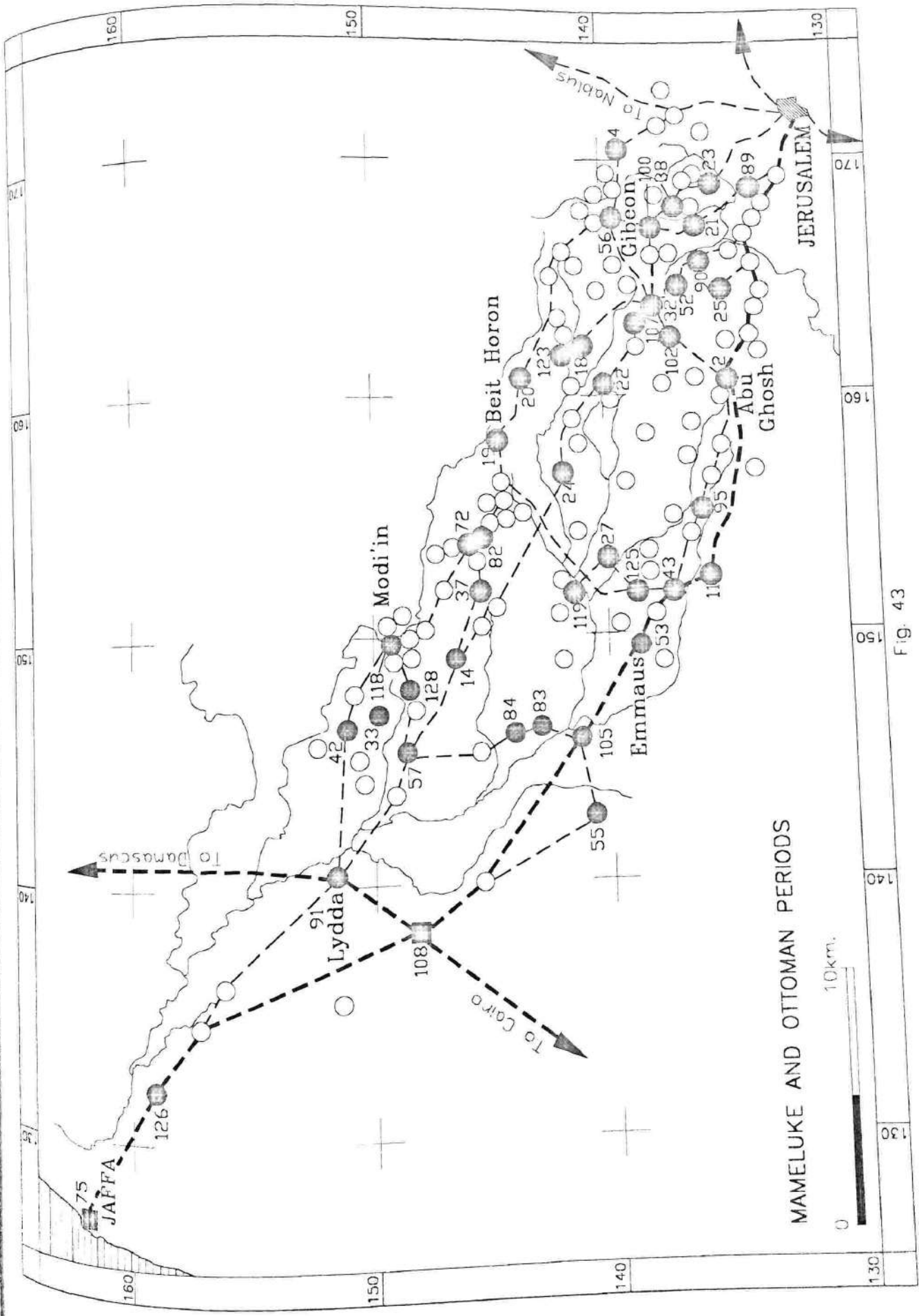


Fig. 43

SETTLEMENTS AND ROADS

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first gives, in tabulated form, the basic data about most of the sites listed in the Gazetteer (Part III), grouping them according to type and periods of occupation. The numbers in the right-hand column are found on the maps (figs. 32-43). This is followed by a series of maps which show the distribution of sites in subsequent periods and two pages of graphs. The second section will, relatively briefly, analyze the available information about settlement along the roads from the Early Bronze Age till the Herodian period. We will use information about the occupation of these sites for a sketch of the development of the road-system between Jaffa and Jerusalem. It must be emphasized that this description has to remain hypothetical, our assumption being that the occupation of sites along a road known to have existed in a later period, probably indicates that the road coexisted with those sites. We have not made a study in depth of the problems of transportation in the pre-hellenistic periods or of the road system. Our suggestions in this section are based on the best available information about the occupation of sites in these periods and our own detailed knowledge of the Roman road-system in the area, as set forth in Part II. At the same time, however, it must be observed that Roman road-building throughout the country obliterated or obscured the remains of earlier activity. Under present circumstances it is hardly possible to make a detailed investigation of the pre-Roman road-system in the field. The third part of this chapter discusses the geographical distribution of occupied sites from the Herodian to the Early Islamic periods, which concern this study more directly, in greater detail. We combine the references to literary sources given in Part I with the evidence from the roads (Part II) and the archaeological material from the sites, given in the Gazetteer, in an attempt to say something about the connection between the existence of the roads and the development of settlements along them. The chapter is then concluded with brief comments on the distribution of sites along the roads in the later periods.

Sites: Types and Chronology

A total of 133 sites are listed in Table 1. The data on which the classification is based may be found in the Gazetteer. The numbers in the column on the right refer to the maps. Tentative attributions, marked with a '?' are not counted in the totals, nor are milestones considered here.

Distribution in time

A total of 9 periods are distinguished in the table. Table 2 gives the total for each period. It should be understood that these figures represent totals, as

indicated on the table, with each site counted every time it appears in the various periods.

Table 2: *Distribution in Time*

P	HE	HR	R	
49	51	40	53	
B	EI	C	MA	O
111	50	34	23	34

Types of Sites

We distinguish between three groups of sites. Since each site may have had several different characteristics at various periods, or more than one function at any given period, the totals given below add up to more than the 133 sites surveyed or excavated:

Totals for all periods together:

(a) Civilian settlements (S). These include units of civilian occupation of all sizes, from farmsteads to cities. Our survey could not distinguish between the extent of occupation in various periods and it would therefore be futile to give measurements which merely reflect the total surface of settlement throughout the history of occupation of a site. Total: 97

(b) Military sites, watchtowers, road-stations (M). Total: 23

(c) Other remains (O), such as single graves, cemeteries, agricultural installations, churches and monasteries. When these are not found in association with a civilian settlement or a military structure they may have belonged to either category. Here we do not correlate types and chronology. Thus, for instance, we have not included in this group Giv'at Ram although it was a monastery in the Byzantine period, because it is already included in group (b) as a military site in the Roman period. Total: 18

As we have made clear throughout this book, main roads connected main cities, so that the urban centres played a fundamental role in the development of the road network and its traffic in any given region. Thus the logical starting point for discussion of the road network that emerged and developed between Jaffa and Jerusalem is the beginning of urbanization in Canaan, that is, the Early Bronze Age.¹

¹ P. de Miroschedji (ed.), *L'Urbanization de la Palestine à l'âge du Bronze ancien. Actes du Colloque*

*From the Early Bronze Age till Herod**Third Millennium B.C.*

The process of urbanisation in Canaan can be said to have begun in the EB I period (ca. 3300-3000 B.C.), the so-called 'proto-urban' stage, when a series of unwalled villages slowly grew up along the eastern limits of the Shephelah and on some of the low hills further to the east. During the EB II period (3000-2700 B.C.) most of these villages grew in size and presumably also in population, gradually becoming towns and even walled cities.² Lydda (91), Tell Hamid (63) and Gezer (55) seem to have been located along a road that connected two of the largest EB cities of the coastal plain, Aphek in the north and Tell Erani in the south. Its route was more or less along the border line between the Shephelah and the low hills of Samaria and Judea. This would have been part of Canaan's main north-south thoroughfare and, even more than that, part of the international highway which ultimately connected Mesopotamia with Egypt. Traffic along this route was mostly by foot or by means of beasts of burden. However, there is evidence that in Mesopotamia during the third millennium B.C., two- and four-wheeled vehicles with solid tripartite disk wheels were extensively used.³ There is, therefore, a possibility that some of these vehicles reached Canaan on their way along the international highway to Egypt. However, there is, so far, no evidence for the use of any vehicles along the local roads at this early stage.

From the towns located along this part of the international highway several roads seem to have run eastwards, towards the inland settlements of the low hills and the mountain regions. The use of these roads can be assumed from the archaeological evidence from the sites located along them. Their course can then be

reconstructed by following the best topographical alignment. It is important, however, to keep in mind that our reconstruction of the road-system in various pre-Roman periods is tentative only. Where ancient sites were clearly occupied in a given period, we assume that the roads, known to have linked these in later periods, were already in use in earlier periods. For most of the roads thus inferred there is no conclusive evidence of their use in these periods. The evidence from literary sources which demonstrates the use of some main roads is discussed in Part I.

Third millennium roads (Fig. 33)

1. Lydda (91) - el-Haditha (61) via the low range of Modi'in, possibly to Tell Dalit⁴ and er-Ras (111).
2. Lydda (91) - Gimzo (57) - al-Burj (37).
3. Gezer (55) - Yalu (125) and the upper Ayalon valley.

All these joined to form:

4. The Beit Horon ascent (19,20) - Gibeon (56) - Jerusalem

If this reconstruction is correct, the Beit Horon road was then the earliest east-west route in the area between Jaffa and Jerusalem, and the only one in use during the third millennium B.C. There is no evidence for the existence of any substantial EB settlements along the Mediterranean sea shore at this period, so there would have been no other roads to the coast. As already observed in the introductory remarks to this chapter, there are no remains of early pre-Roman road-construction along this line or along any other road in the area, or if there were, we cannot identify them or distinguish them from the large-scale Roman work carried out. Our suggestions in this chapter are based on a combination of literary sources, archaeological evidence from occupied sites, and information about roads known to have been used in the Roman and Byzantine periods.

The towns and settlements of the area under discussion gradually declined during the EB III period (2700-2200 B.C.), apparently because of political and social, rather than ecological changes.⁵ During the EB IV period, (2200-2000 B.C.: sometimes called MB I or the Intermediate Bronze Age), the entire urban system of Canaan collapsed and actually disappeared. This was

d'Emmaus (20-24 Octobre 1986) (BAR-IS 527)(1989); R. Amiram and R. Gophna, 'Urban Canaan in the Early Bronze II and III periods - emergence and structure', on 109-116; M. Broshi and R. Gophna, 'The Settlements and Population of Palestine during the Early Bronze Age II-III', *BASOR* 253 (1984), 41-53.

² R. Gophna, 'From Village to Town in the Lod Valley: A Case Study', in P. de Miroschedji, (ed.), *L'urbanization*, 97-107. I. Finkelstein and R. Gophna, 'Settlement, Demographic and Economic Patterns in the Highlands of Palestine in the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Periods and the Beginning of Urbanism', *BASOR* 289 (1993), 1-22.

³ M.A. Littauer and J.H. Crouwel, *Wheeled Vehicles and Ridden Animals of the Ancient Near East* (1979), 15-47.

⁴ A large EB site, located north of Nahal Natuf and therefore not discussed in our Gazetteer. See: R. Gophna, s.v. 'Dalit, Tel', *NEAEHL* 1 (1993), 318-320.

⁵ R. Gophna in *L'urbanization*, 107.

an age marked by massive relocation of the population from urban and rural centres to a more pastoral nomadic existence.⁶ The roads of the area, which previously connected settlements now deteriorated into local paths.

Second Millenium B.C.

With the advent of the Middle Bronze II period (2000-1550 B.C.), sedentary life gradually returned to Canaan. This was followed by a steady growth in population and intensive farming, the development of new technologies and skills, and the expansion of manufacture and trade. Consequently, villages gradually developed into towns and many of them even into large fortified urban centres.⁷ Some of the main cities also included temples, palaces and other public structures built according to a central plan, which would seem to indicate complex social units.⁸ These cities were governed by local rulers who not only controlled large rural areas around them but also had contact with Egypt, as we can see from several execration texts of the Twelfth Dynasty.⁹ The traffic between the urban centres of Canaan seems to have followed the same pace of development as the cities themselves. The usual means of transport were beasts of burden, mainly donkeys, as we learn from the famous funerary wall painting at Beni Hasan in Egypt.¹⁰ But the MB II period also witnessed the appearance of an entirely new item - the chariot: a light horse-drawn battle vehicle with two spoked wheels.¹¹ The chariot gradually became the main mobile element of every military force in the Near East, the local rulers of

Canaan included.¹²

Let us turn now to the specific area between Jaffa and Jerusalem. During the MB II period, Jaffa (75) developed into a substantial fortified coastal city, as we can learn from a segment of its rampart which has been uncovered. Thus it probably served as an outlet for the maritime trade of the cities and settlements inland. This implies the existence of appropriate connecting roads.

Middle Bronze Age roads (Fig.34)

1. Jaffa (75) - Yazur (126) - Beit Dagan (17) - Lydda (91) - el-Haditha (61) - al-Burj (37) - Upper Beit Horon (20) - Latatin¹³ (87) - Gibeon (56) - Jerusalem.
2. Jaffa - Lydda [see previous road] - Gezer (55) - Yalu (125) - Mazad (95) - Abu Ghosh (2) - Motza (99) - Jerusalem.

A track may already have existed linking Yalu with Beit Horon. Alternative routes, between these two may have run as follows:

3. Lydda (91) - Gimzo (57) - Beit Annaba (16) - Kunaiyisa (84) - Kh. Ajanjul (7).¹⁴
4. Lydda (91) - H. Hatarsi (57) - al-Burj (37) - Upper Beit Horon (20).

On the plateau Gibeon (56) may have been linked with other sites occupied in this period: Abu Leimun (3), group of 3 MB II sites (a)¹⁵, Abu Ghosh (2), Biddu (32), second group of 3 MB II sites (b)¹⁶. Jerusalem could be reached from any of these sites.

At Lydda (91) itself no MB II remains have yet been found, but the city is mentioned in one of the execration texts, indicating that it was regarded by Middle Kingdom Egypt as an important stronghold along the international highway. The other important

⁶ W.G. Dever, 'The Collapse of the Urban Early Bronze Age in Palestine - Towards a Systemic Analysis', in: P. de Miroschedji, (ed.) *L'urbanization*, 225-246; S. Richard, 'The Early Bronze Age: The Rise and Collapse of Urbanism', *BA* 50 (1987), 22-43.

⁷ M. Broshi and R. Gophna, 'Middle Bronze Age II Palestine: Its Settlements and Population', *BASOR* 261 (1986), 73-90.

⁸ W.G. Dever, 'The Middle Bronze Age: The Zenith of the Urban Canaanite Era', *BA* 50 (1987), 149-177, esp. 165.

⁹ J.M. Weinstein, 'Egyptian Relations with Palestine in the Middle Kingdom', *BASOR* 217 (1975), 1-16.

¹⁰ *ANEP* fig. 3.

¹¹ Littauer and Crouwel, *Wheeled vehicles*, 48-72. See also: P.R.S. Moorey, 'The Emergence of the Light Horse-drawn Chariot in the Near-East, c. 2000-1500 B.C.', *World Archaeology* 18 (1986), 196-215

¹² Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands I*, (1963), 74-75.

¹³ *AS Benjamin* p. 149, site No. 158; 81% of the pottery found at this site belongs to the Middle Bronze Age.

¹⁴ Our reasons for assuming that this road existed in this period are given below, under 'Iron Age Roads', no. 5.

¹⁵ *AS Benjamin* sites (from north to south) 308, 314, 310.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, sites 301, 290 and 278.

stronghold along the highway was Gezer (55). The impressive remains of its city-wall and towers indicate that this was one of the main fortified urban centres of Canaan. Egypt of the Middle Kingdom had an interest in Canaan¹⁷ and the international highway clearly played a central role in the conveyance of armies and envoys, as well as caravans and traders. Jerusalem was clearly one of the main fortified urban centres of inland Canaan¹⁸, as attested by the remains of its MB II fortifications. It was also the main destination for the roads that ascended from the coast to the central Judean plateau. On the other hand, the fragmentary data from MB II found so far at Gibeon (56) do not permit any definite conclusion as to the extent and nature of this site. However, it was clearly more important than the surrounding settlements, and we may therefore assume that Gibeon served as their urban centre.

With the advent of the New Kingdom in Egypt, the early Pharaohs started a policy of systematic destruction of the urban centres of Canaan, with the clear intention of defeating and eliminating the foreign rulers usually called the 'Hyksos'.¹⁹ Consequently all the MB II cities and most of the other settlements in the region between Jaffa and Jerusalem were destroyed, and Thutmose III re-established Egyptian rule over Canaan, following the victory of his chariotry over the Canaanite alliance at the battle of Megiddo.²⁰ He certainly used the international highway as his main route of advance, communication and supply. This same route was also used extensively by later kings of the New Kingdom, during their numerous military

expeditions into Syria.²¹ These endless campaigns clearly had a negative impact on the settlement pattern of Canaan, on its population and on its material culture in general.²² The settlements of Late Bronze Age Canaan decreased dramatically in size and number, and the roads that connected them must have shared the same fate.

Egyptian rule over Canaan also had a direct impact on the specific area between Jaffa and Jerusalem. The fortified city of Jaffa (75) was under direct Egyptian rule and served as an Egyptian military base. Moreover, in Egyptian documents of the time Jaffa is described as a large city with an arsenal and workshops for repairing chariots.²³ On the other hand, Lydda (91), after its conquest by Thutmose III, ceases to be mentioned as a city for a long time. The two other fortified urban centres of the area were Gezer (55) and Jerusalem. These two cities were ruled by local kings who, according to the Amarna letters, were constantly quarrelling and, at the same time, heavily dependent on Egypt (see Part I). Only a few rural settlements from the Late Bronze Age have been identified so far in the area under discussion. This may indicate that security outside the walled cities was almost non-existent.²⁴ The roads were even more insecure, as we may learn from the Amarna letter quoted in Part I. In fact, there seems to have been only one road that served the east-west traffic of the region during the Late Bronze Age.²⁵

Late Bronze Age Road (Fig.34)

1. Jaffa (75) - Gezer (55) - Yalu (125) - al-Burj (37) - Lower Beit Horon (19) - Jerusalem.

This road via Beit Horon would seem to have been used by Saul when he smote the Philistines 'from Michmash to Aijalon' (1 Sam. 14, 31, cf. Part I), and

¹⁷ Weinstein, op.cit.

¹⁸ I. Finkelstein, 'The Sociopolitical Organization of the Central Hill Country in the Second Millennium B.C.E.', in *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990: Supplement* (1993), 110-131. N. Na'aman 'Canaanite Jerusalem and its Central Hill Country Neighbours in the second Millennium B.C.E.', *Ugarit-Forschungen* 24 (1992), 275-291 minimizes the size and role of Jerusalem in this period.

¹⁹ J.M. Weinstein, 'The Egyptian Empire in Palestine: A Reassessment', *BASOR* 241 (1981), 1-28. See also: W.G. Dever, 'Relations between Syria-Palestine and Egypt in the "Hyksos" period', in J.N. Tubb (ed), *Palestine in the Bronze and Iron Age: Essays in Honor of Olga Tufnell* (1985), 69-87.

²⁰ Aharoni *The Land of the Bible*, 152 ff. See also: W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Agyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (1971), 126 ff. For the LB chariotry: Littauer and Crouwel, *Wheeled Vehicles*, 73 ff.; Yadin, *The Art of Warfare*, 86-90.

²¹ Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible*, 166ff.; Helck op. cit., 133ff.

²² S. Bunimovitz, 'The Study of Complex Societies: The Material Culture of Late Bronze Age Canaan as a Case Study', in *Biblical Archaeology Today*, 1990 (1993), 443-451. See also: I. Finkelstein, *ibid.*, 119 and 122 f.

²³ S. Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents* (1984), 121.

²⁴ M. Seif, 'Reconsidering the Egyptian Empire in Palestine during the Amarna Period', *PEQ* 104 (1972), 123-133.

²⁵ At Lower Beit Horon: found by A. Mazar and recorded in *AS Benjamin* p. 43 site 22. For al-Burj: Broshi and Gophna, *BASOR* 261 (1986) p. 82, s.v. 'Titara'.

again by David, when he defeated the same enemy 'from Geva until you come to Gezer', (2 Sam. 5, 25). This has already been discussed in Part I, but it should be added here that the relief of Medinet Habu, which depicts the land battle of Rameses III against the 'Sea Peoples', shows that the latter used light chariots with spoked wheels drawn by two horses for battle, and heavy carts with disk wheels drawn by four oxen for the transportation of their families and goods.²⁶ The Philistines, who were one of the 'Sea Peoples', may possibly have used such vehicles along the roads discussed here²⁷.

Iron Age

During the Iron Age, the Central Hill country witnessed fundamental changes. This region emerged as the heart of the Land that became Israel, following the path of gradual transition from nomadism to a sedentary way of life, and from tribal organization to monarchy.²⁸ This was followed by a substantial increase in population, which settled in a growing number of villages and towns in the mountain area surrounding Jerusalem, and on the low hills to the west.²⁹ The whole process was due, first and foremost, to an advance in agricultural technology, the use of terracing. Large scale construction of agricultural terraces, which gradually covered many of the hill and mountain slopes in Judaea, took place in Iron Age II and enabled the exploitation and settlement of much

larger and more isolated areas than before.³⁰ On the other hand, Jerusalem became the largest urban centre of the region as well as the political capital and the religious centre, first, of the whole Land of Israel under the United Monarchy and, later on, of the Kingdom of Judah (see above, introduction to Part II).

These historical developments are likely to have had a considerable impact on the country's roads. Firstly, there was now a monarchy which had an interest in communications and the means of creating and maintaining roads. Roads were needed to maintain political and military control over the country as well as to connect settlements. The chariotry now more than ever, became the main military striking force of the kingdom.³¹ Consequently, roads and roadmaking are attested in many instances in the Bible.³²

Secondly, it appears that we can now identify - apparently for the first time in the country's history - not just a series of roads, but a road network that connected the main cities of the kingdom with each other as well as with the surrounding settlements. Evidently the network was centred on the capital, Jerusalem.³³

³⁰ Z. Ron 'Agricultural Terraces in the Judean Mountains', *IEJ* 16 (1966), 33-49; 111-122. For a specific example G. Edelstein and M. Kislev, 'Mevasseret Yerushalaim: The Ancient Settlement and its Agricultural Terraces', *BA* 44 (1981), 53-56.

³¹ Yadin, *The Art of Warfare*, vol. II, 284-7; 297-302.

³² D.A. Dorsey, *The Roads and Highways of Ancient Israel* (1991), Appendix on 'Road Terminology in the Old Testament', 211-243.

³³ F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, ii (1938), 207-231; M. Avi Yonah, s.v. 'derekh, drakhim', *Encyclopedia Miqra'it*, 2 (1954) cols. 711-716 (in Hebrew, with a good physical map attached to it); Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography* (1979), 43-63; M. du Buit, s.v. 'Routes aux temps bibliques' in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, fasc. 58 (1984), cols. 1011-1052. The only comprehensive study published so far on the subject is that of D. A. Dorsey, op. cit., which is a revised version of a PhD thesis submitted in 1981. This study is based on a full discussion of the Biblical sources and on an extensive list of Iron Age sites. Its main weakness lies in the small regard paid by the author to the topography of each specific road. Thus, many of the suggested roads which seem to be logical due to a series of sites, could hardly exist, if at all, because of the difficult nature of the terrain (see below). In this matter, the

²⁶ Yadin, *The Art of Warfare*, 336-7; see also Littauer and Crowell, *Wheeled Vehicles*, 74.

²⁷ Small bronze wheels that belonged to a cultic wheeled stand, and a bronze linch pin that belonged to a chariot were uncovered during recent excavations at Tel Miqne, which is identified with the Philistine city of Ekron. See: T. Dothan, 'Bronze Wheels from Tel Miqne-Ekron', *EI* 23 (1992), 148-154; id., 'A linch pin of a Philistine chariot from Tel Miqne', *EI* 24 (1993), 62-67 (both in Hebrew).

²⁸ New approaches to this subject may be found, for instance, in the contributions to Session II of the Second International Congress of Biblical Archaeology held at Jerusalem: *Biblical Archaeology Today*, 1990 (1993), 34 ff. and in I. Finkelstein and N. Na'aman (eds.), *From Nomadism to Monarchy* (1994).

²⁹ On the population, see: M. Broshi and I. Finkelstein, 'Population of Palestine in Iron Age II', *BASOR* 287 (1992), 47-60; On the process of settlement: I. Finkelstein, *The Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement* (1988), especially 56 ff.

Let us now turn to the area between Jaffa and Jerusalem. From the times of King Solomon, when cedar trees from Lebanon were shipped to the sea of Jaffa and carried thence to Jerusalem by land for the building of the First Temple (2 Chron. 2, 15) Jaffa (75) became the main outlet of the capital to the Mediterranean Sea.

The ascent of Beit Horon, which extends between Lower (19) and Upper Beit Horon (20), was clearly the major route for ascending from Jaffa and the coastal plain towards the Judean mountains and Jerusalem. Because of their strategic importance, both sites of Beit Horon were built by King Solomon 'as fortified cities with walls and barred gates' (2 Chron. 8,5).

Iron Age roads (Fig.35)

1. Lydda (91) - el-Haditha (61) - er-Ras I (111) - al-Burj (37) - ascent of Beit Horon (19,20) - Gibeon (56)
2. Jaffa (75) - Yazur (126) - Lydda (91) - Gezer (55) - Yalu (125) - Mazad (95) - Abu Ghosh (2) - Motza (99) - Jerusalem.

The ascent of Beit Horon could be reached also from Yalu and along an alternative road from Lydda:

3. Yalu (125) - ascent of Beit Horon (19,20) - Jerusalem.
4. Lydda (91) - Gimzo (57) - al-Burj (37) - ascent of Beit Horon (19,20) - Gibeon (56).
5. Gimzu (57) - Beit Annaba (16) - Kunaiyisa (84) - Sha'alabim (117) - Yalu (125). There is no concrete evidence for the existence of this road in the Iron Age, but it is a reasonable assumption that it existed, since it clearly existed in the Byzantine period and afterwards, while the sites along it were also occupied in the Middle Bronze Age and the Iron Age.

Gibeon on the plateau was a central site, surrounded by many smaller ones. If we focus on the links with Jerusalem, the following three routes may be suggested:

6. Gibeon (56) - Nabi Samwil (100) - Kh. al-Biyar (36) - Tel el Ful (54) - watershed road - Jerusalem.
7. Gibeon (56) - Nabi Samwil (100) - Kh. al-Burj (38) - anonymous site (131) - Kh. Tililiya (122) - Jerusalem.

work of D. Baly, *The Geography of the Bible* (1974), in which the roads are extensively discussed and illustrated in many maps in close relation to the terrain, is much more instructive.

8. Gibeon (56) - Nabi Samwil (100) - Beit Iksha (21) - Lifa (89) - Jerusalem

The last two roads (7 and 8) would have had to cross the deep river bed of Nahal Soreq, which would have made them less attractive for traffic.

Several local roads may also have functioned at this period:

9. Gibeon (56) - Nabi Samwil (100) - Biddu (32) - Abu Ghosh (2)
10. Biddu (32) - Kh. Badd Abu Muamar (12)
11. Biddu (32) - Kh. al-Kafira (80)³⁴
12. Abu Ghosh (2) - Battin al-Ursh (15)
13. Motza (99) - Beit Mizza (25).³⁵

In 586 B.C. the Kingdom of Judah was conquered by the Babylonians. Its capital Jerusalem was besieged and stormed and the Solomonic Temple destroyed. This was followed by a massive deportation to Mesopotamia, mainly of members of Judah's ruling class, its warriors and craftsmen. However, not all the local Jewish population suffered dislocation and exile. Archaeological evidence uncovered at several sites north and west of Jerusalem, such as Tell el Ful (54) and Gibeon (56), indicate that life continued there under Babylonian rule without interruption.³⁶ Recent studies have shown that even in Jerusalem the destruction was only partial and there appears to have been a certain continuity of settlement there, mainly on

³⁴ Our reconstruction of these roads differs considerably from the one proposed by Dorsey, *Roads and Highways*. Dorsey suggests a road extending from Gibeon to Ayalon via Kh. al-Kafira (his road J4 at 185-186), which is difficult to accept because of the steep fall of the ground west of Kh. al-Kafira, and the rough terrain created by the winding riverbed of Nahal Kafira further on. Another road suggested by Dorsey, as running from Abu Ghosh to Beit Shemesh via Kesalon (his road J5, at 186-188) implies the crossing of several deep riverbeds which are so steep as to make his proposition practically impossible.

³⁵ It should be noted that we have no evidence, in this period or any other, of the existence of a road between Motza and Beit Mizze. The site of Beit Mizze, however, is isolated and not naturally connected with any other settlement in the area. It is accessible only from Motza.

³⁶ E. Stern, *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period 538-332 B.C.* (1982), 32f, 229f.

the Western Hill.³⁷ If so, we may presume that life also continued along the roads that connected the surviving settlements of Judah with Jerusalem.

Persian Period (fig.36)

Half a century later (in 538 B.C.), Judah was incorporated into the Achaemenid Kingdom, which extended 'from India to Ethiopia' (Esther 1,1). Jerusalem once again became the religious centre and capital of the Jewish people.³⁸ Jaffa also appears to have returned to its historical role as the main outlet to the sea for Judah in general and for Jerusalem in particular. During the building of the Second Temple, in the time of Zerubbabel, cedar trees from Lebanon were again shipped to the sea of Jaffa and then carried by land to Jerusalem (Ezra 3,7), as in the days of King Solomon.

Roads in the Persian period (Fig.36)

1. Jaffa (75) - Yazur (126) - Lydda (91)

From Lydda there were the two main roads to Jerusalem:

2. Lydda (91) - el-Haditha (61) - al-Burj (37) - the ascent of Beit Horon (19, 20) - Rujum Abu Hashabe (113) - Latain (87) - Gibeon (56) - Tell el Ful (54) - Jerusalem
3. Lydda (91) - Tell Hamid (63) - Gezer (55) - Kh. Aqed (8) - Yalu (125) - Bir Mizza (34) - Mazad (95) - Abu Ghosh (2) - Motza (99) - Jerusalem.

An alternative for the latter (no.3) was the following:

4. Lydda (91) - Gimzo (57) - al Burj (37) - Abu Fureij (1) - Kh. Ajanjul (7) - Yalu (125) - Jerusalem

These routes crossed the area that belonged to three districts of the Persian province of Judah: the district of Gezer, which included the north-western Shephelah, the district of Mizpah which covered more or less the traditional territory of Benjamin, and the district of Jerusalem which included the capital's surrounding area.³⁹ The recent survey of the hill country of Benjamin has shown that this area witnessed the beginning of a process of slow but steady resettlement

and growth in population,⁴⁰ a process in which the Jews that returned from exile seem to have played a major rôle. The same process has also been observed in the region of low hills, further west.⁴¹ It is likely that the roads which led to the re-established settlements also witnessed a similar revival.

On the plateau we may assume that there were a number of roads, linking the settlements known to have been occupied in the Persian period.

5. Gibeon (56) - Nabi Samwil (100) - Kh. al-Burj (38) - Kh. Kurum (86) - Jerusalem.
6. Nabi Samwil (100) - Tell el Ful (54) - Jerusalem
7. Abu Ghosh (2) - Kh. Nijam (102) - Nabi Samwil (100)

It should be observed again that we have no specific knowledge that these roads were indeed used in the Persian period. We can only observe that these roads existed afterwards and that the sites were settled in the Persian period. A few sentences should be added on the international highway. It is known that the Persians established an elaborate network of communications which facilitated effective rule over their vast empire.⁴² The best known example in this case is the famous Royal Road from Susa to Sardis, which included relays at intervals of a day's journey serving the messengers of the Royal Mail.⁴³ There may also have been an extension of this road through Syria and Palestine into Egypt.⁴⁴ If so, it would presumably have followed the traditional line of the international highway via Aphek, Lydda and Gaza. From Lydda, Jerusalem could be reached by one of the roads described above.

⁴⁰ *AS Benjamin* pp.27; 138

⁴¹ *ibid.*, 100.

⁴² M. Mallowan in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 2. (1985), pp.402-404.

⁴³ Herodotus 5,52-53; 8,98. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 8,6,17-18. Remains of an ancient road have been recorded recently in the Persepolis plain, which could belong to the Royal Road; see W.M. Sumner, *AJA* 90 (1986), p. 17.

⁴⁴ A.T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*. (1948), 301; D.F. Graf, *Transeuphratène* 6 (1993), 149-68.

³⁷ See, for example: G. Barkay, 'The Redefining of Archaeological Periods: Does the Date 588/586 B.C.E. indeed Mark the End of Iron Age Culture?' *Biblical Archaeology Today*, 1990 (1993), 106-109.

³⁸ Hillel Geva, *NEAEHL* 2 (1993), pp. 717f.

³⁹ E. Stern *Material Culture*, p.249

The Hellenistic and Hasmonaean Periods

General Remarks

During the last four decades of the fourth century BC large armies marched through Palestine on many occasions first under the command of Alexander of Macedon and then under that of the Diadochi. These expeditions, however, passed through the coastal plain and did not affect the interior of the country.⁴⁵ At that time the coast-road followed the old route along the western foothills, passing Pegae,⁴⁶ Lydda and Iamnia. The roads to Jerusalem are not mentioned in connection with these campaigns. Sources referring to the third century, when Judaea was under Ptolemaic rule, do not refer to the roads to Jerusalem either.⁴⁷ Although this period saw some urban development in the area as a whole and the beginning of an increase in settlement in the low hills and mountain regions of Judaea,⁴⁸ we cannot discern any developments immediately connected with the road system.

In the second century, after the conquest of Judaea by the Seleucids, all this changed. Jerusalem gradually emerged as a large and populous fortified city, famous for its temple, and the religious and political centre of the Jews in Judaea.⁴⁹ The mountain region of Judaea in general, and Jerusalem in particular thus became the focus of many campaigns in the wars between the Seleucids and the Hasmonaeanes (see Part I and Part III, Appendix III). These campaigns followed the course of the main roads that converged on Jerusalem in Hellenistic times, as shown by the written sources discussed above in Part I. The

character of the buildings uncovered at Mazad and Kh. al Atrash, and the numismatic and ceramic evidence from the Hasmonaean period, found in a stratified context, show these structures to have been in use as road installations at the time. This is of importance for our study, for it is the earliest archaeological evidence which shows that the authorities took concrete steps to assure the safety of travellers along the Emmaus - Jerusalem road, one of the main routes from the coastal plain to Jerusalem.

The total number of occupied sites is slightly larger than in the previous period. Some of the sites were connected with the organization of traffic to Jerusalem, notably at the times of Jewish pilgrimage to the city (see Part I). By integrating the data from the written sources with the archaeological evidence from surveyed and excavated sites of the area between Jaffa and Jerusalem, the following picture emerges concerning the traffic-lines of the region in Hellenistic and Hasmonaean times.

Hasmonaean and Hellenistic roads (Fig.37)

1. Lydda (91) - el-Haditha (61) - el-Hammam (64) - Shilta (120) - Daliya (40) - Najmat al Hadaly (101) - the ascent of Beit Horon (19, 20) - Sha'ab Siyag (116) - Ballut el Halis (13) - Adasa I (4) - Tell el Ful (54) - Jerusalem.
2. Lydda (91) - Tell Hamid (63) - Gezer (55) - Emmaus (53) - Kh. Aqed (8) - Horvat Mazad (95) - Deir Azhar (44) - Kh. Atrash (10) - Jerusalem.
3. The Jifna road (described in detail in Part II, Appendix I): Kh. Jifna (76) - Beit Duqu (18) - Kh. Badd Abu-Muamar (12) - Gibeon (56);
4. The Qubeiba road: Kh. Judeira (78) - Kh. Ras al-Mughar (110) - al Qubeiba (107) - Biddu (32).

In this period several settlements were occupied which may have served as nodal points for local, secondary roads. The following tentative possibilities may be mentioned:

al-Burj

1. al-Burj (37) - el-Hammam (64).
2. al-Burj (37) - Daliya (40).
3. al-Burj (37) - Kh. Ajanjul (7) - Kh. Sheikh Suleiman (119).

⁴⁵ These campaigns are well illustrated on the otherwise unsatisfactory map of the *TAVO* series, No. BV 16, 1 (1987).

⁴⁶ The name of Pegae appears to refer to the sources of the river Yarqon near Aphek: *TIR*, Gazetteer, p.200.

⁴⁷ As mentioned in Part I and in the Gazetteer, Jaffa is mentioned as a harbour city in the Zeno Papyri, *P.Cairo* 59011 and 59093 (257 BC), but not in connection with Jerusalem. Jerusalem is mentioned once in connection with Strato's Tower: *P.Cairo* 59004 (259 BC); cf. *PSI* 406.

⁴⁸ *AS Benjamin* 27f.; 100f. The authors point out that they cannot distinguish reliably between early and late Hellenistic pottery.

⁴⁹ For Jerusalem in the sources of this period: M. Stern, in A. Oppenheimer, et al. (eds.), *Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period: A. Schalit Memorial Volume* (1980), 257-70 (Heb.).

Biddu

The settlement of Biddu probably served as crossroads for several local roads in the western part of the mountain region.

1. Biddu (32) - Kh. Nijam (102) - Deir Azhar (44).
2. Biddu (32) - Gibeon (56).
3. Biddu (32) - Abu Leimun (3) - Beit Iksa (21).
4. Biddu (32) - Kh. el-Beitunia (31) - Nabi Samwil (100) - Kh. al-Biyar (36) - Tell el-Ful (54) - Jerusalem.
5. Biddu (32) - Ein Beit Suriq (52).

Gibeon

1. Gibeon (56) - Kh. 'Id (74) - Sha'ab Siyag (116)
2. Gibeon (56) - Bir Nabala (35) - Ballut el-Halis (13)
3. Gibeon (56) - Kh. al-Biyar (36) - anonymous site (131) - Kh. Tililiya (121) - Jerusalem.
4. Gibeon (56) - Abu Leimun (3) - Kh. al-Burj (38) - Kh. Tililiya (121) - Jerusalem.

The Herodian Period

See Table 4 on p.339.

Total numbers for the Herodian / Early Roman period:
Settlements: 32, Military, road-stations, etc.: 3, Others: 5; all together: 40.

The reign of Herod is marked by systematic development of several urban centres, well known from the works of Josephus, numismatics and archaeological remains.⁵⁰ One of Herod's major building projects was the city of Caesarea Maritima with its harbour, which soon became the larger than any other harbour along the Judaeian coast, Jaffa included. As a result the two main roads linking Jerusalem with Jaffa also began to serve traffic to Antipatris and Caesarea, which further enhanced the importance of these roads (see Part I). Army movements along the Beit Horon road have also been described above. While there is no archaeological evidence of road-building in this period, the finds at H. Mazad (Kh. el Qasr, 95) and Kh. Atrash (Giv'at Shaul, 10) show that there were road-

stations and towers along this road in the Hasmonaean and Herodian periods. This fits the references in Talmudic sources to organized road-repairs for the benefit of the Jewish pilgrims who went up to Jerusalem before AD 70 (cited in Part I).

The movement of people and the transport of goods along the roads between Jaffa and Jerusalem stimulated the occupation of settlements along and in close proximity to these routes. This is clear from the archaeological finds from the Herodian period uncovered during surveys and excavations. In this connection, however, it is particularly relevant to observe that the total number of occupied sites in this period is smaller than in the Hellenistic and Hasmonaean periods. The number of civilian sites is 32 as compared with 40 for the previous period. This is interesting in itself, but no less significant is the shift in occupied sites. A glance at figures 37 and 38 will show that the extremely dense occupation of sites north-west of Jerusalem (33 sites) is reduced to about half that number. Further west, however, a slight increase may be observed.

The maps on which we have plotted the distribution of sites in various periods clearly show the tendency for settlements to develop in groups or clusters, from the Herodian period onwards. Such groups are now attested in areas which allow cultivation of the soil: the region around Modi'in, the Kafr Rut area and Emmaus-Nicopolis in the low hill-country, continuing settlement around Gibeon on the plateau north-west of Jerusalem, and near Kiriath Yearim and Motza in the valleys of the mountainous country. Apart from these two valleys, the rough terrain between the low foothills and the plateau was never densely inhabited. Between Beit Horon and the plateau, and between Emmaus and the 'Ascent of the Romans', the structures encountered are mostly watchtowers, road-stations and military bases. A few cultivated terraces were seen near H. Mazad and Wadi Alaqa, but these are exceptions. The reasons for this regional shift are not immediately obvious. Firstly, we ought to know whether a similar pattern could be observed in the area to the south of Jerusalem, which we have not surveyed. If we want to speculate, the possibility may be raised that the expanding city of Jerusalem attracted inhabitants from the surrounding villages. This would explain the abandonment of sites in the area. The increase in settlement further west might be connected with increased security in the hill country and enhanced prosperity along the Beit Horon road to Jerusalem in this period.

It must be stressed, however, that these are mere hypotheses, to account for a well-attested shift in the occupation of sites along the roads here discussed. The decrease in the total number of occupied sites might appear unexpected, given the Herodian policy of

⁵⁰ A. Schalit, *König Herodes: der Mann und sein Werk* (1969); A. Momigliano, *CAH* 10 (1934), 316-339; Schürer i, 287-329; M. Stern, 'The reign of Herod and the Herodian Dynasty', *compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum* i (1974), 216-307.

urbanization in various parts of the country: i.e. the foundation of Caesarea, Sebaste, and Antipatris. The conclusion, however, seems unavoidable that the Herodian period was one of localized rural retrenchment in some parts and increased settlement in other parts, notably along the roads. It is interesting to observe that a similar conclusion has been reached for the Carmel region (see below). However, it must be stressed again that we cannot measure the total surface of occupied settlement, nor is our evidence unambiguous, for much of it derives from surface finds.

Roads in the Herodian Period (fig.38)

1. Lydda (91) - Kh. Harmush (65) - Kh.el-Hammam (64) - Kafr Rut (82) - Lower Beit Horon (19) - Gibeon (56) - Tell el-Ful (54) - Jerusalem.

It is clear that at this period settlements tended to develop into clusters of small units that grew around a larger nucleus near this road:

- a. Around Kh. Harmush (65) we find el-Haditha (61), Kh. al-Qubeibeh (106) Kh. al-Biriya (33).
- b. around Kh. el-Hammam (64) we find er-Ras I (111), Shilta (120).
- c. Around Kafr Rut (82) we find Daliya (40), Kureikur (85), Najmat al Hadali (101), Kh. Mana (92).
- d. Around Gibeon (56) were Sha'ab Siyag (116), Bir al-Biyar (32a), Adasa North (4).
- e. Near Tel el-Ful (54) was er-Ras II (112).

There are, however, no such clusters of settlements along road 2:

2. Lydda (91) - Tell Hamid (63) - Gezer (55) - Emmaus (53) - Kh. Aqed (8) - Deir Aiyub (43) - Horvat Mazad (roadstation: 95) - Deir Azhar (44) - Motza (99) - Kh. Atrash (tower:10) and Giv'at Ram (58).

Secondary roads

There is not much evidence for the existence of secondary roads in this period. Here follows a number of suggestions.

3. Lydda (91) - Daniyal (41) - Abu Fureij (1) - Kafr Rut (82).⁵¹
4. Lydda (91) - Daniyal (41) - Beit Annaba (16) - Kunaiyisa (84) - Sha'alabim (117) - Sheikh

⁵¹ The evidence for the use of this road in the Herodian period is meagre, but it is an ancient route and Abu Fureij was settled in the Herodian period, although perhaps not on a large scale.

Suleiman (119).⁵²

5. Emmaus (53) - Kh. Manna (92) - Lower Beit Horon (19).

6. Kafr Rut (82) - Kh. Judeira (78) - al-Qubeiba (107) - Biddu (32) - Nabi Samwil (100) - Tell el-Ful (54) - Jerusalem.⁵³

The Roman Period (fig. 39 and Table 5 on p.339)

Total numbers for the Roman period: Settlements: 40; Military, road-stations, etc.: 7, Others: 6; all together: 53.

This period is the subject proper of this book. It is worth remembering that the road-network is still the most visible Roman engineering project in Judaea. In this province alone about 1000 Roman miles (c. 1,500 km.) of roads were constructed. This involved more than the building of the road itself. It entailed the construction and manning of road-stations and guard-posts, and the erection of milestones. Apart from these physical aspects, the organization of the network was a major operation which required a continued investment of manpower, for the network was designed to serve the military and the administration. It ensured the army a reliable, logistic infrastructure and was a precondition for the maintenance of the imperial post (*vehiculatio*, later named *cursus publicus*). The military aspect was important in Judaea, which had a relatively large garrison, and is particularly relevant for the present study, since we are concerned with the roads which linked the legionary base in Jerusalem, established there after the First Revolt, with the coastal plain. In the civilian sphere the Roman period, in Judaea as elsewhere, is marked by a steady process of urbanization. For our study it is relevant that Hadrian converted the ruined city of Jerusalem into the citizen colony of Aelia Capitolina. Under the Severans Lydda and Emmaus received city status and were renamed Diospolis and Nicopolis (see Part I), which demonstrates that these settlements had developed from large villages into real cities by this time. This gave additional weight to the road-network.

The discussion above, however, has made it

⁵² The existence of this road is attested for the Byzantine period and has been inferred for the Iron and Middle Bronze Ages, when the settlements along it were occupied. In the Roman period the area was sparsely settled.

⁵³ This road is partly identical with the Qubeiba road which probably existed in the Roman period. We suggest the line indicated here because of the importance of Kafr Rut and its satellites in the Herodian period.

abundantly clear that the Roman roads studied in this work — like many roads elsewhere — followed routes used in earlier periods, some of them since the Bronze Age. In the Roman period such roads were transformed into engineered highways which were part of a larger traffic system. Thus they became part, not only of the provincial system, but also of the regional network from Syria to Egypt and from the Mediterranean to the eastern frontier zone. The process of constructing the network started with the earliest attested road, marked by a milestone of AD 69,⁵⁴ but for most roads the earliest milestone inscriptions date from Hadrian's reign (AD 120, 129 and 130). The largest number of milestones of any reign date to 162, under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.⁵⁵ The result was an integrated regional traffic system with four longitudinal north-south arteries, intersected by a series of transversal east-west roads. The points of intersection and *capita viarum* were the main urban centres and the military camps usually located in or near them.⁵⁶

The present study is concerned with two of the transversal highways and several secondary roads between these two, all described in Part II. While the literary documents relating to these roads have been discussed in Part I, and the sites in Part III, this chapter will consider the conclusions to be drawn about the occupation of sites and their relation to the road-network. One question to be considered in particular is the impact of traffic on the distribution of settlements. While it is clear that Roman roads were constructed and maintained for the use of the army and administration, it is quite probable that their existence had some influence on the demography and economy of the region.

The number of occupied sites increased in comparison with the previous period (53 as compared with 40). Of course this does not exclude the possibility that there was a good deal of social upheaval or a change in population in the period of the two major revolts against Rome. All that can be said here is that the total number of occupied sites is

somewhat greater. As already observed, there was a massive increase in military presence, but this is not expressed in our tables, which do not distinguish between a legionary base and a watchtower. As in the discussion of other periods, we should consider the low-hill region and the mountain area and plateau separately.

In the area east of Lydda (91) most sites occupied in the Herodian period seem not to have been occupied in the Roman period. Along the western section of the Beit Horon road we could record only graves at Modiin (98) and continued occupation at the small site of Najmat al-Hadali (101). It is likely that this remarkable decrease is connected with the suppression of the revolts against Rome. In this connection mention may be made of the three subterranean hideouts found near the road in this region, at er-Ras i (111), at Kureikur (85) and at Kaf Rut (82).⁵⁷ Along the Lydda-Emmaus road only al-Qubab (105) appears to have been occupied in this period. This may have been a military rather than civilian presence, if the two inscriptions found on the site do belong there and were not removed from Emmaus in later times. There are far more settlements in the mountain area, although it should be noted that at least half of those along the highways (roads 1 and 2) are of a military nature, indicating the presence of the Roman army. Giv'at Ram (58) served as a manufacturing centre, mainly of pottery and bricks, for the *legio X Fretensis*, while the finds from Motza (99) seem to belong to the settlement of veterans established there under Vespasian. Abu Ghosh (20 and Mazad (95) probably served the military units patrolling the highway and Kh.Aqed (8) appears to have been connected with the Bar Kokhba revolt. Most settlements, however, are located along the secondary roads, and in the large majority of these no evidence of occupation in the previous period was found, although it must be stressed that this observation is of limited value since very few sites have actually been excavated. The archaeological artifacts found in those sites do not provide any evidence about the ethnic affiliation of their population, so that in the present state of knowledge any discussion of the subject would be futile. Jews were excluded from the territory of Jerusalem after the Second Revolt and it has been suggested that this ban led to depletion of population and settlement in the region. However, this was clearly not the case in the mountain area to the north-west of the capital. This area was populated far more densely than in the Herodian period and had roughly as many occupied sites as in the Hellenistic-Hasmonaean period. Thus if a depletion did occur, it was short-lived and left no archaeological traces that we could

⁵⁴ B. Isaac & I. Roll, *JRS* 66 (1976), 9-14.

⁵⁵ B. Isaac, *PEQ* 110 (1978), 47-60; Isaac & Roll, *Latomus* 38 (1979), 54-66, id. *ZPE* 33 (1979), 149-156, id., *Roman Roads in Judaea*, i (1982), 91ff.

⁵⁶ D. Graf, B. Isaac & I. Roll, *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 5 (1992), 782-7, s.v. 'Roads and Highways: Roman Roads'; I. Roll, 'A Map of Roman Imperial Roads in the Land of Israel, the Negev and Transjordan', *Filat* (1995), 207-211 (Heb.). *Tabula Imperii Romani: Iudaea Palaestina*, ed. Y. Tsafir, L. Di Segni and J. Green (1994), attached maps.

⁵⁷ Description in Part III, Appendix II by Y. Shahar and Y. Tepper.

distinguish.

Clusters of settlement

In this connection it may be observed that we find such clusters of settlement in the Roman as in the Herodian period, but they are different ones and fewer in number. In the Herodian period we found them stretched along the Lydda - Beit Horon - Jerusalem road. In the Roman period there seem to have been two, both north-west of Jerusalem.

a. Around Biddu (32) at Adasa (5), Abu Leimun (3), Beit Suriq (52), Deir Sheikh (45).

b. Around Nabi Samwil (100) at Kh.al-Biyar (36), Kh. al-Burj (38), Beit Kika (23), er-Ras II (112).

As for the previous periods, we shall now tabulate the sites occupied along the relevant roads, starting with the two main roads.

1. The Beit Horon road: Lydda (91) - Modiin (graves, 98) - Najmat al-Hadali (101) - Beit Horon (two sites: 19, 20) - Hashabe (113) - Ein Abdalla (51 - Latatin (87) - Sha'ab Siyag (116) - Bir al-Biyar (32a) - Hawanit (66)

2. The Abu Ghosh road: Lydda (91) - al-Qubab (105) - Emmaus (53) - al-Qubab (105)⁵⁸ - Emmaus (53) - Aqed (8) - Maqta (93) - Mazad (95) - Dhar Hassan (47) - Deir Azhar (44) - Abu Ghosh (4) - Beit Naquba (26) - Motza (99) - Ras al-Alawi (109) - Giv'at Ram (58).

Secondary roads

As for the previous roads, we suggest here a number of possible links, based on the distribution of occupied sites in this period and the existence of roads linking them in other periods. The material remains of secondary roads which we saw in the field are described above, in Part II.

3. Lydda (91) - Kh. Zakariya (128) - al-Burj (37) - Halayil (62) - Modi'in (98) - Kafr Rut (82). This road is also assumed to have been used in the Byzantine period.

Branch road

4. Jaffa-Lydda road - Zerifin (129) - Tell Hamid

⁵⁸ This is the only settlement along this road in the low hill-country at this period, but the two Latin military inscriptions may suggest a military rather than civil presence there, if these do not come from Emmaus, as suggested by Clermont-Ganneau.

(63) - Gezer (55) - Emmaus (53). This road would have passed south of Lydda without entering the city. Along this branch road the older settlements apparently continued to be occupied in this period.

5. Lower Beit Horon (19) - Kh. Jifna (76) - Beit Duqu (18) - Kh. Badd Abu-Muamar (12) - Givat Ze'ev (59) - Gibeon (56). Part of this road was significant in the Hellenistic period, as argued in Appendix I to Part II. Since the sites along it were occupied in this period we may assume that the old road was used in the Roman period. Its existence is also inferred for the Byzantine period.

8. The Qubeiba road (above, p.99): Beit Liqya (24) - Kh. Kafr Rasiya (81) - Kh. Judeira (78) - Beit Inan (22) - al-Qubeiba (107) - Biddu (32) - Gibeon (56).

Late Roman and Byzantine Periods

The traffic system that emerged and developed in the country during the Roman period continued to function in Byzantine times. Apparently, the military and the civilian officials, the travellers and the transportation of goods, continued to make full use of it. However, with the advent of Christianity, a new factor emerged. *Palaestina* became the focus of pilgrimage for the Christian world. Church leaders, priests and, most of all, pilgrims made heavy use of the country's road network, as we learn from the written sources of the period discussed above in Part I.

Milestones, stretches of road and road structures of the Late Roman and Byzantine periods indicate that the Roman road network was maintained and perhaps even expanded in the fourth century. Constantinian milestones have been found along highways leading to some of the country's main *capita viarum*, all of them inscribed in Latin. Four stones were found in Galilee: two of them along the Diocaesarea - Legio road, another on the Diocaesarea - Ptolemais route and a fourth on the well-paved highway that connected Scythopolis with Legio.⁵⁹ Two Constantinian milestones have also been found in the central mountain region: one of them on the Scythopolis - Neapolis highway⁶⁰ and the other on the connecting road that ran from Emmaus to Beit Horon.

⁵⁹ Diocaesarea-Legio: M. Hecker, *BJPES* 25 (1961) pp. 180-1 (Heb.); Diocaesarea- Ptolemais: J. H. Iliffe, *QDAP* 2 (1933): pp. 20-1; Scythopolis-Legio: B. Isaac and I. Roll, *Roman roads in Judaea* I (1982): 82; cf. pp. 95-6.

⁶⁰ P. Thomsen, *ZDPV* 40 (1917), No. 225c.

The latter is discussed in detail in Part IV, inscription no. 4a.

A few post-Constantinian inscriptions suggest that official roads were kept in repair in later times as well. This is attested by the short Greek inscription carved over the Constantinian inscription on the milestone found north of Emmaus noted above. The same short Greek formula is known from two more milestones found along the coastal highway.⁶¹ The repair of existing roads is also attested by archaeological sections cut through them. Thus excavated sections have shown that the second phase of the Scythopolis - Legio highway and the third phase of the Eleutheropolis - Jerusalem road belong to the Byzantine period, at least in those places where the sections were carried out.⁶² North of Jaffa, the remains of an engineered road were uncovered, including pavement made of concrete mingled with Byzantine sherds.⁶³ Excavations carried out at road structures that belonged to the road which ran along the eastern ridge of the Hebron mountains have shown that this military road belongs to the Byzantine period.⁶⁴

Let us turn now to the region between Jaffa and Jerusalem, firstly, to the settlement pattern.

See Table 6 on p.341f.

Total numbers for the Byzantine period: Settlements: 89, Military, road-stations, etc.: 5, Others: 17; all together: 111.

It is very clear from the figures given above that the density of Byzantine settlement exceeds that of all other periods before the twentieth century: 111 sites as compared with 53 in the Roman period and 50 in the Early Islamic period. While this is known to have been

the case in large areas of the Near East,⁶⁵ the figures given above are significant in themselves since they reflect a systematic survey of a specific area. These figures do not represent the extent of the total inhabited area in the various periods. If they did the ratio would be even more striking, for there can be no doubt that the cities in the region under discussion, Jaffa, Lydda, Emmaus and Jerusalem, were far larger in the Byzantine period than in any other pre-modern era. Another feature which the tables do not reflect, but which is worth observing here, is the fact that the area was almost exclusively Christian, even if we allow for the possibility that there were small Jewish communities in Lydda, Emmaus and Jerusalem.⁶⁶ The only other evidence of a non-Christian presence is the Samaritan synagogue found Sha'albim and the Samaritan inscriptions on a capital at Emmaus. Characteristic of the development of Christianity in the region is the apparent appeal of both Christian and Jewish traditional sites, as may be seen, for instance, at Modiin, Kiriath Yearim and Emmaus-Nicopolis, which was thought to be the Emmaus of Luke's Gospel. Around such sites, which attracted pilgrims, other smaller settlements developed over the years.⁶⁷ The dominant type of site in this period is a large village, with an average area of 30 dunams (3 ha. / 7.4 acres). These include ecclesiastic or monastic structures. The settlements often develop around a nucleus on higher ground. These nuclei often remained the main villages in the Early Islamic period, e.g. Midiya, Sitt Huriya, Saris, Abu Ghosh, the two Beit Ur's, Jib.

Another feature which may be mentioned here is the uniformity of structures such as wine- and oil-presses, water supply and storage facilities. Many moderately sized communities had fine churches, often decorated with imported marble and rich mosaic floors, as found, for instance, in Mevo Modi'in, Hermeshit and Motza. There is also frequent use of imported pottery,

⁶¹ One milestone was found south of Antipatris and it indicates the distance of 4 miles from the town: I. Roll, in P. Beck and M. Kochavi (eds.), *Aphek-Antipatris I*, Inscription No. 10 (forthcoming). The second milestone was found south of Iamnia and indicates the same distance, 4 miles, from the latter town (unpublished).

⁶² Scythopolis - Legio: Isaac and Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea I*, 40-41 and fig. 5. Eleutheropolis - Jerusalem: I. Roll in *The Jerusalem Cathedra* 3 (1983), 149-150.

⁶³ E. Ayalon, *Israel-People and Land* 4 (1986-7), 9-14; see also: Roll and Ayalon, *ibid.*, 150-1 (both Heb.).

⁶⁴ Y. Hirschfeld, *Qadmoniot* 12 (1979), 78-84 (Heb.).

⁶⁵ It is a phenomenon extending beyond the frontiers of the Roman empire: in Babylonia the Parthian and Sassanian periods witnessed a spectacular growth in settlement as compared with the Achaemenid period when Alexander conquered the area; cf. R. McAdams, *Land Behind Baghdad, A History of Settlement on the Diyala Plains* (1965), 71-3, Table 19.

⁶⁶ Christian villages along the Jaffa-Jerusalem roads: B. Bagatti, *Antichi villaggi cristiani di Samaria* (1979), 139ff.; for the Jewish communities J.J. Schwartz, *Jewish Settlements in Judaea* (1986), 69ff. (Lydda); 120 ff. (Emmaus); 183ff. (Jerusalem, Heb.); id., *Lod (Lydda)* (1991), 121-3.

⁶⁷ A similar pattern has been observed around Antipatris (Fischer, 1989) and Jericho (Bar-Adon in *Survey* 1967, 92-150).

mostly the so-called 'North African Red Slip Ware'. All this testifies to wide-spread prosperity. It is possible that this is partly due to the intensive Christian pilgrimage to Jerusalem in this period.⁶⁸ Another point to be considered is whether there was a measure of central guidance reflected by the uniformity of, for instance, agricultural installations.

The Roads and their Settlements (fig.40)

Almost all the settlements discussed above were distributed along or near the highways and secondary roads that extended between Jaffa and Jerusalem. This observation seems to be valid even if we acknowledge that our own survey concentrated on sites along roads.

1. Jaffa (75) - Yazur (126) - Beit Dagan (17) - Saphiriya (114) - Lydda (91) - al-Qubab (105) - Emmaus (53).

2. The land along and adjoining the *Beit Horon road* was the most heavily settled of the entire region under discussion. In the area of low hills east of Lydda, there were settlements close to the road at Kh. al-Qubeibeh (106) and at Deir Abu Salama (42). The near by hill-tops of Dhuheiriyeh (48), el-Haditha (61), Kh. Harmush (65) and Kh. al-Biriya (33) were settled as well.

Settlement clusters along the road

a) Kh al-Hammam

In the Modi'in area the densely populated cluster of rural settlements the beginning of which goes back to Herodian times, now reached its peak. The largest, and apparently the central site of the group was Kh. al-Hammam (64), which seems to have spread along both sides of the ancient highway. Around it, clockwise from north to south Byzantine data were uncovered at Sheikh Garbawi (118), Midiya (97), er-Ras I (111), Kubur al-Yahud (98), Horvat Ha-Tarsi (121) and Mevo Modi'in (96).

b) Kafr Rut

Further on, east of Shilta (120), an even larger cluster of rural settlements developed around the central site of Kafr Rut (82). West of Kafr Rut, Byzantine occupation was noted at Kureikur (85), Kh. Daliya (40), Kh. Huriya (72) and Halaiyl el Muhammad (62). East of Kafr Rut, the sites Najmat al-Hadali (101), Kh. Ibn Awad (73), Kh. Deiriya (46), Kh. Manna (92), Beit Sira (28) and Kh. Dureish (50)

were settled in this period.

c) Latatin

On the plateau, east of the two Beit Horons (19,20), there was a large Byzantine settlement at Latatin (87), and two smaller ones near by at Ein Abdallah (51) and at Givat Ze'ev (59).

d) Gibeon

A larger cluster of rural settlements existed on the plateau north and east of Gibeon (56), which included the sites of Kh. Id (74), Sha'ab Siyag (116), Bir al-Biyar (32a), Ballut el Halis (13) and Bir Nabala (35). Further on, on the way to Jerusalem, Byzantine occupation was noted at Adasa North (4), at Hawanit (66), at Adasa South (6) and at er-Ras II (112).

It may be noted that three of these clusters existed on a more modest scale in the Herodian period (a, b, and d). The two clusters attested in the Roman period, around Biddu and Nabi Samwil, were to some extent superseded by those of Latatin and Gibeon.

3. Along the Emmaus - Abu Ghosh-Jerusalem highway the rough terrain did not permit the development of clusters of settlements. Therefore, as in other periods, the large and the small settlements were spread out along the artery, as well as the terrain permitted. The larger settlements naturally developed at places where water was abundant and agriculture, even on a small scale, was possible. This was the case at Yalu (125), at Abu Ghosh (2) and at Motza (99). Abu Ghosh also seems to have served as a road station for official traffic. Security along the highway was provided at some periods by the guard-posts that functioned at Mazad (95) and at Kh. Atrash (10). Increased security may well have led to the growth of smaller settlements, such as Kh. Hiba (68), Bir Mezza (34), Deir Azhar (44), Kh. al Jubeira (77), Ras al Alawi (109) and Burj et-Tut (39).

Secondary roads

The plain

3. Beit Dagan (17) - Zerifin (129) - Tell Hamid (63) - Gezer (55) - Emmaus (53).

Low hills region

4. The Barfiliya road, described in Part II: Gimzo (57) - Barfiliya (14) - Abu Fureij (1)

This road then merged with road 1. via the mountains and al-Qubeiba (107).

5. Gimzo (57) - el Habs (60) - Kh. Zakariya (128) - Kh al-Hammam (64) cluster

6. Barfiliya (14) - Kafr Rut (82) cluster. This

⁶⁸ Cf. L. Reekmans, 'Siedlungsbildung bei spätantiken Wallfahrtsstätten' in *Pietas, Festschrift für Bernhard Köting* (Münster 1980), 325-55.

road is described above, in Part II, p.100.

7. Gimzo (57) - Beit Annaba (16) - Kunaiyisa (84) - Kh. Kefrata (83) - Sha'alabim (117) - Kh. al Qanbuta (103) - Sheikh Suleiman (119) - Beit Nuba (27). A section of this road is described above, p.100f.

Mountain region

The mountain region was apparently crossed by no less than six secondary roads, which ascended from the Upper Ayalon valley eastwards.

8. Part of this road is described as the Jifna road (in Part II, Appendix I): Lower Beit Horon (19) - Kh. Jifna (76) - Beit Duqqu (18) - Kh. Badd Abu-Muamar (12) - Adasa West (5) - Gibeon (56). Its existence has also been inferred for the Roman period.

9. The Qubeiba road (above, p.99): Kh. Kafr Rasiya (81) - Kh. Judeira (78) - Beit Inan (22) - al Qubeiba (107) - Biddu (32)

This road continued road 6 to the region of low hills and both of them together formed the chief secondary road in the Jaffa-Jerusalem area.

Roads from Beit Nuba

9. The road along Wadi Burej (Appendix II to Part II): Beit Nuba (27) via Wadi Burej - Kh. al-Burej (36a)

10. The Hitan al-Wa'r Road: Beit Nuba (27) via the ridge - Hitan Snubar (70) - Hitan el-War (71) (described above, p.105).

11/12. The Beit Thul road: Beit Nuba (27) via another ridge - Beit Zeidan (67) - Kh. Hirsha (69) - Beit Thul (29) - Deir Sheikh (45) and thence to Abu Ghosh (2) or Biddu (32) (described above, p.105).

Roads from Biddu (description above, 103f.)

13. Biddu (32) - Kh. el Beitunia (31) - Nabi Samwil (100) - Kh. al Biyar (36) - Hawanit (66) - Jerusalem.

14. Biddu (32) - Abu Leimun (3) - Kh. Kurum (86) - Beit Kika (23) - Jerusalem

15. Biddu (32) - Abu Leimun (3) - Beit Iksa (21) - Jerusalem

16. Biddu (32) - Ein Beit Suriq (52) - Kh. Louza (90) - Jerusalem

Some local roads seem to have extended from Gibeon (56) to the surrounding villages. Finds from the Byzantine period uncovered at Bab al Wad (11) and at Saris (115) appear to provide evidence for the earliest use of Nahal Nahshon (Wadi Aly) as a thoroughfare to Jerusalem (described above, p.106).

To sum up, in Byzantine times the area

between Jaffa and Jerusalem was more densely populated than at any time in Antiquity. Settlements emerged everywhere, at every possible site, and this was also the case with the secondary and local roads which converged upon them.

The Early Islamic Period

The extensive road network that evolved in Palestine in the Byzantine period continued to function during the early phase of the Early Islamic period. Indeed, there is evidence that a few of the country's main roads were maintained (see Part I). Milestones inscribed in Arabic and dating to the reign of the Umayyad caliph Abd al-Malik, specifically mention roadworks and the erection of milestones carried out by the order of that ruler. One such milestone was found near the lower end of the Fiql ascent to the Golan heights, two other pieces along the Jericho-Jerusalem road, and two more milestones along the Emmaus-Jerusalem route.⁶⁹ A section excavated across the Jerusalem-Beit Guvrin road, at the second milestation north of Beit Guvrin, has shown that the latest repair of that road occurred in the Early Islamic period.⁷⁰

The main thoroughfare across the country at this time was clearly the north-south highway that ran from Damascus to Egypt and passed by Lydda.⁷¹ Thus in the earlier phase of the Umayyad period Lydda served as a main crossroads for this highway and the Jaffa-Jerusalem road. Following the foundation of Ramle around 714, the role of the country's main crossroads passed from Lydda to this new capital of Jund Filastin. After the fall of the Umayyads in the middle of the eighth century, and the ascent of the Abbasids, the importance of the country to its rulers decreased considerably, an attitude which affected the maintenance of the road system as well.

Let us turn now to the settlement pattern of the region between Jaffa and Jerusalem.

See Table 7, p.343.

Total numbers for the Early Islamic period:

⁶⁹ The Fiql inscription: M. Sharon, *BSOAS* 29 (1966), 367-72. The other four milestones: M. Van Berchem, *Materiaux pour un corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum II, Syrie du Sud I: Jerusalem "ville"* (1922), 17-29: Above, Part I.

⁷⁰ I. Roll *Jerusalem Cathedral* 3 (1983), 149.

⁷¹ R. Hartmann 'Die Strasse von Damaskus nach Kairo', *ZDMG* 64 (1910), 665-702.

Settlements: 43, Military, road-stations, etc.: 1, Others: 6; all together: 50.

It is clear that there is a good deal of continuity. However, the number of occupied settlements was reduced from 89 to 43 as compared with the Byzantine period. Moreover, the tables do not show that the character of at least some sites changed. Many ancient sites were transformed into Muslim holy sites, so-called sheikh's tombs (nabi-). Ruined places were used as cemeteries. In various sites it is clear that previously well-kept installations were neglected, such as wine and oil-presses and cisterns, while churches and monasteries while often fell into decay. The smaller villages which belonged to the Byzantine settlement-clusters were abandoned. In the mediaeval period and thereafter these became orchards or gardens.

It is interesting to compare these results again with the conclusions reached in recent studies of the Carmel region.⁷² For most of the region under investigation an increase in the Hellenistic period is followed by a decrease till the mid-first century AD. This is followed by an increase till the mid-second century. Thereafter the pattern is not uniform, but everywhere an unprecedented peak of settlement is reached in the early seventh century, while the Early Islamic period is one of decline.⁷³

Roads of the Early Islamic Period (fig.41)

1. Jaffa (75) - Yazur (126) - Beit Dagan (17) - Ramle (108) - al-Qubab (105) - Emmaus (53) - Deir Aiyub (43) - Mazad (95) - Abu Ghosh (2) - Motza (99) - Giv'at Ram (58) - Jerusalem.
2. Emmaus (53) - Bab al Wad (11) - Abu Ghosh
This road was marked by Ummayyad milestones.
3. Emmaus (53) - Beit Sira (28) - the ascent of Beit Horon.

Although the Beit Horon road served quite a number of rural settlements, its importance seems to have

⁷² H.-P. Kuhnen, *Nordwest-Palästina in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit* (1987), 70-3; id., *Studien zur Chronologie und Siedlungsarchäologie des Karmel (Israel)* (1989), 6ff. and fig. 37; id., *ZDPV* 110 (1994), 36-50.

⁷³ For the Carmel region as a whole the following figures are given for the density of settlement per 100 km²: 3rd cent. BC - last third of the 2nd cent.: 5.8; till the mid-1st cent. AD: 14.4; till mid- 2nd cent.: 11.4-15.1; till the mid- 4th cent.: 8.9; till the mid-5th cent.: 14.4; till the first half of the 7th: 16.0; till the second half of the 7th cent.: 13.9.

diminished in Early Islamic times and it gradually became a secondary artery.

4. Lydda (91) - Deir Abu Salama (42) - Kh. Harmush (65) - Kh. Sheikh Gharbawi (118) - Kureikur (85) - Kh. Huriya (72) - Kafr Rut (82) - Najmat al-Hadali (101) - Kh. Dureish (50) - Beit Sira (28) - Latain (87) - Bir al-Biyar (32a) - Ballut el-Halis (13) - Adasa North (4) - Hawanit (66) - Jerusalem

Settlement Clusters

Two of these are found in the Shephelah near er-Ras I (111) and Kafr Rut (82), and form a continuation of Byzantine settlement.

North-west of Jerusalem there is one, consisting of Latain (87), Ein Abdallah (51), and Giv'at Zeev (59). This also existed in the Byzantine period.

Secondary roads in the Low hills region

5. Lydda (91) - Gimzo (57) - Barfiliya (14) - al-Burj (37) - Beit Sira (28).
6. Lydda (91) - Gimzo (57) - Beit Annaba (16) - Kunaiyisa (84) - Sha'alabim (117) - Kh. al-Qanbuta (103) - Kh. Kafr Rasiya (81).

Roads 5 and 6 eventually merge with road 7 which reaches Jerusalem via Qubeiba (103). All three roads also existed in the Byzantine period.

Mountain region, secondary road

7. Kh. Judeira (78) - al-Qubeiba (107) - Nabi Samwil (100) - Kh. al-Burj (38) - Jerusalem.

The Crusader Period

The Crusaders inherited a road network which had seriously deteriorated towards the end of the Early Islamic period. The Crusaders themselves did not make any considerable improvements in this network overall. Nevertheless, there were cases in which road-making was imperative to facilitate traffic or the advance of an army. One such case occurred during the First Crusade, in May 1097, when Godfrey of Bouillon intended to move his large army and many followers from Nicomedia to Nicea. There was no road that would take such traffic, so he sent ahead three thousand men with axes and swords so that they could go on and hack open a route for our pilgrims as far as the city of Nicea. This road led over a mountain, steep and very high, so the pathfinder made crosses of metal and wood, and put

them upon stakes where our pilgrims could see them.⁷⁴ There are no written sources of this kind about road-making in the Holy Land. What we do have are the two mid-thirteenth century maps of Matthew Paris, which mark and label the road leading from Jaffa to Jerusalem (discussed above in Part I).⁷⁵

Crusader roads (fig. 42)

1. Jaffa (75) - Yazur (126) - Ramle (108) - Gezer (55) - Latrun (88) - Emmaus (53) - Yalu (125) - Beit Nuba (27) - Kh. Judeira (78) - Beit Inan (22) - al-Qubeiba (107) - Biddu (32) - Nabi Samwil (100) - Kh. al-Biyar (36) - Jerusalem

The western part of the road ran almost the whole length of the Ayalon Valley. Further east, the al-Qubeiba route, which was only a secondary road in Roman and Byzantine times, became the Crusaders' chief thoroughfare to Jerusalem.

Secondary roads

2. Lydda (91) - Gimzo (57) - al-Burj (37) - Kafr Rut (82).
3. Lydda (91) - Beit Annaba (16) - Kunaiyisa (84) - Sheikh Suleiman (119) - Beit Nuba (27) via Wadi Burej - Kh. al-Burej (36a) - Kh. al-Maskah (94).

Roads 2 and 3 merge with road 1, the al-Qubeiba road. The preserved segment along Wadi Burej is described in detail by Y. Shahar and Y. Tepper in Part II, Appendix II.

4. Biddu (32) - Ein Beit Suriq (52) - Kh. Louza (90) - Beit Tulma (30) - Jerusalem.
5. Nabi Samwil (100) to the south, along Nahal Shmuel (Wadi Isa) via Kh. al-Burj (38) - Lifta (89) - Jerusalem.
6. Latrun (88) - Abu Ghosh (2) - Aqua Bella (9) - Motza (99) - Burj et-Tut (39).

There were thus four secondary roads serving

the local traffic from the farms and small villages along their routes to Jerusalem at this period, which ran along river beds: road 3 along Wadi Burej (see Appendix II to Part II by Y. Shahar and Y. Tepper), road 4 along Nahal Luz (Wadi al-Louza), road 5 along Nahal Shmuel (Wadi Isa), and road 6 along Nahal Nahshon (Wadi Aly). It is our impression that, in general, the main roads used by the Crusaders followed the watershed, while roads which ran through the valleys, such as nos. 4 and 5, were of local significance only.⁷⁶

No sites of the Crusader period were noted along the Beit Horon road. This route, which served as an important highway throughout Antiquity, clearly went out of use in Mediaeval times.

Mameluke Period

The Mameluke victory over the Crusaders and the disappearance of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem were followed by the devastation of the coastal cities of the country, Jaffa included. Inland areas also suffered the ravages of misrule, pestilence and insecurity. Rural settlements shrank drastically in size and population and many of them disappeared completely. In many areas transhumance became the dominant form of life. The fortifications of Jerusalem were left in ruins and the city survived as an urban centre mainly because of its importance as a religious centre for the Muslims.

There was one main road that crossed the country, which included road-stations and bridges and was built to serve the Mameluke postal service.⁷⁷ This was the north-south highway that connected between Damascus and Cairo and passed by Lydda and Ramle.

Mameluke Roads (fig. 43):

Lydda (91) - Ramle (108) - al-Qubab (105) - Emmaus (53) - Deir Aiyub (53) - Mazad (95) - Abu Ghosh (2) - Jerusalem. Archaeological material from these sites suggest that this still was a significant road at the time. However, the texts cited in Part I show that the usual route followed by pilgrims from the fourteenth till the early sixteenth century was still the Qubeiba road with

⁷⁴ *Gesta Francorum* II,7 (ed. and transl. by R. Hill, 1962, p. 14): '....misit ante se tria milia hominum cum securibus et gladiis, qui incidissent et apervissent hanc viam, quae patefacta fieret nostris peregrinis usque Nicenam urbem. Quae via fuit aperta per angustam et nimis immensam montanam, et faciebant retro per viam cruces ferreas ac ligneas, quas ponebant super stipites ut eas nostri peregrini cognoscerent.'

⁷⁵ Short stretches of Crusader roadmaking were identified near the fortresses of Athlit and Montfort, but these were clearly built for local needs only, and not as a part of a road-system: A. Peled and Y. Friedman, *Qadmoniot* 20 (1987), 119-123 (Heb.).

⁷⁶ Hence we find it hard to accept the suggestion by R. Ellenblum, 'The Crusader road from Lydda to Jerusalem', *Historical-Geographical Studies in the Settlement of the Land of Israel* (1988), 203-218 (Hebrew), that the Wadi Burej road was the main Crusader route to Jerusalem.

⁷⁷ J. Sauvaget, *La poste aux chevaux dans l'empire des Mamelouks* (1941). See also: Gaudetroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks* (1923) 239 ff. R. Hartmann, *ZDMG* 64 (1910) 665-702.

Conclusions

a branch leading through Nahal Soreq. A pilgrim of 1524 mentions three roads to Jerusalem (without specifying). Before the end of the Mameluke period and through the early Ottoman period the Latrun road reverts to being the usual road, with a branch leading through Nahal Soreq to Nabi Samwil.

The Ottoman Period

Under Ottoman rule, Jaffa slowly grew in population and eventually the city-wall was rebuilt. Thus the town returned to its historical role as port of the Palestine coast. Jerusalem became once more the main urban centre of the country. The walls were rebuilt and the city attracted an evergrowing number of pilgrims, although this was not a period of marked economic development.

Ottoman roads (fig. 43):

1. Jaffa (75) - Yazur (126) - Ramle (108) - al-Qubab (105) - Emmaus (53) - Deir Aiyub (43) - Bab al-Wad (11) - Abu Ghosh (2) - Jerusalem.

This road climbed up to Abu Ghosh along the riverbed of Nahal Nahshon. From there it followed the traditional course of the southern road to Jerusalem. Many travel accounts along this road in Ottoman times are available (see above, Part I, 4).

Secondary roads

2. Lydda (91) - Gimzo (57) - Barfiliya (14) - Beit Liqya (24) - Beit Inan (22) - al-Qubeiba (107) - Biddu (32) - Nabi Samwil (100) - Kh. al-Burj (38) - Beit Kika (23) - Jerusalem.

Branch and local roads

3. Gimzo (57) - Kh. Zakariya (128) - Sheikh Garbawi (118).
4. Gimzo (57) - Kunaiyisa (84) - Kh. Kefrata (83) - al-Qubab (105).
5. Deir Aiyub (43) - Yalu (125) - Beit Nuba (27) - Beit Horon (19).
6. Biddu (32) - Gibeon (56).
7. Biddu (32) - Kh. Nijam (102) - Abu Ghosh (2).
8. Biddu (32) - Ein Beit Suriq (52) - Kh. Louza (90) - Jerusalem.
9. Nabi Samwil (100) - Beit Iksa (21) - Lifta (89) - Jerusalem.

A few finds from this period indicate that there may have been a revival to some extent of the Beit Horon road:

10. Lower and Upper Beit Horon (19, 20) -

Gibeon (56).

However, it is clear that this would have been a mere shadow in comparison to the importance of this route in antiquity.

In 1858 van de Velde published his famous map of the Holy Land, accompanied by a *Memoir* which gives precise descriptions of the main itineraries in Palestine.⁷⁸ These include two from Jaffa to Jerusalem, cited above, p.54f. - one via Lydda and Beit Horon and the other via Ramle and Latrun.

Conclusion

This chapter forms an attempt to correlate the information found in Part II, where we describe the known remains of Roman and Byzantine roads between Jaffa and Jerusalem, with Part III, the survey of sites along the roads. For the earlier, pre-Hellenistic period we have worked mostly with the published results of surveys and excavations, and combined these with our information concerning the road-system in later periods. Based on these data we offer a tentative sketch of the development of the road-system in various periods.

In our analysis of the Hellenistic through Byzantine periods we had two aims: first we describe the distribution in time of various types of sites along the roads. Our data cannot be considered final since they are largely derived from surveys of remains on the surface, including our own. Even so, patterns can be distinguished which, we argue, have a certain validity. Most notable are the shifts in settlement in the Herodian and Roman periods, the culmination of occupation in the Byzantine period, the density of settlement along the main and secondary roads in this period, and the development of clusters of settlement. The second aim is to understand the relationship between the road-network and the occupation of sites. Here we face a difficulty in interpretation. It is natural to assume that there was a relationship: the existence of a good road would attract settlement, but it is equally true that the existence of settlements would stimulate transportation and the construction of roads. The latter would be true particularly of secondary and local roads. In the absence of further information it is in many cases impossible to know whether the existence of a road resulted in the growth of a village, or whether the reverse was the case. In many cases, however, we can show that the two existed at the same time, an important result in itself. This has led to a further attempt on our part: we have suggested lines of

⁷⁸ C.W.M. van de Velde, *Map of the Holy Land and Memoir to Accompany the Map of the Holy Land* (both: Gotha 1858).

secondary roads between settlements in those periods and afterwards, even where we do not have explicit information of the existence of contemporary local roads. Thus we provide a tentative description of the network of local roads and villages in various periods. Historically this is closely connected with the varying patterns of movement along the roads through the ages.

Conclusions: Tables 4-7

Table 4: Herodian Period: geographical distribution and type of site

(a) Beth Horon	(b) Secondary Rds	(c) Abu Ghosh Rd	(d) Jaffa-Lyddā	(e) Nicopolis-Beit Horon
4 O	1 S	8 S	75 S	
19 S	32 S	10 M	91 S	
32 a S	41 S	[25 S]		
[33 S]	56 S	[44 M/O] (?)		
40 S	78 S	53 S		
54 S	84 S	55 S		
[61 S]	100 O	58 O		
64 S	107 S	63 S		
65 S	117 S	95 M		
82 S	119 S	99 S		
[85 S]				
92 O				
101 S				
106 O				
111 S(?)				
[112 S]				
116 S				
120 S				
<i>Total, Herodian Period</i>				
15 S	9 S	6 S	2 S	- S
- M	- M	3 M	- M	- M
3 O	1 O	1 O	- O	- O

Tables

Table 5: Roman Period

(a) Beit Horon	(b) Secondary Rds	(c) Abu Ghosh Rd	(d) Jaffa-Lyddā	(e) Nicopolis - Beit Horon
19 S	3 S	2 M	75 S	[81 S]
20 S	5 S	8 S	91 S	
32a S	12 O	[25 S]		
51 O	18 S	[26 S]		
[59 S]	22 S	[44 M]		
[62 S]	23 O	[45 S]		
66 S	32 S	53 S/M		
[74 S]	36 S	55 S		
87 S	37 S	58 M		
98 O	38 S	93 M		
101 S	52 O	95 M		
[111 S](?)	56 S	99 S		
[112 S]	63 S	105 S/M(?)		
113 M	76 S	109 S		
116 S	78 S			
	100 O			
	107 S			
	122 M(?)			
	128 S			
	[129 S]			
	130 S			

Total, Roman Period

12 S	16 S	9 S	2 S	1 S
1 M	1 M	5 M	- M	-M
2 O	4 O	- O	- O	- O

Conclusions: Tables 4-7

Table 6: Byzantine Period

(a) Beit Horon	(b) Secondary Rds	(c) Abu Ghosh Rd	(d) Jaffa-Lyddā	(e) Nicopolis-Beit Horon
4 O	1 S	2 O	17 S	[27 S]
[6 S]	3 S	10 M	75 S	28 S
[13 S]	5 S	11 S	91 S	[50 O]
19 S	12 O	[25 S]	114 S	[81 S]
20 S	14 S	[26 S]	126 O	
32 a S	[16 S]	34 S	[129 S]	
[33 S]	18 S	39 S		
[35 S]	21 S	[44 O]		
40 S	22 S	53 S		
42 S	23 O	[55 S]		
46 S	29 S	58 O		
48 S	31 S	[63 S]		
[49 M]	32 S	68 S		
51 O	36 S	77 S		
[59 S]	36 a S	93 M		
[61 S]	37 S	95 M		
62 S	38 S	99 S		
64 S	45 S	105 S		
65 S	52 O	109 S		
66 S	56 S	115 S		
72 S	57 S	125 S		
73 S	60 S			
[74 S]	67 S			
82 S	[69 S]			
[85 S]	70 O			
87 S	71 S			
92 S	76 S			
96 O	78 S			

Tables

[97 S]	83 S
98 O	84 S
101 S	86 S
106 O	90 S
[111 S]	100 O
[112 S]	102 S
116 S	103 S
118 S	107 O
120 O	117 S
121 S	119 S
	122 M(?)
	128 S
	130 S
	131 S

Total, Byzantine Period

31 S	35 S	15 S	5 S	3 S
1 M	1 M	3 M	-M	-M
6 O	6 O	3 O	1 O	1 O

Conclusions: Tables 4-7

Table 7: Early Islamic Period

(a) Beth Horon	(b) Secondary Rds	(c) Abu Ghosh Rd	(d) Jaffa-Ramle (Lydda)	(e) Nicopolis - Beit Horon
4 O	1 S	2 S	17 S	28 S
13 S	12 O	[11 S]	75 S	50 O
32 a S	14 S	[25 S]	91 S	[81 S]
[33 S]	18 S	43 S	108 S	
42 S	37 S	44 M	126 S	
51 O	38 S	53 S		
[59 S]	57 S	58 O		
[61 S]	78 S	95 S		
65 S	84 S	99 S		
66 S	100 O	105 S		
72 S	103 S	[125 S]		
[74 S]	107 S			
82 S	117 S			
[85 S]				
87 S				
101 S				
[111 S]				
118 S				

Total, Early Islamic Period

16 S	11 S	9 S	5 S	2 S
-M	-M	1 M	-M	-M
2 O	2 O	1 O	-O	1 O

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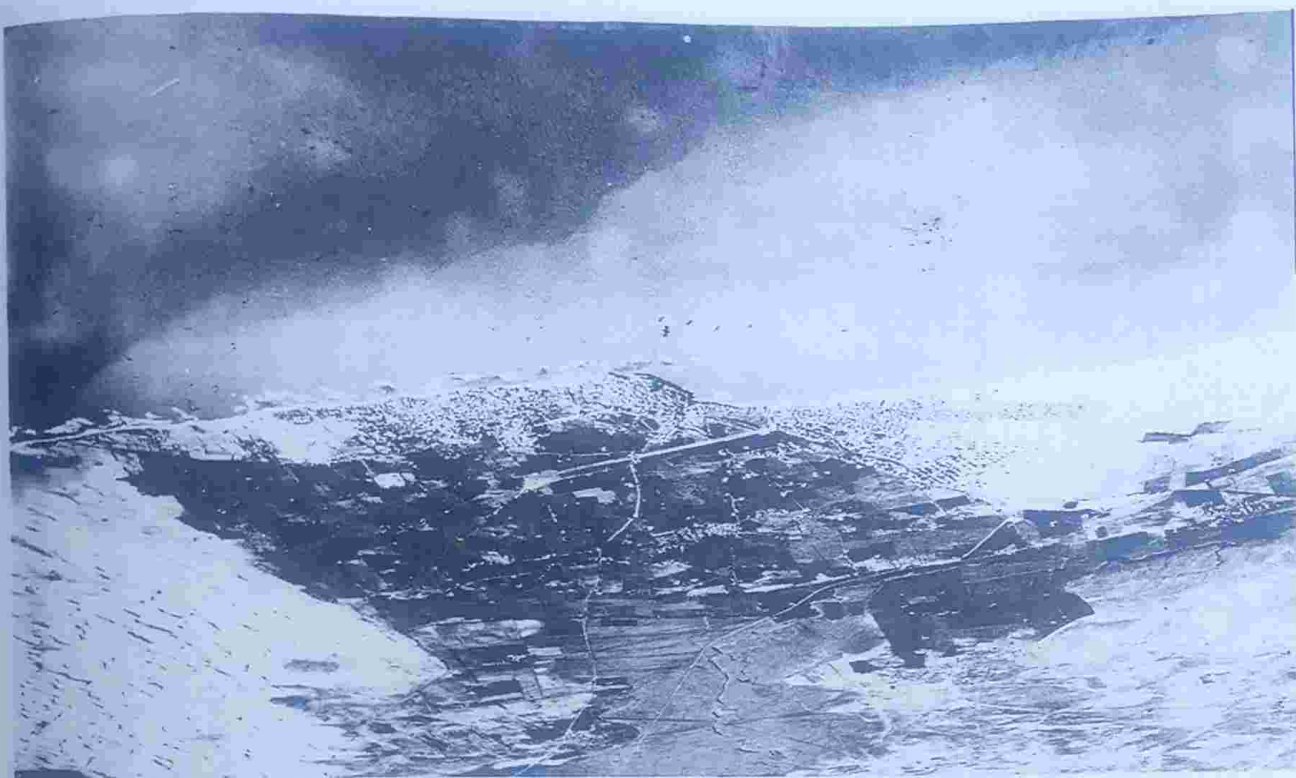
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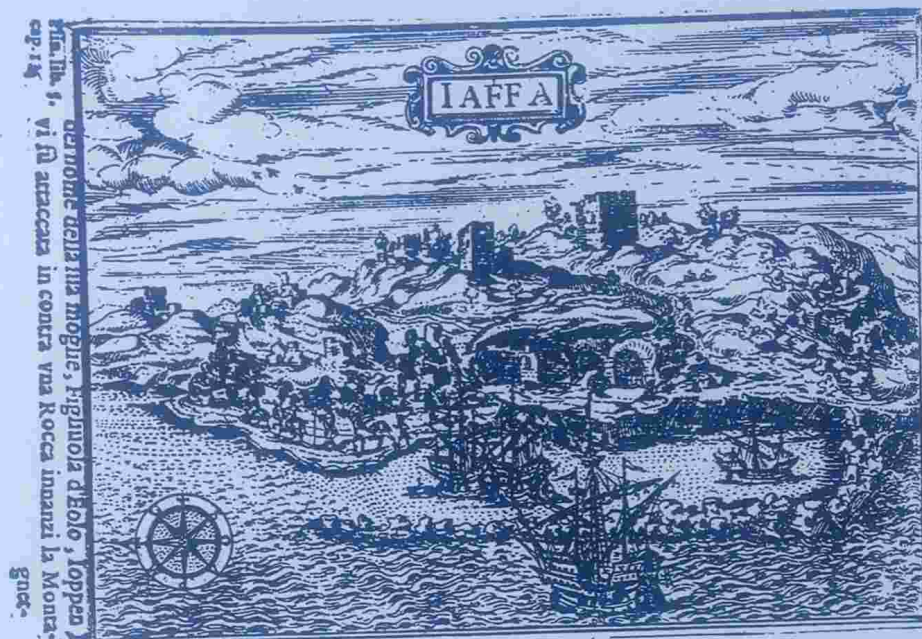
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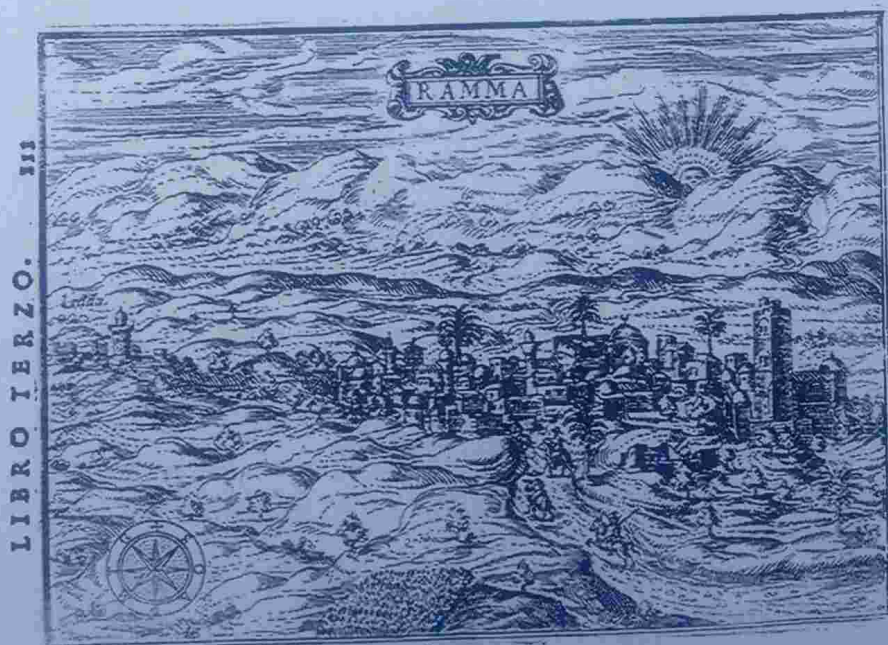
Pl. 1. Jaffa: oblique view from the air, looking west. 1917 (No. 84/1).



Pl. 2. Jerusalem: oblique view from the air, looking west. 1917 (No. 779).



Pl. 3. Jaffa, drawn by Zuallart, 1586.



Ramla, dai Mori, e circonuicini, si chiama Rammo-
la, che significa terra arenosa, & è habitata (come quasi
la mag-

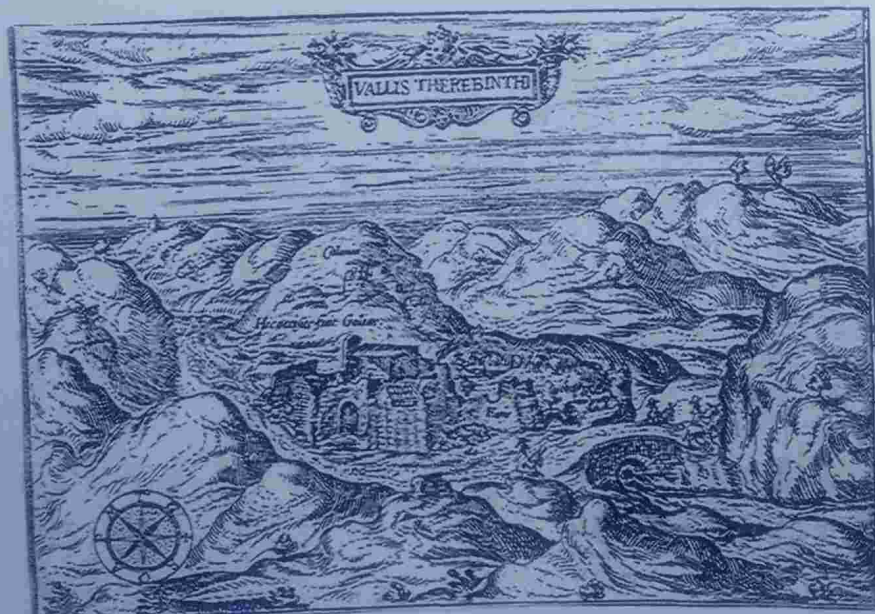
Pl. 4. Ramla, drawn by Zuallart, 1586.



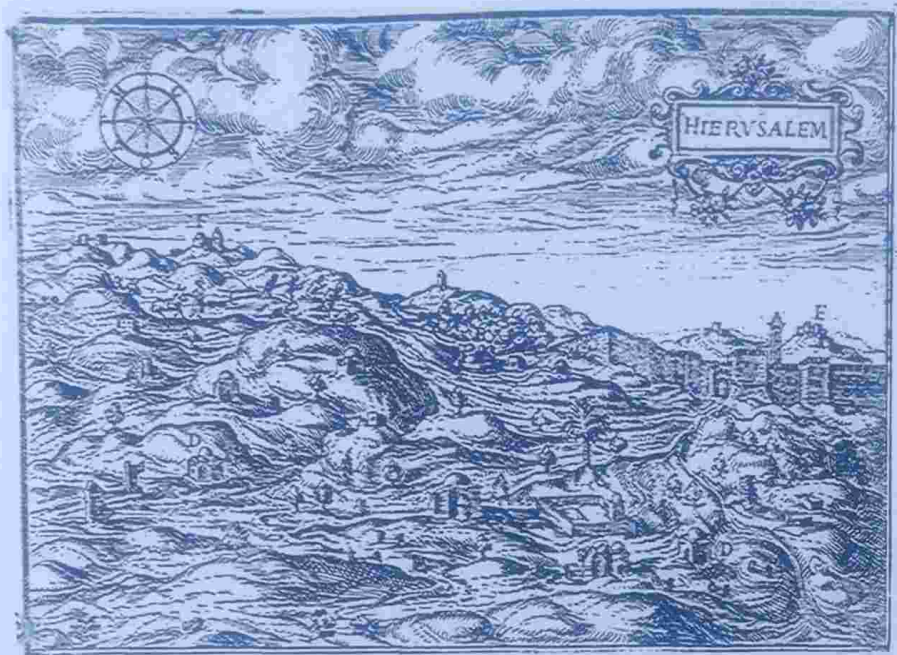
Pl. 5. Latrun, drawn by Zuallart, 1586.



Pl. 6. Abu Ghosh, drawn by Zuallart, 1586.



Pl. 7. Motza (Colonia), drawn by Zuallart, 1586.



Pl. 8. Jerusalem, drawn by Zuallart, 1586.



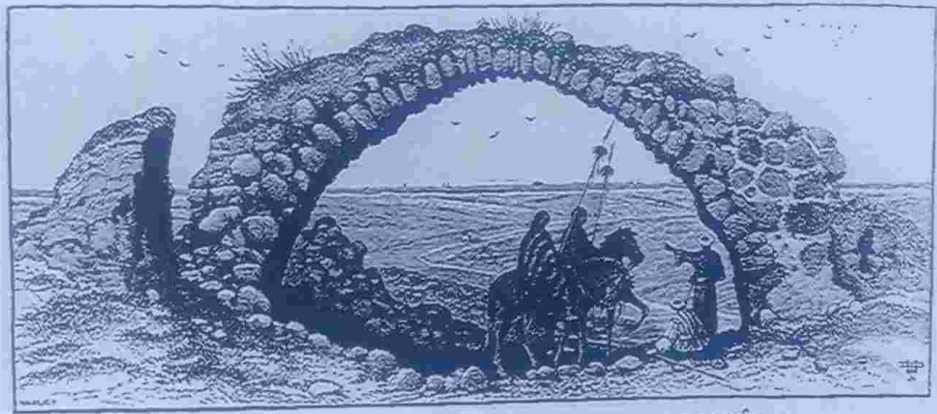
Pl. 9. Jerusalem, Jaffa Gate, photograph by Bonfils.



Pl. 10. Jaffa, photograph by Bonfils.



Pl. 11. Sabil Abu Nabbut, late nineteenth cent.



VIEW FROM THE RUINS OF THE MEDIAEVAL FORTRESS AT LATRÔN.
Looking westward, towards the Mediterranean Sea; the watch-towers on the road to Jaffa are plainly shown

Pl. 12. Latrun, engraving from *Picturesque Palestine*, 1880-4.



VALLEY OF AJALON, FROM THE WEST.
Looking across the broad corn-fields to Mirpeh and the more distant mountains in the Valley of the Jordan

Pl. 13. Valley of Ayalon, seen from al-Qubab (*Picturesque Palestine*).



BEIT-UR-EL-FOKA, ON THE SITE OF UPPER BETH-HORON.
In the distance the sandy line of coast and the Mediterranean Sea.

Pl. 14. Upper Beit Horon, looking west (*Picturesque Palestine*)



Pl. 15. Russian pilgrims, late 19th cent.



Pl. 16. Vehicles at Bab el Wad, looking east, late 19th cent.



Pl. 17. Camels on the Jaffa-Jerusalem road. Photograph by Gertrude Bell, 1900.



Pl. 18. Abu Ghosh, photograph by Gertrude Bell, 1900.



Pl. 19. Qubeiba, photograph by Conrad Schick, late 19th cent.



Pl. 20. Gibeon (el Jib), photograph by Bedford, 1862.



Pl. 21. Ascent of the Romans, looking east (undated).



Pl. 22. Upper Beit Horon (*Picturesque Palestine*).



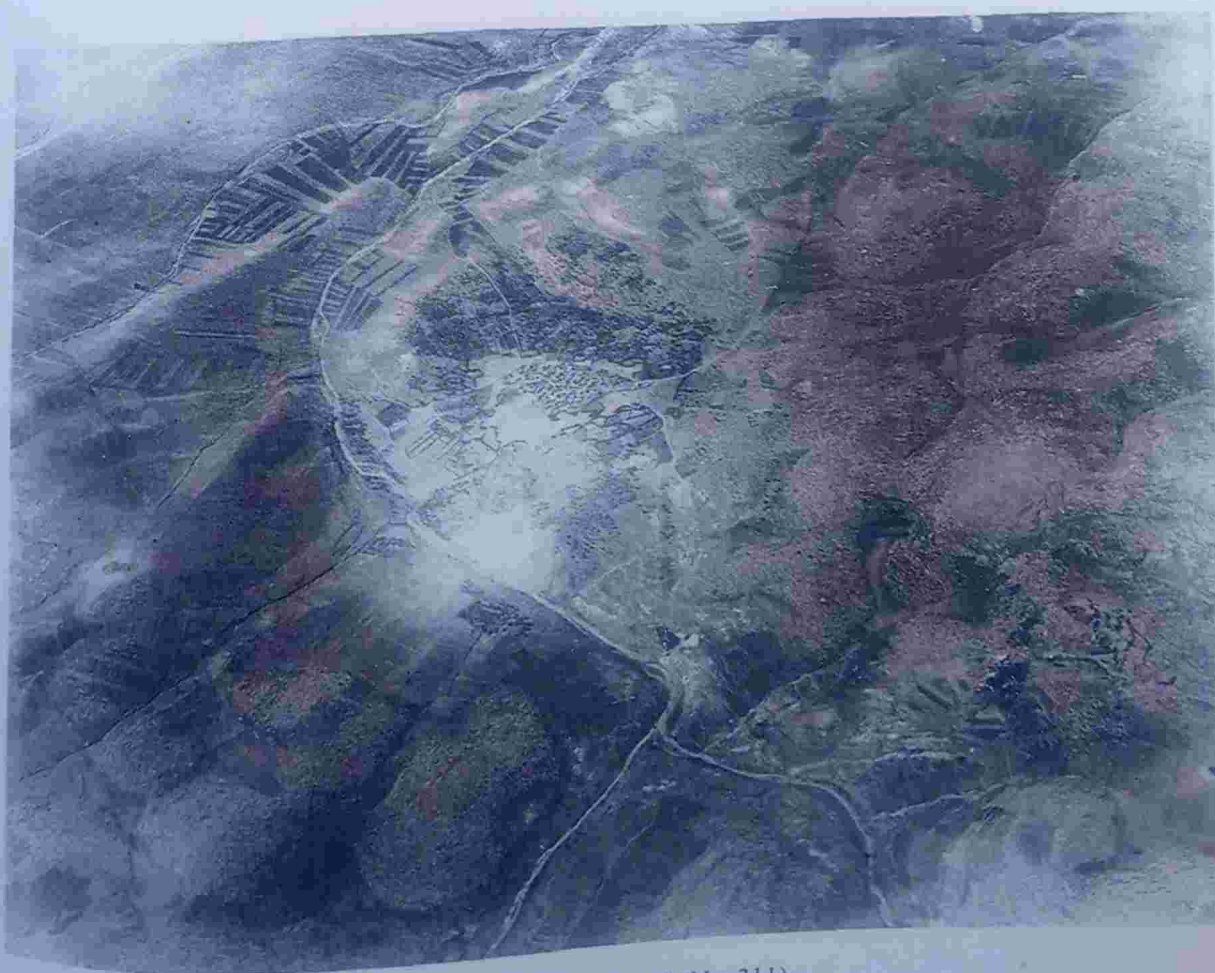
Pl. 23. Bridge at Motza (Colonia) (*Picturesque Palestine*).



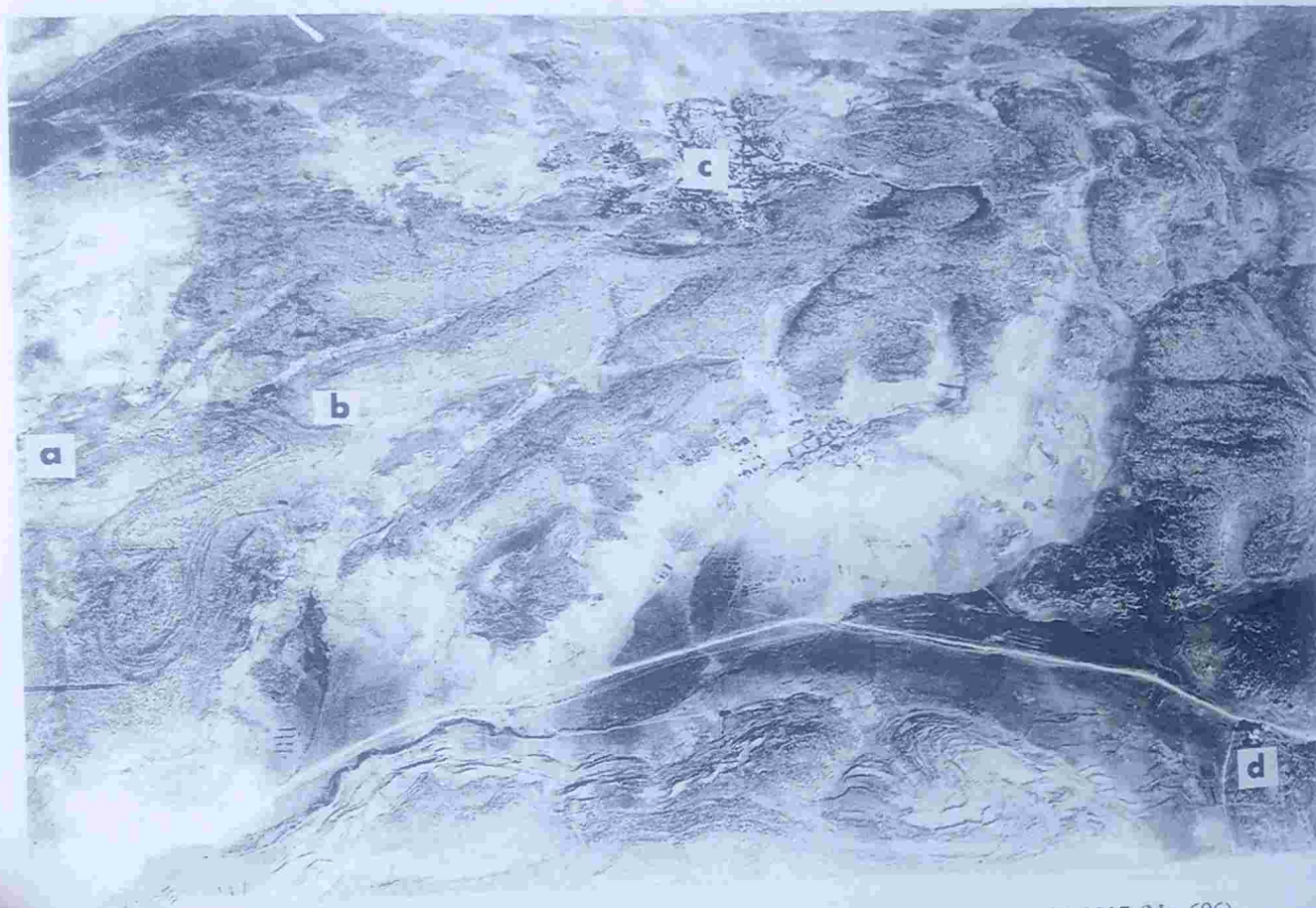
Pl. 24. Looking west from Motza (Colonia) to Qastal (a), Kabbara (b) and Abu Ghosh (c), 1917 (No. 739).



Pl. 25. Lydda, looking NW, 1917 (No. 162).



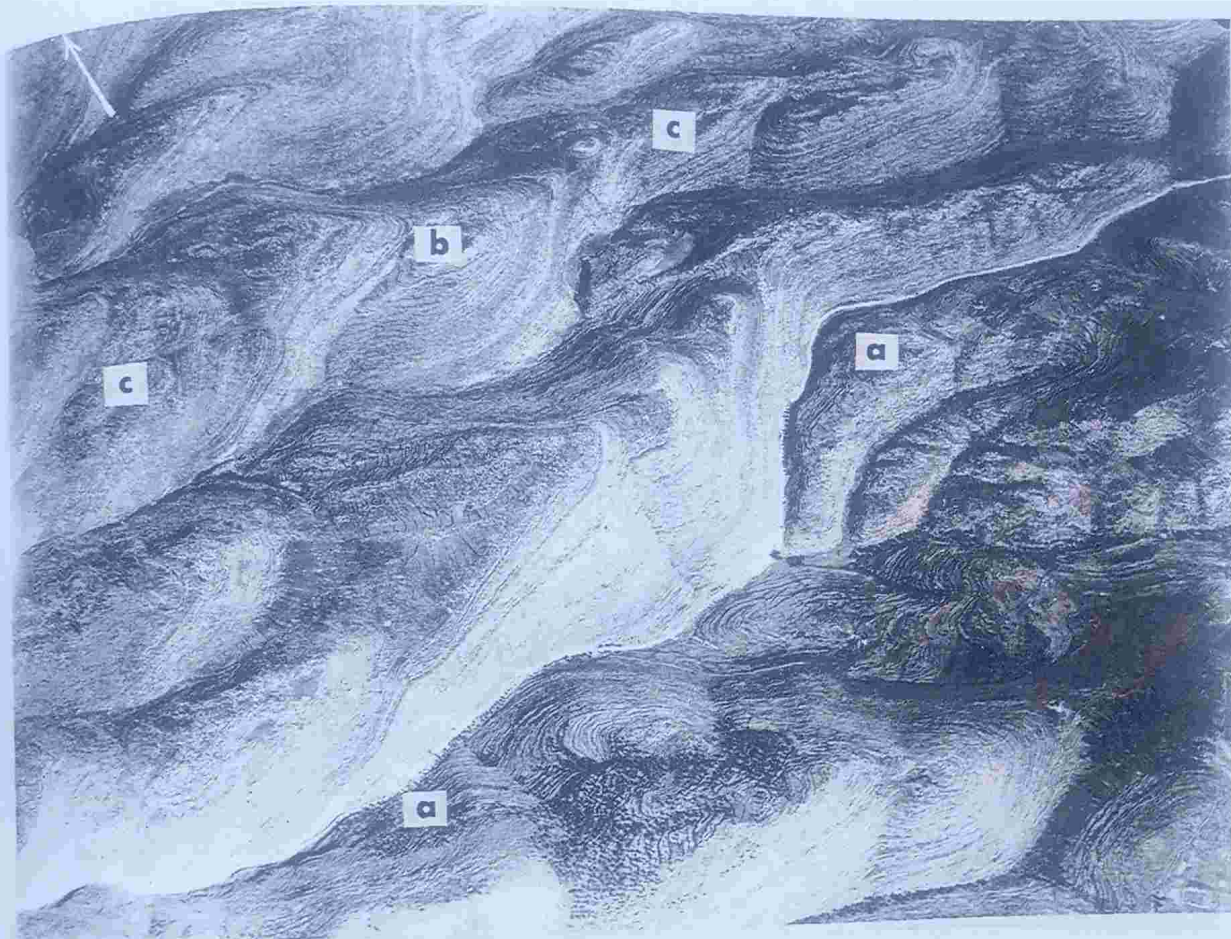
Pl. 26. Annaba, looking NW, 1917 (No. 311).



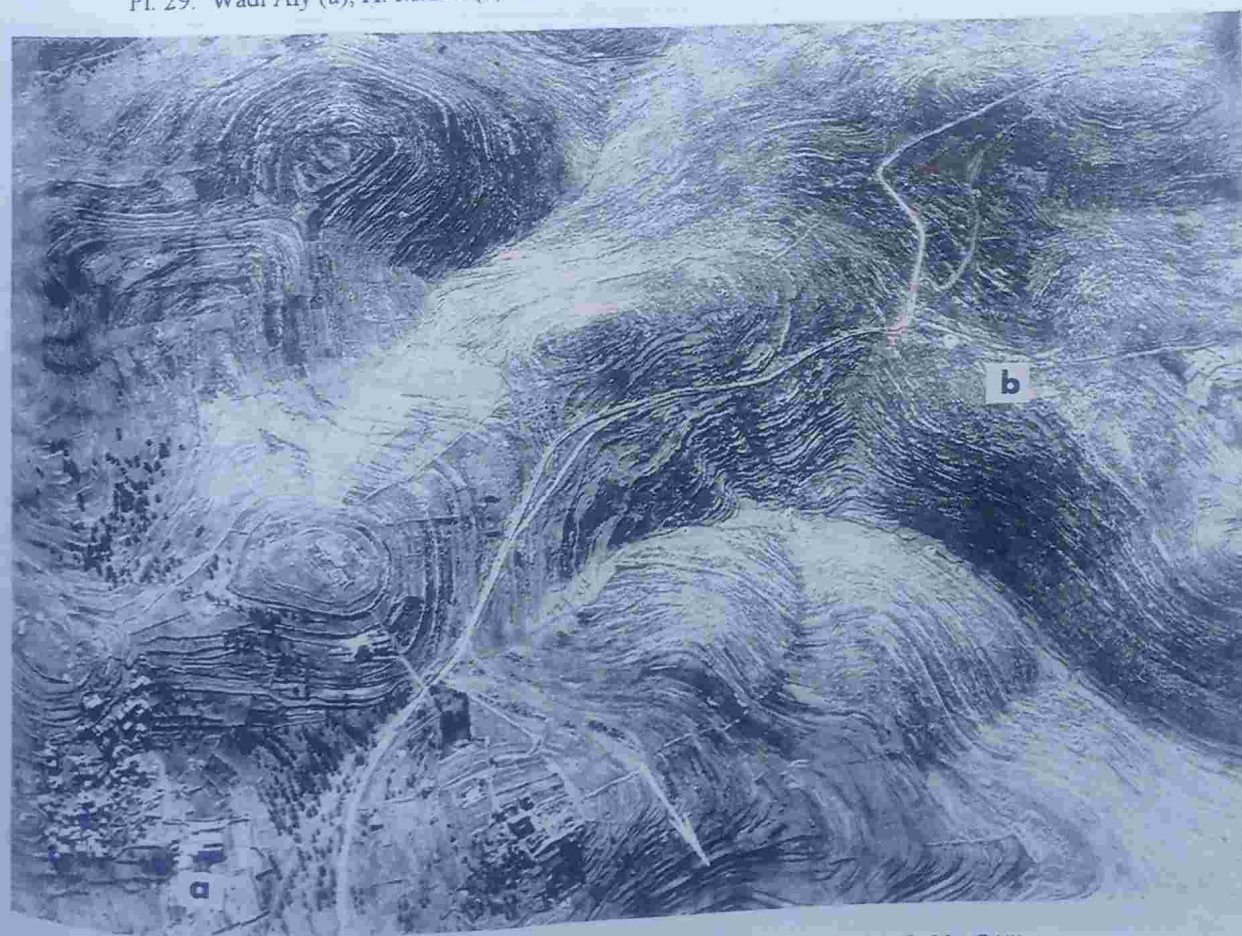
Pl. 27. The terrain from Imwas (a) to Aqed (b), Yalu (c), and Bab el Wad (d), looking N, 1917 (No. 696).



Pl. 28. The Valley of Ayalon, west of Beit Nuba (a) and Yalu (b), looking south, 1917 (No. 670).



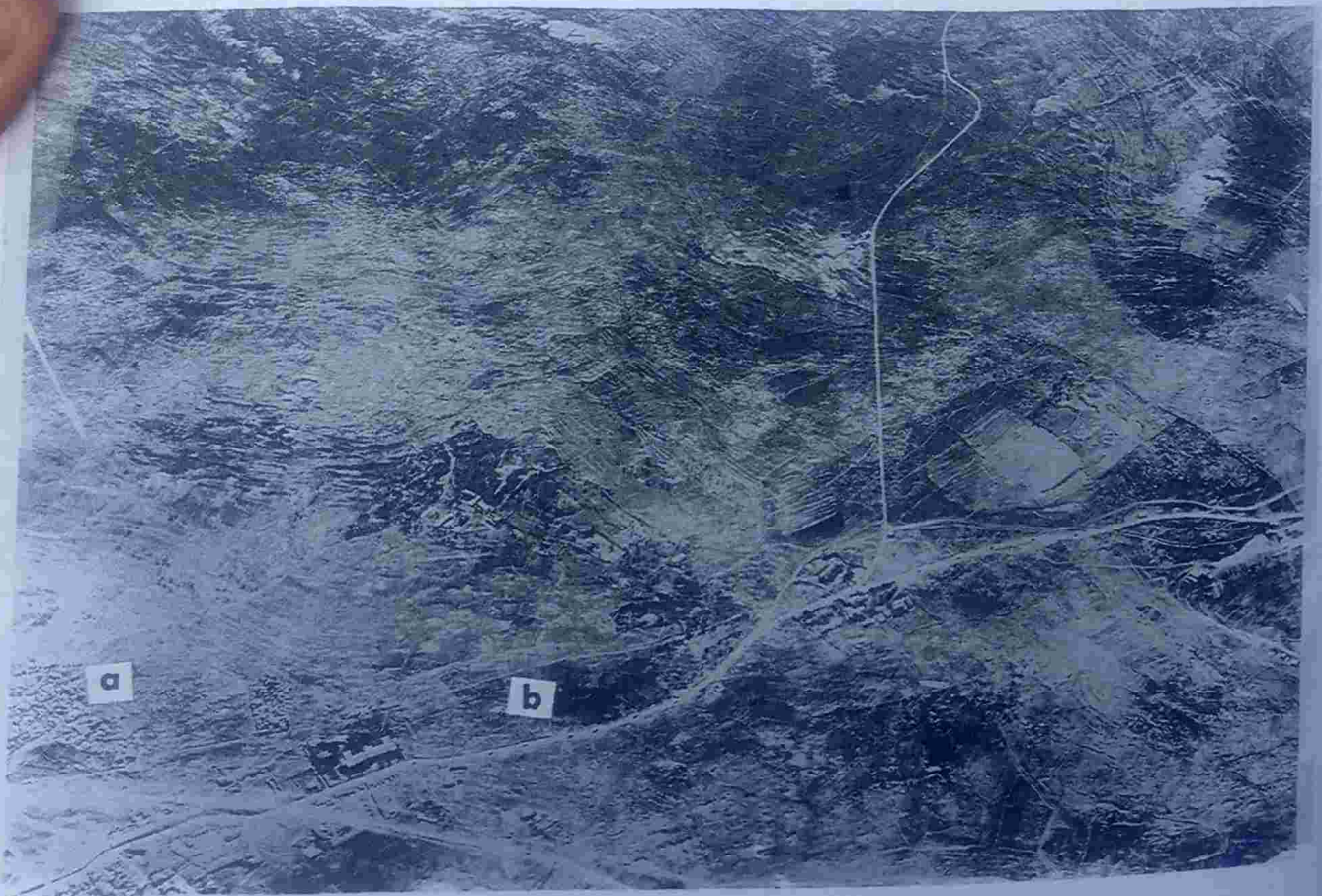
Pl. 29. Wadi Aly (a), H. Mazad (b) and the Emmaus-Jerusalem Road (c), 1917. (No. 736).



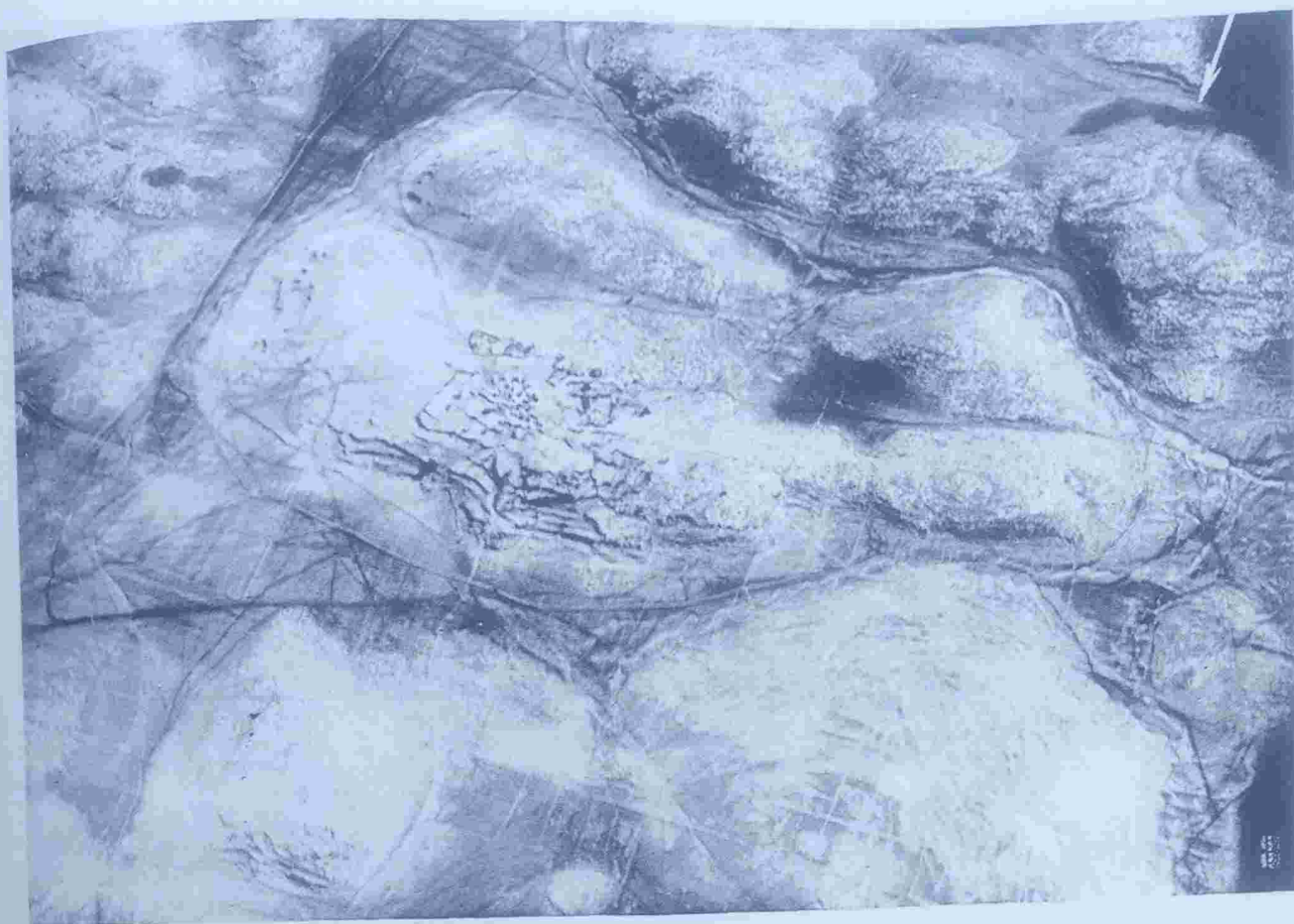
Pl. 30. Abu Ghosh (a), and road to H. Mazad (b) looking west., 1917 (No. 740).



Pl. 31. Aqua Bella (a), Kabbara (b) and the Roman road (c), 1918 (No. 747).



Pl. 32. Sheikh Badr (a), and the Roman road (b), 1918 (No. 821).



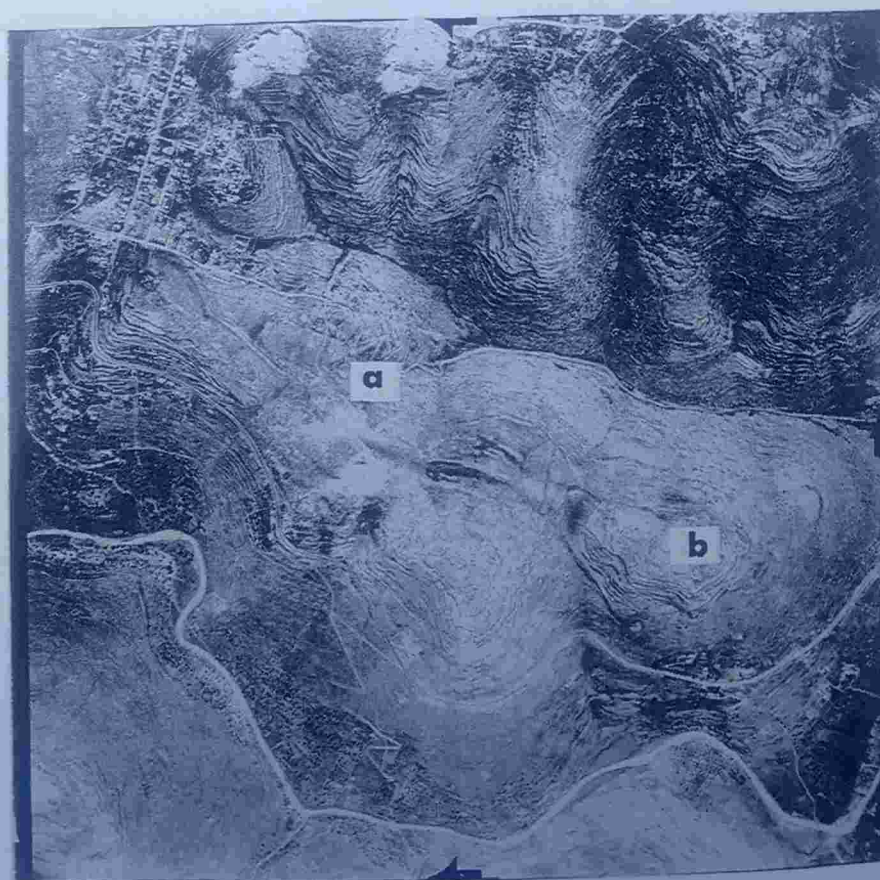
Pl. 33. el Burj and field walls, 1917 (No. 659).



34. Roman Road (a), between Najmat Hadali (b) and Kh. Ibn 'Awad (c), 1917 (No. 661b).



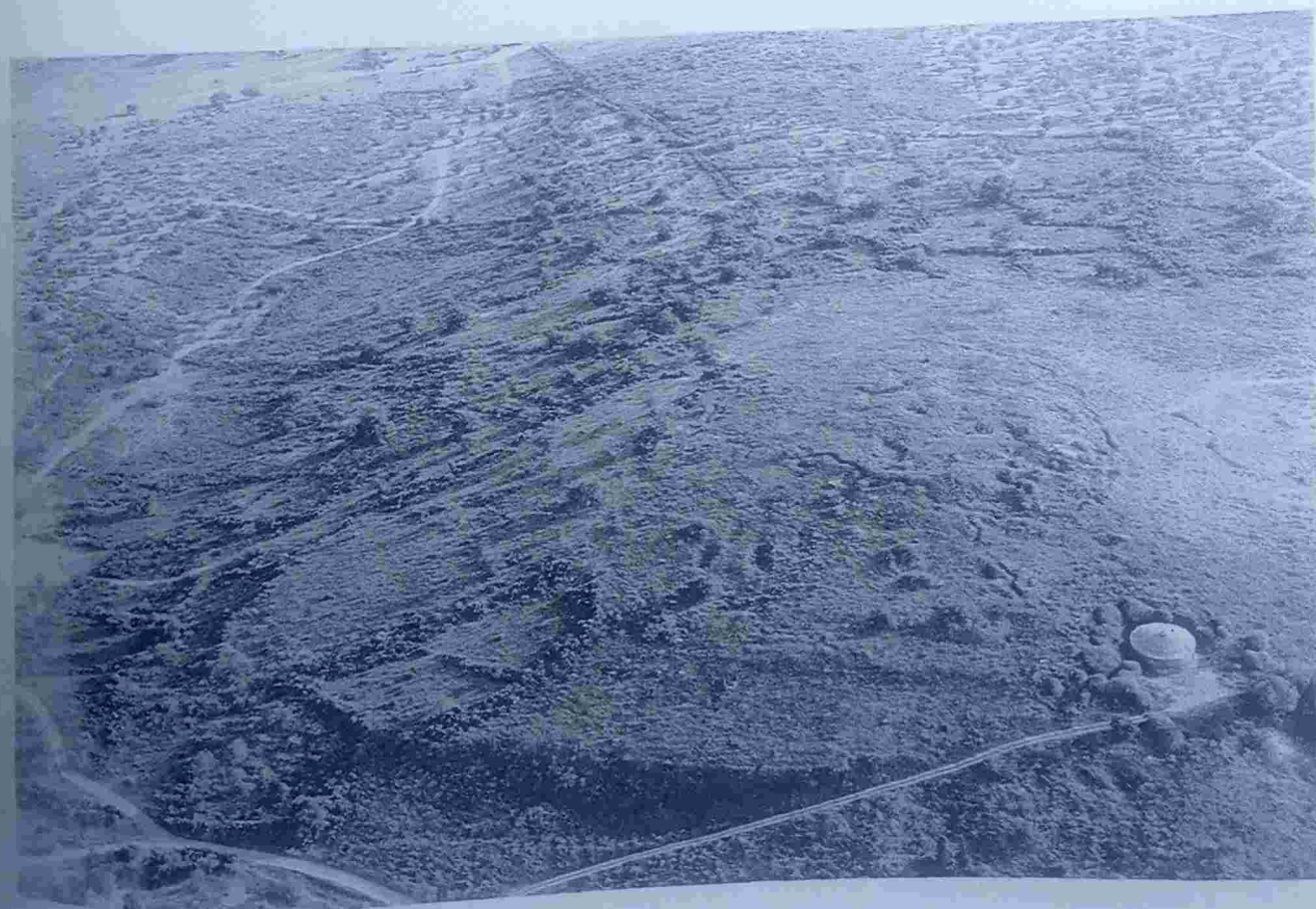
Pl. 35. Vertical view, 'Motza ascent' (a) and Motza bridge (b), 1946, Photograph by R.A.F.



Pl. 36. Vertical view, 'Ascent of the Romans' (a), and Ras al Alawi (b), 1946, R.A.F.



Pl. 37. Jaffa, looking SE.



Pl. 38. Gimzu, looking east.



Pl. 39. er-Ras I, looking south, 1991.



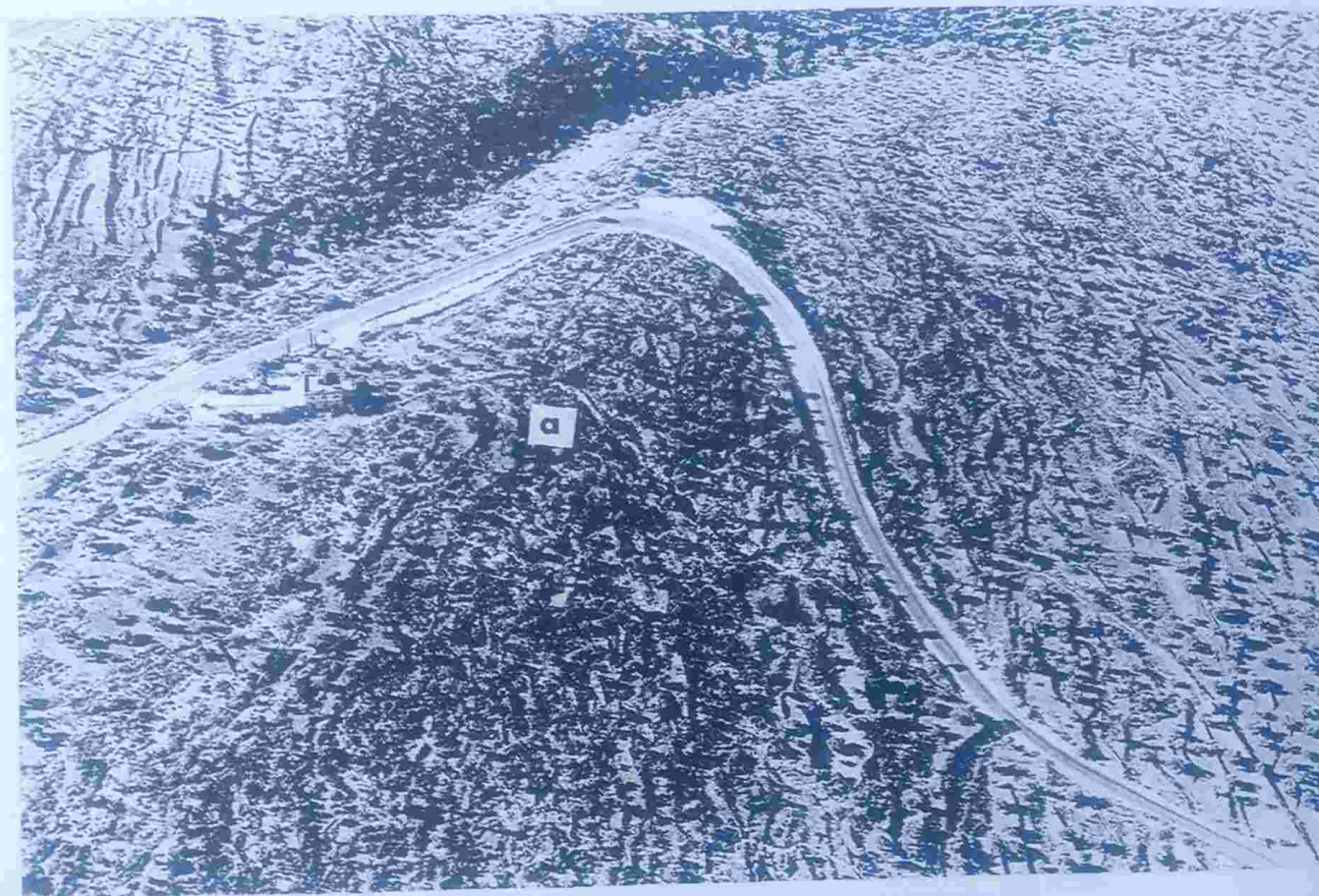
Pl. 40. Dahiya, looking south



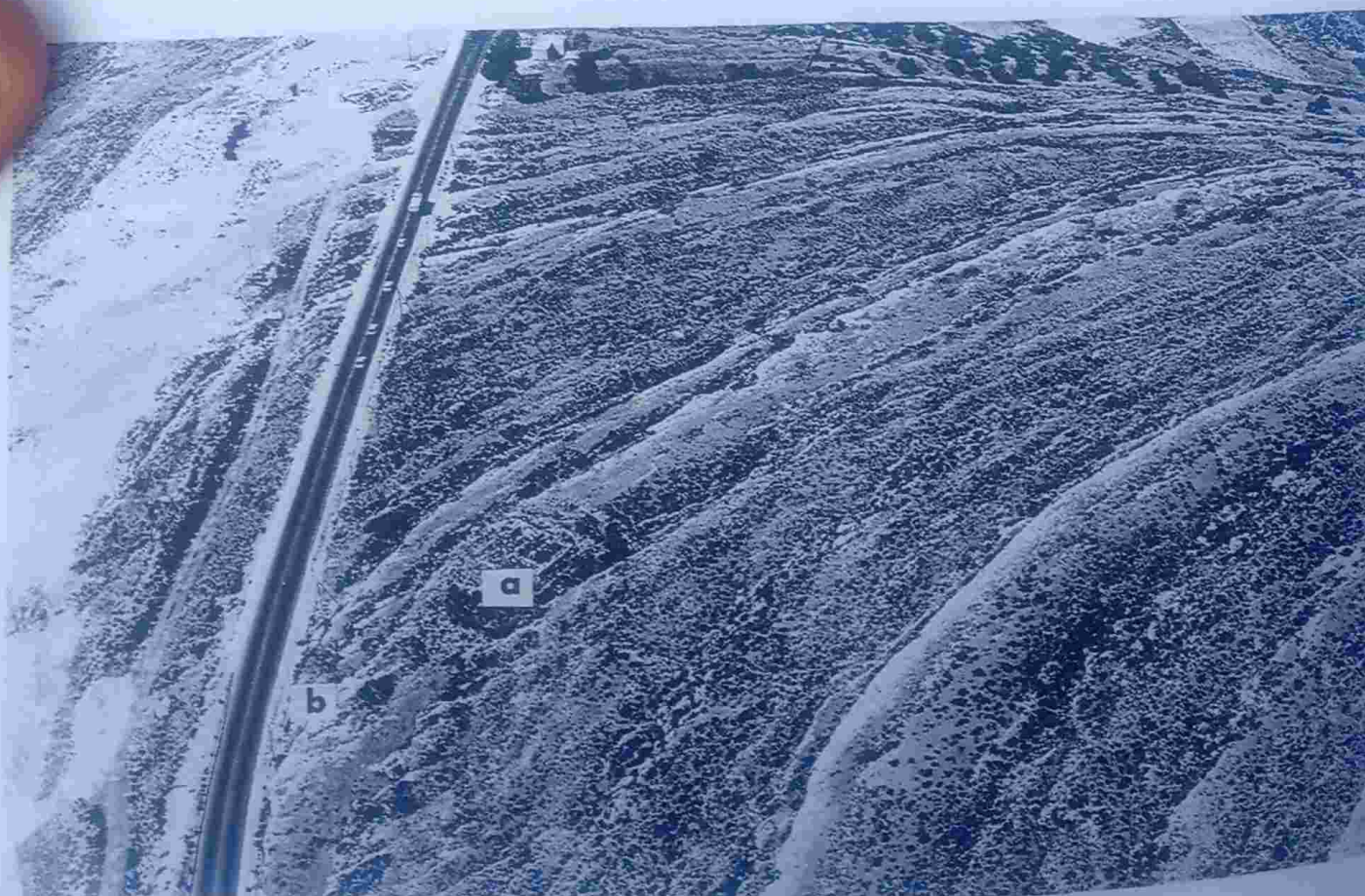
Pl. 41. Kh. Kafr Rut, looking west.



Pl. 42. Kh. Ibn Awad (a) and Roman road (b), looking east.



Pl. 43. Segment of Roman road (a) between Upper and Lower Beit Horon.



Pl. 44. Rujum Abu Hashabe (a) and Roman road (b), looking west.



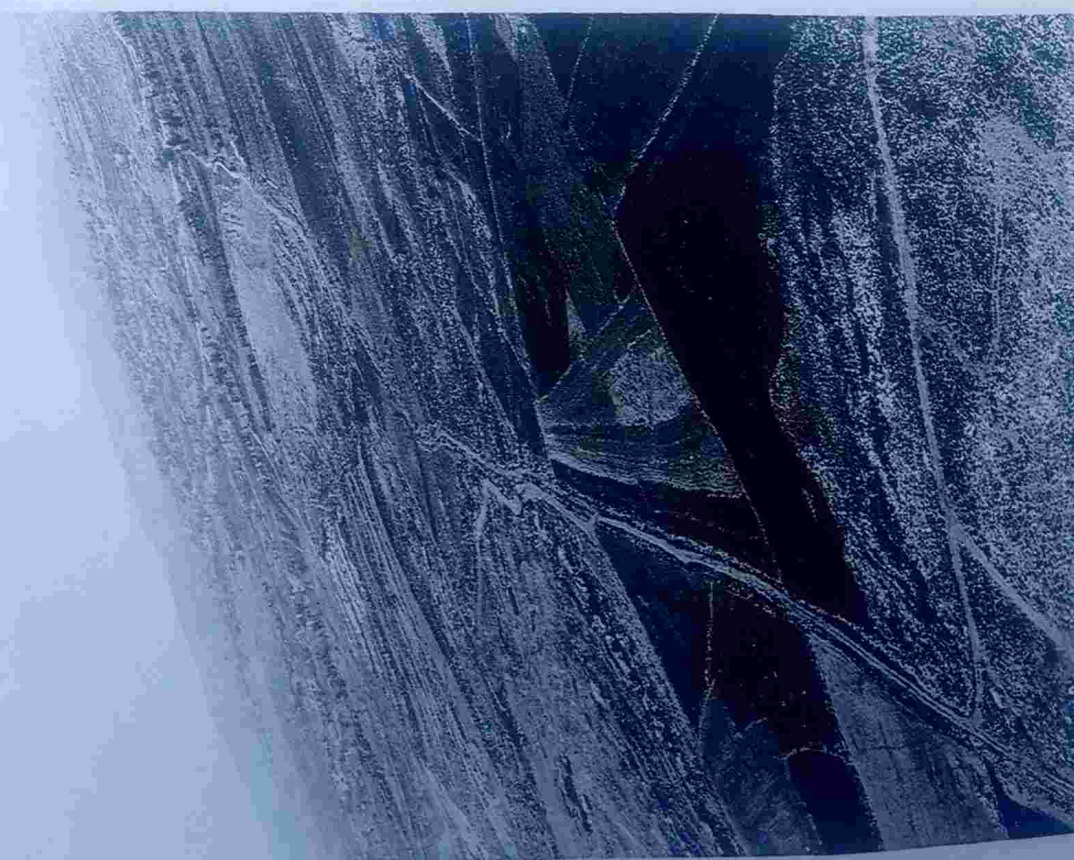
Pl. 45. El Jib, 1676.1397, looking NE.



Pl. 46. Adasa (North), 1703.1394, looking SW.



Pl. 48. Beit Horon road, view from 1708. 1384, to SE.



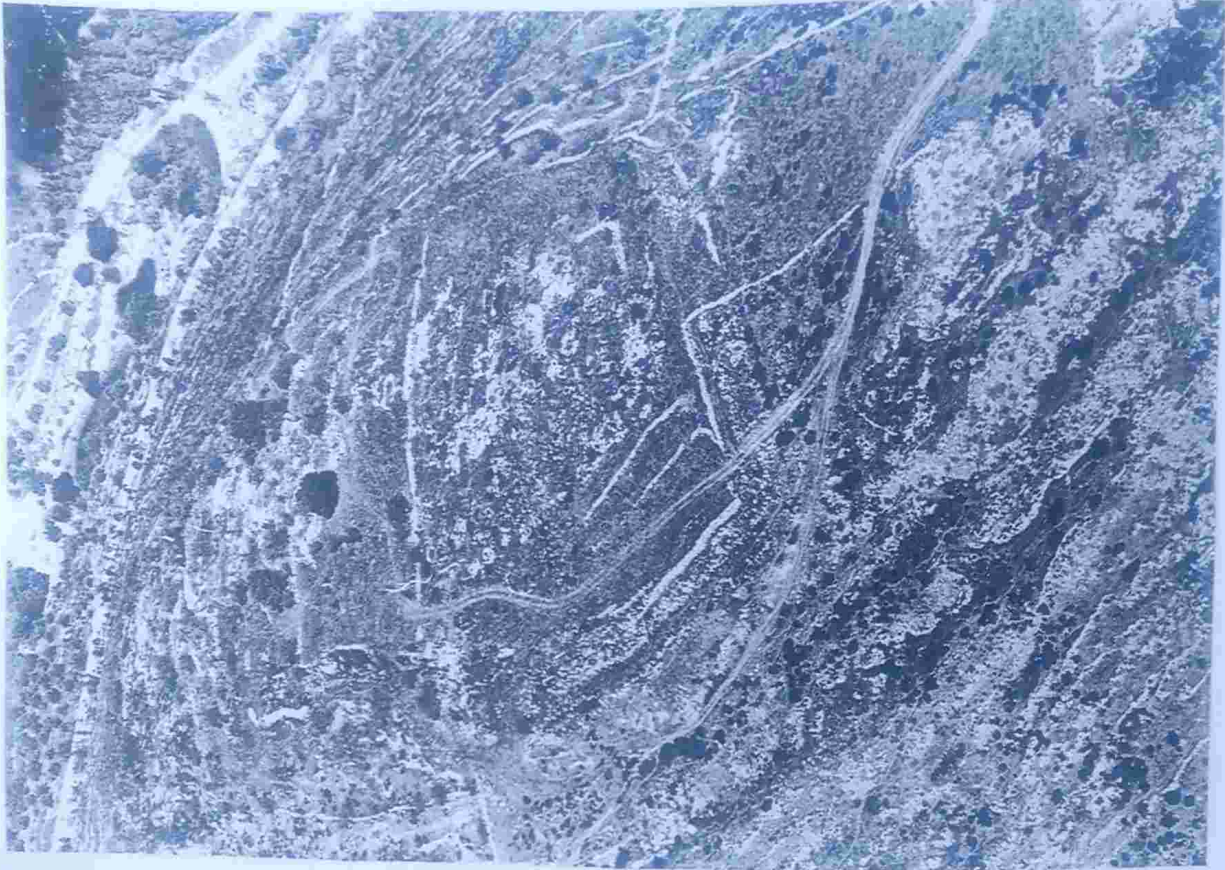
Pl. 47. Beit Horon road, view from 1672 1416, to SE.



Pl. 49. Latrun, looking NW.



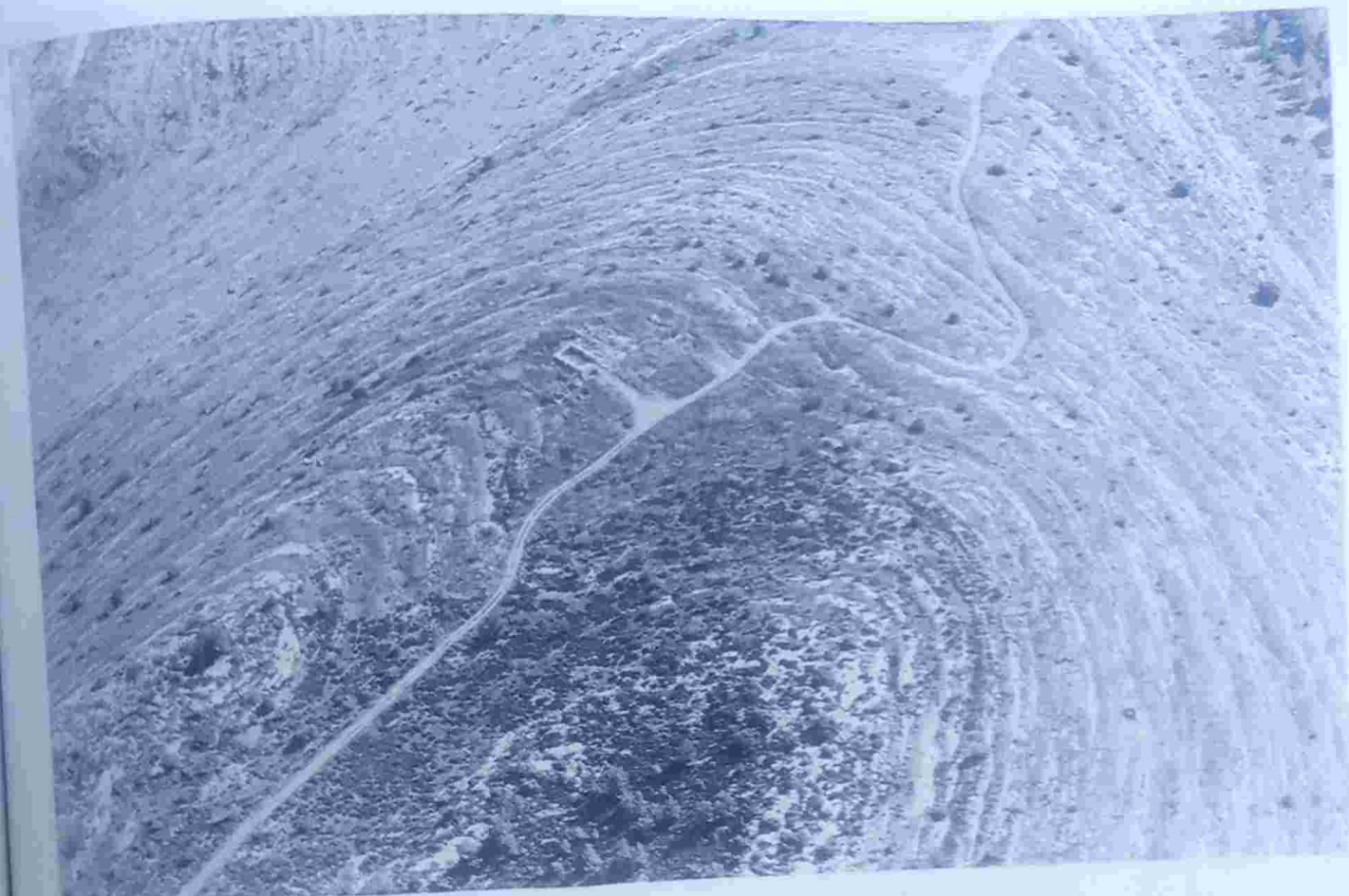
Pl. 50. Yalu and environs, 1525.1388, looking east.



Pl. 52. Kh. Aqed, looking west



Pl. 51. The Emmaus-Jerusalem road, looking NE.



Pl. 53. H. Mazad with Roman road, looking NE



Pl. 54. el Qubeiba, 1625 1386, looking E.



Pl. 55. Tel el Ful with road, looking north, 1918 (No. 648a).



Pl. 56. Belmont (Zovah), 1620 1325, looking east.



Pl. 57. Hadid, looking NW



Pl. 58. Pavement, west of Modiin.



Pl. 59. Beit Horon road, east of Kafr Rut, 1545.1454.



Pl. 60. Section through Beit Horon road, 1545.1454.



Pl. 61. Looking east to Upper Beit Horon.



Pl. 62. Road cut in the rock at 1590.1440.



Pl. 63. Rock-cut steps at Upper Beit Horon.



Pl. 64. Upper Beit Horon



Pl. 65. Upper Beit Horon



Pl. 66. Road at Rujum Abu Hashabe, 1632.1419



Pl. 67. Rujum Abu Hashabe, looking south, 1632.1419.



Pl. 68. Rujum Abu Hashabe, looking south, 1632.1419.



Pl. 69. Rider and donkey on Beit Horon road, east of Kh. Latatin, looking east.



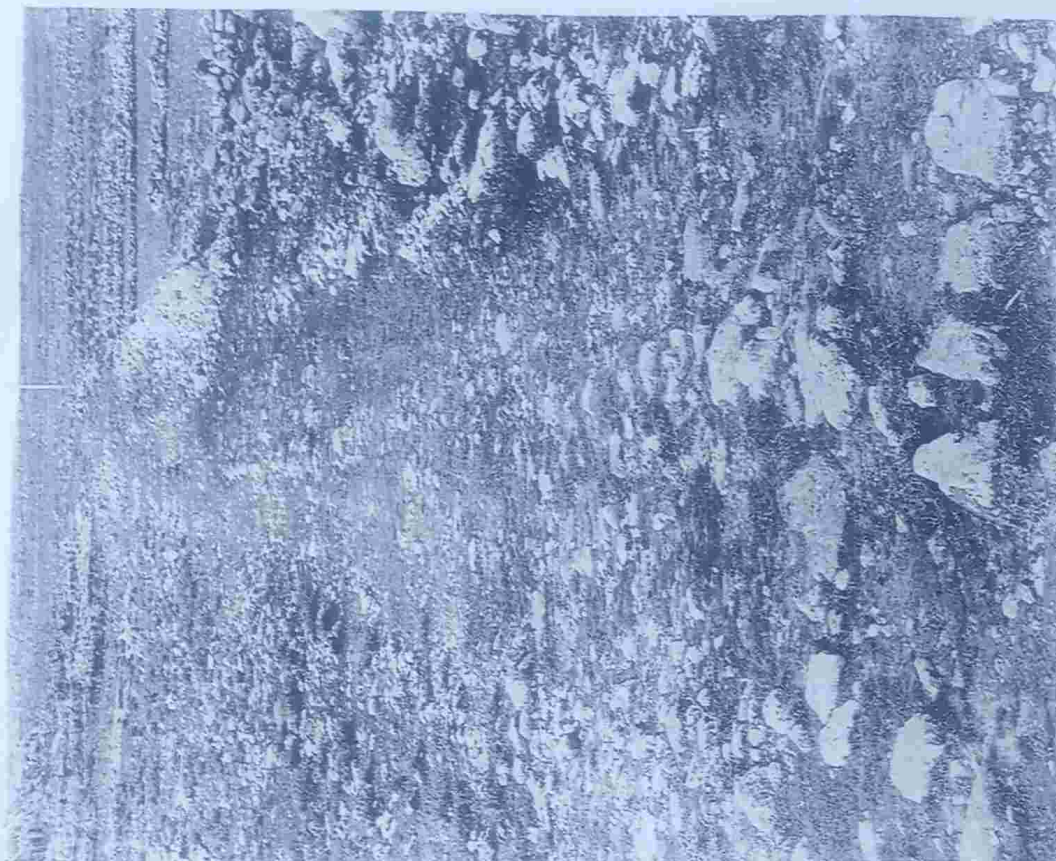
Pl. 70. Beit Horon road, east of Kh. Latatin, looking east.



Pl. 71. Looking NW between Bir Nabala and Hawanit, 170.139.



Pl. 72. Looking SE, at 170.139.



Pl. 73. East of Latain, 1674. 1441.



Pl. 74. Emmaus-Beit Horon road, looking south. 1554.1450.



Pl. 75. The Latrun - Jerusalem road, early 20th century (road-making).



Pl. 76. Ottoman watch tower near Sha'ar Hagay (Bab al Wad).



Pl. 77. Rock-cut steps east of Deir Ayub, looking east.



Pl. 78. H. Mazad, 1552.1359, looking north.



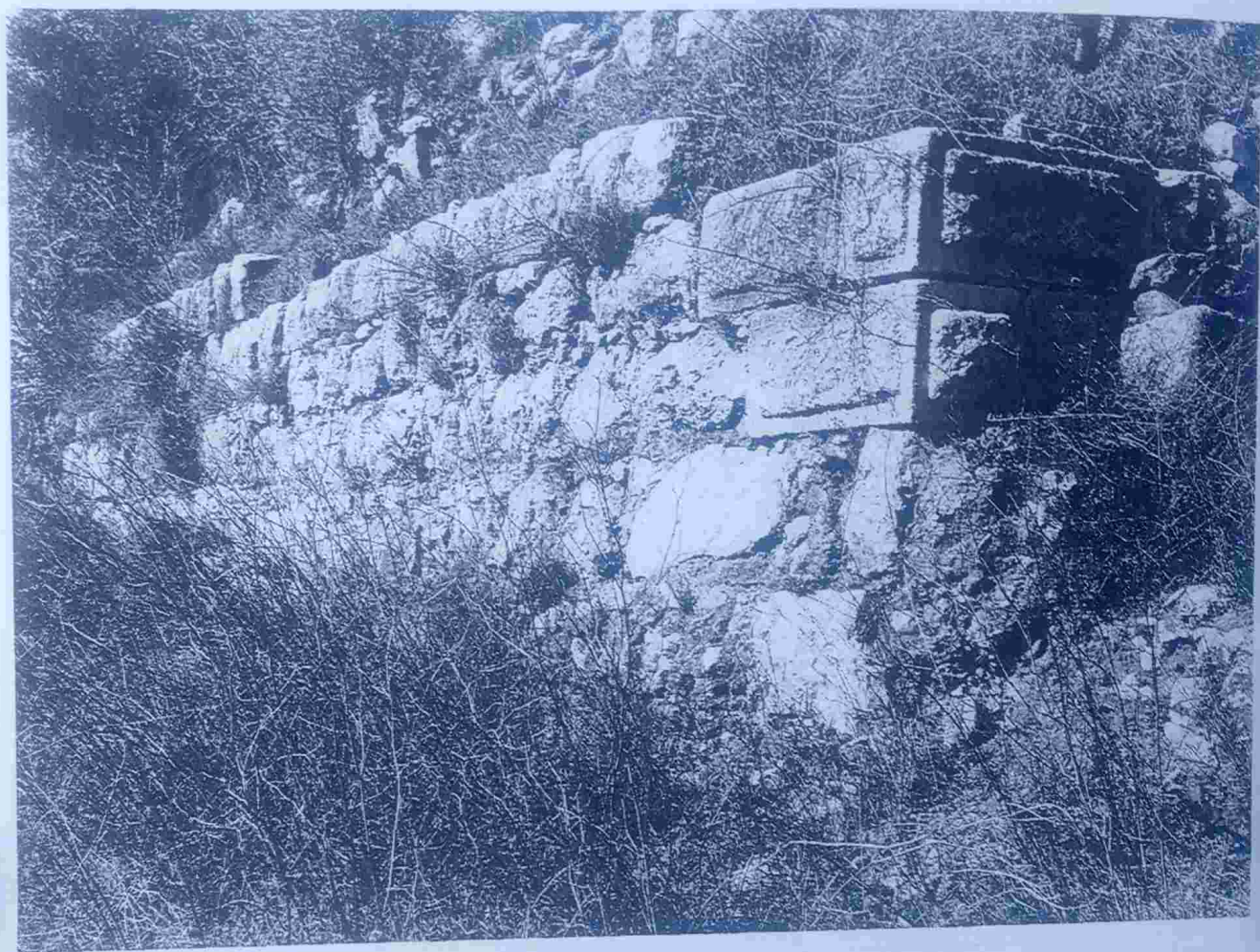
Pl. 79. H. Mazad, looking north.



Pl. 80. W. of H. Mazad, looking west



Pl. 81. E. of H. Mazad, looking NE.



Pl. 82. Motza, crusader building.



Pl. 83. 'Ascent of the Romans', looking east (ca. 1900).



Pl. 84. Secondary road in the Shephelah, looking east.



Pl. 85. Secondary road in the Shephelah, looking east.



Pl. 86. Between Beit Liqiya and Beit Inan, looking west, 1580.1420.



Pl. 87. Kh. al Biyar, crusader building, 1684.1402, looking NW.



Pl. 88. Steps in secondary road near Burej, 1584.1409, looking east.



Pl. 89. Rock-cut road near Burej, 1584.1409, looking east.



Pl. 90. Inscription at Abu Ghosh (photograph) 1.

VEXILLATO
LEGX FRE

Pl. 91. Inscription at Abu Ghosh (tracing) 1.



Pl. 92. Inscription from Deir el Azhar (photograph) 1.

VEXILLATO
LEGX FRE

Pl. 93. Inscription from Deir el Azhar (tracing) 1.



Pl. 94. Inscription from Deir el Azhar (photograph) 2.

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Pl. 95. Inscription from Deir el Azhar (tracing) 2.



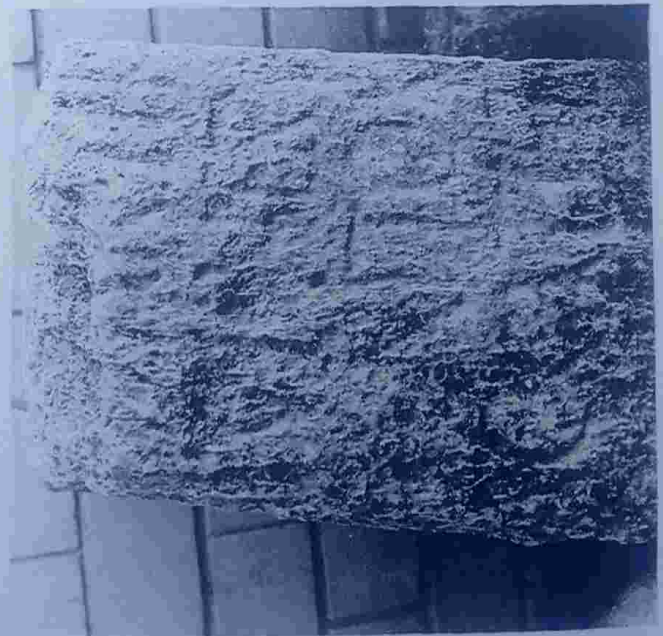
Pl. 96. Inscription from Abu Ghosh (photograph) 2.



Pl. 97. Milestone Inscription (photograph) no. 1.

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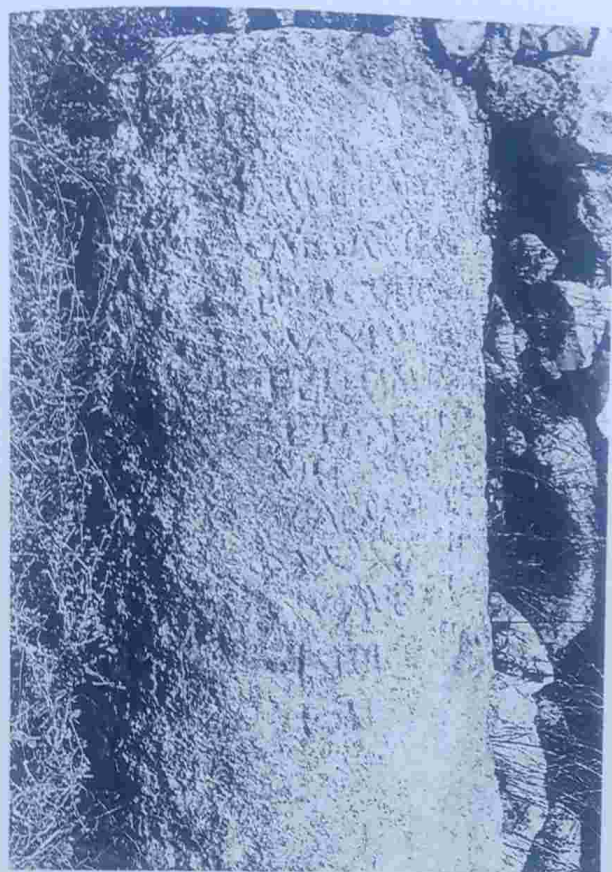
Pl. 98. Milestone Inscription (tracing) no. 1.



Pl. 99. Milestone Inscription (photograph) no. 2.

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Pl. 100. Milestone Inscription (tracing) no. 2.



Pl. 101. Milestone Inscription (photograph) no. 3.

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CAESARIFILIO
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Pl. 102. Milestone Inscription (tracing) no. 3.



Pl. 103. Milestone Inscription (photograph) no. 4.

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Pl. 104. Milestone Inscription (tracing) no. 4.

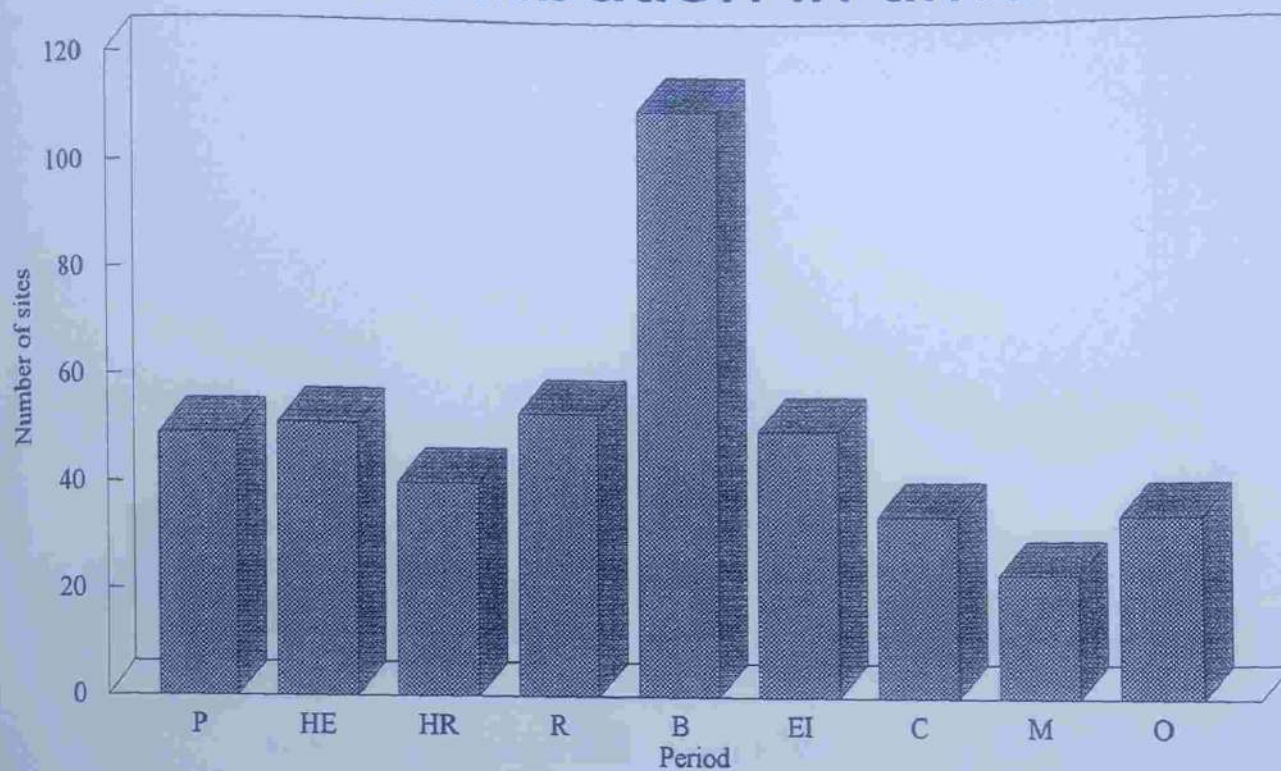


Pl. 105. Milestone Inscription (photograph) no. 5.

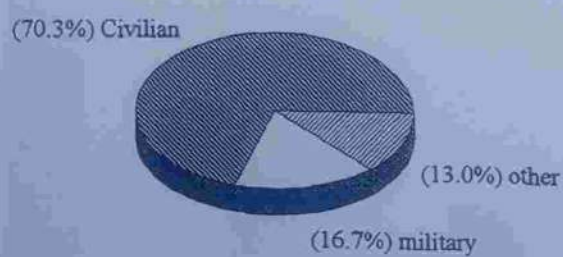


Pl. 106. Early Islamic Milestone Inscription.

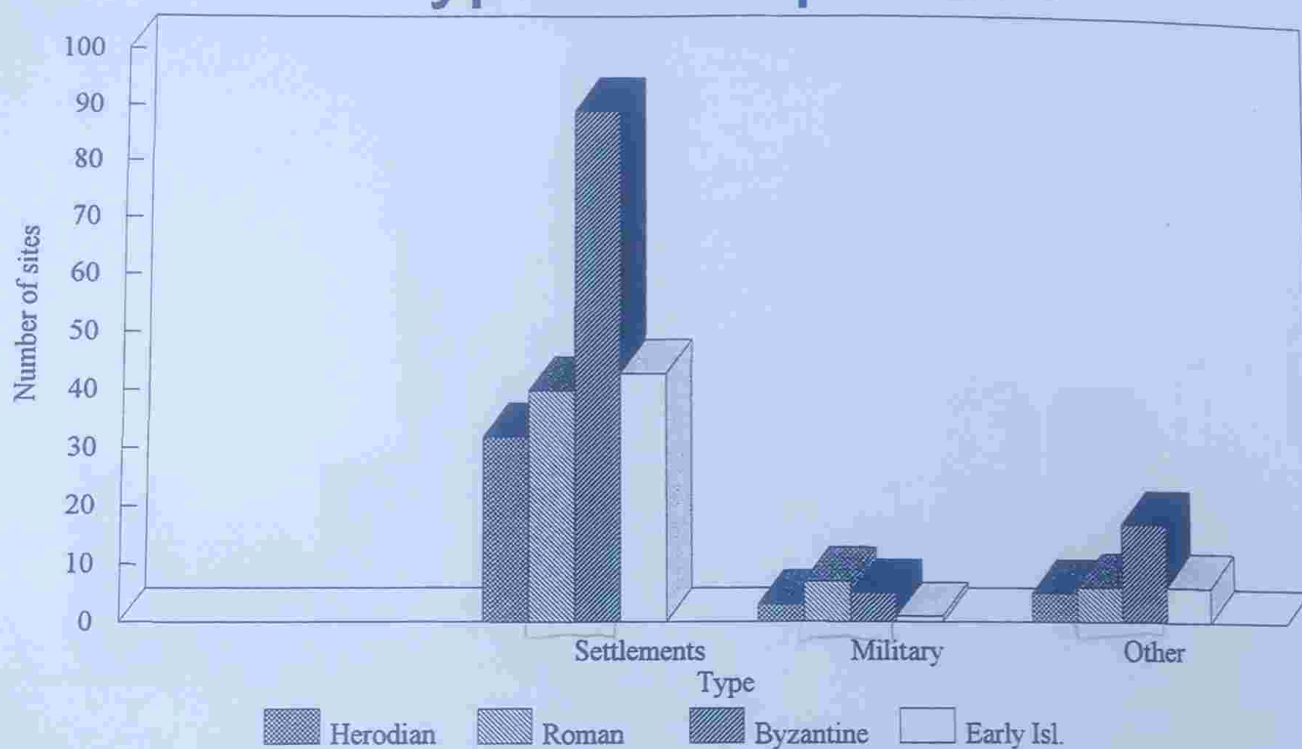
2b Distribution in time



Types of settlements



Types and periods



Types of sites

